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MAGAZINE

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY

WITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL. XVII

JANUARY—JUNE, 1887

LAWRENCE
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Astor Place, New York.

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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

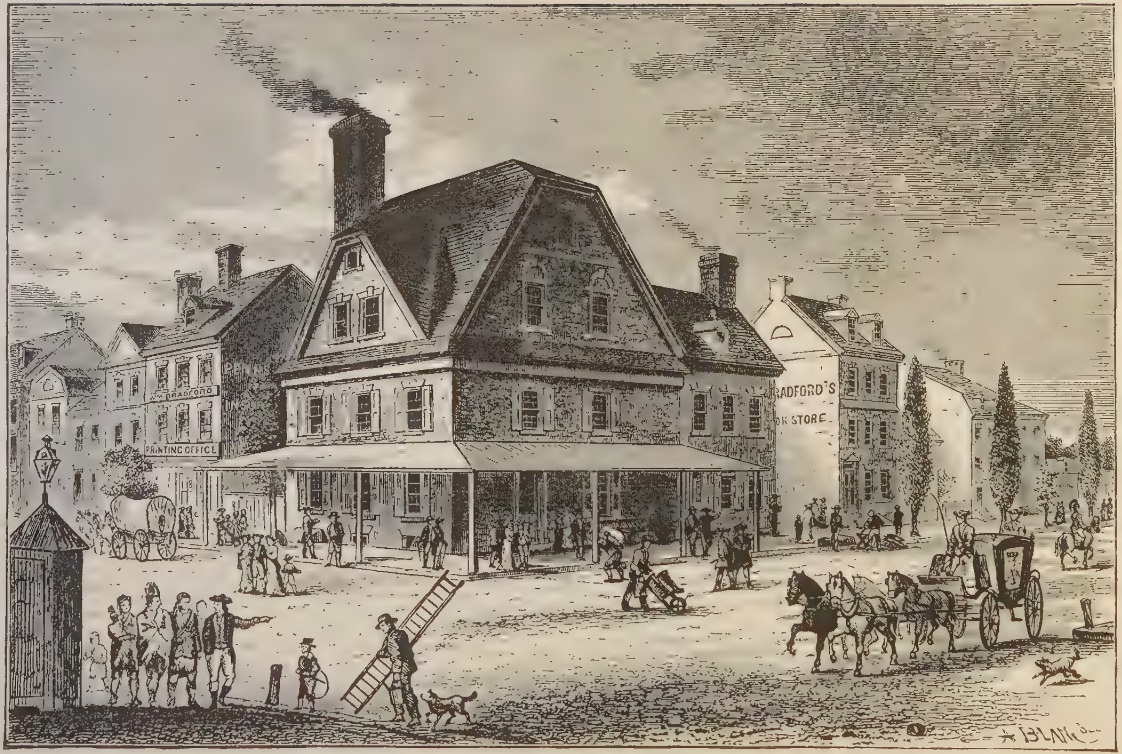
Vol. XVII JANUARY, 1887 No. 1

A GROUP OF PRE-REVOLUTIONARY EDITORS

BEGINNINGS OF JOURNALISM IN AMERICA

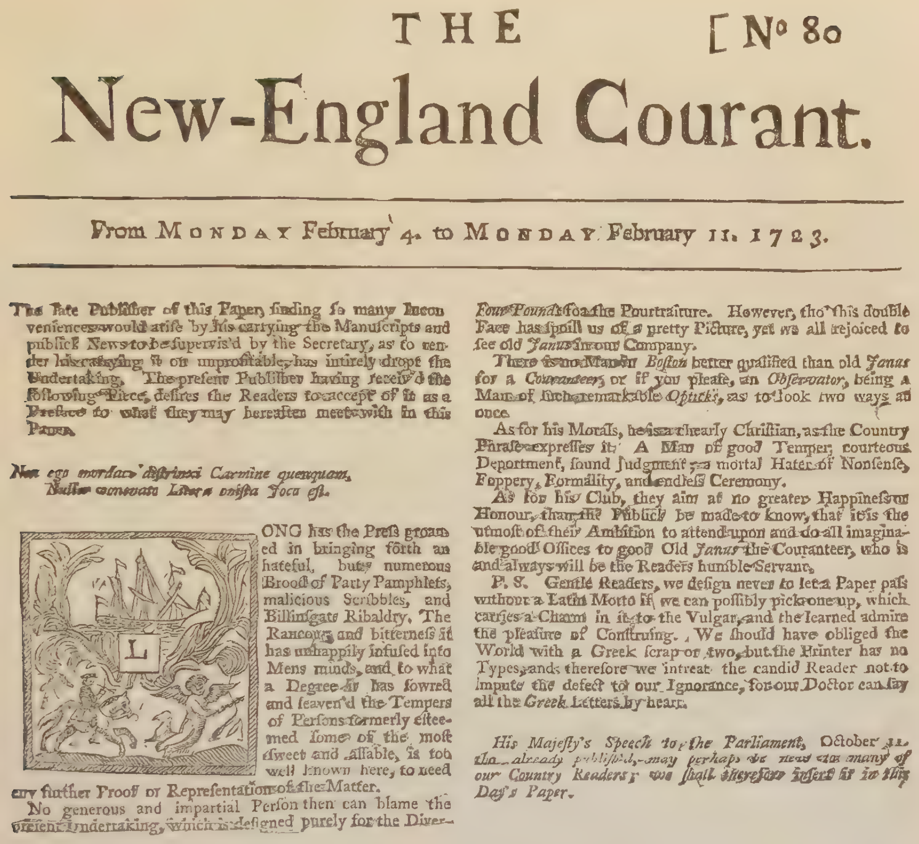
IN the year 1671, Sir William Berkeley, of Virginia, wrote, "Thank God we have neither free school nor printing press, and I hope may not for a hundred years to come." Now, in the year of grace 1886, the number of weekly and daily newspapers in the United States amounts in round numbers to 12,800, exclusive of a vast number of monthly and quarterly periodicals. These facts emphasize the difficulties first encountered in establishing the press in this country, and the incalculable power it has won for itself in two centuries. A few news sheets of small size and proportionate literary qualities, confined almost entirely to the reporting of intelligence, had been published in England for half a century, when Benjamin Harris arrived in Boston, with a reputation resting under suspicion of discontent with the existing government, if we may draw this inference from the results of his attempt in 1690 to establish the first newspaper on this continent. Harris was by profession a printer; it will be found that for nearly a century after this the editors or proprietors of the periodical press in America were printers. His printing-house was "over against the old meeting House in Cornhill," and later on opposite the "Blew Anchor;" strange spelling they must have had in Boston in those days; the famed literary atmosphere of that happy region was still inoperative, as it would seem. The last foothold of Harris' establishment was at the "Sign of the Bible," also in Cornhill. Harris styled himself "Printer to His Excellency the Gouvernor and Council."

The paper started by Harris was ostensibly printed by Richard Pierce for Benjamin Harris as proprietor; most likely this was intended as a ruse, which, however, did not pass with the authorities. The sheet was a small quarto, the fourth page blank. A copy was in existence a few years ago, and may be still in the State office at London; a fact which seems to suggest that it had attracted the attention of the home government. What opinion the colonial authorities formed of Mr. Harris' enterprise is plainly shown by their statements that it came out contrary to author-



THE MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE IN PHILADELPHIA. 1754.

[This picturesque structure was built in 1702 by Charles Read, and was used as a private dwelling for several decades. After it was converted into an Exchange it was the resort of the best people of the city. "All Philadelphia ranged round it for a quarter of a century."] —*An Old Philadelphian*, by John William Wallace.



THE [Nº 80

New-England Courant.

From MONDAY February 4. to MONDAY February 11. 1723.

The late Publiſher of this Paper, finding ſo many Inconveniences would ariſe by his carrying the Manuſcripts and publick News to be ſupervis'd by the Secretary, as to render his carrying it on unprofitable, has intirely dropt the Undertaking. The preſent Publiſher having receiv'd the following Piece, deſires the Readers to accept of it as a Preface to what they may hereafter meet with in this Paper.

Non ego mordaci diſtrinxi Carmine quenquam,
Nulla venenato Litera miſta Joco eſt.

LONG has the Preſs groaned in bringing forth an hateful, but numerous Brood of Party Pamphlets, malicious Scribbles, and Billinſgate Ribaldry. The Rancour and bitterneſs it has unhappily infuſed into Mens minds, and to what a Degree it has ſowred and leaven'd the Tempers of Perſons formerly eſteemed ſome of the moſt ſweet and affable, is too well known here, to need any further Proof or Repreſentation of the Matter.

No generous and impartial Perſon then can blame the preſent Undertaking, which is deſigned purely for the Diver-

Four Pounds for the Pourtraiture. However, tho' this double Face has ſpoil'd us of a pretty Picture, yet we all rejoiced to ſee old *Janus* in our Company.

There is no Man in *Boſton* better qualified than old *Janus* for a *Couranteer*, or if you pleaſe, an *Obſervator*, being a Man of ſuch remarkable *Opticks*, as to look two ways at once.

As for his Morals, he is a chearly Chriſtian, as the Country Phraſe expreſſes it. A Man of good Temper, courteous Deportment, ſound Judgment; a mortal Hater of Nonſenſe, Foppery, Formality, and endleſs Ceremony.

As for his Club, they aim at no greater Happineſs or Honour, than the Publick be made to know, that it is the utmoſt of their Ambition to attend upon and do all imaginable good Offices to good Old *Janus* the Couranteer, who is and always will be the Readers humble Servant.

P. S. Gentle Readers, we deſign never to let a Paper paſs without a Latin Motto if we can poſſibly pick one up, which carries a Charm in it to the Vulgar, and the learned admire the pleaſure of Conſtruing. We ſhould have obliged the World with a Greek ſcrap or two, but the Printer has no Types, and therefore we intreat the candid Reader not to impute the defect to our Ignorance, for our Doctor can ſay all the *Greek* Letters by heart.

His Majeſty's Speech to the Parliament, October 11. *tho' already publiſh'd, may perhaps be new to many of our Country Readers; we ſhall therefore inſert it in this Day's Paper.*

FAC-SIMILE OF THE HEADING OF *The New England Courant* IN 1723.

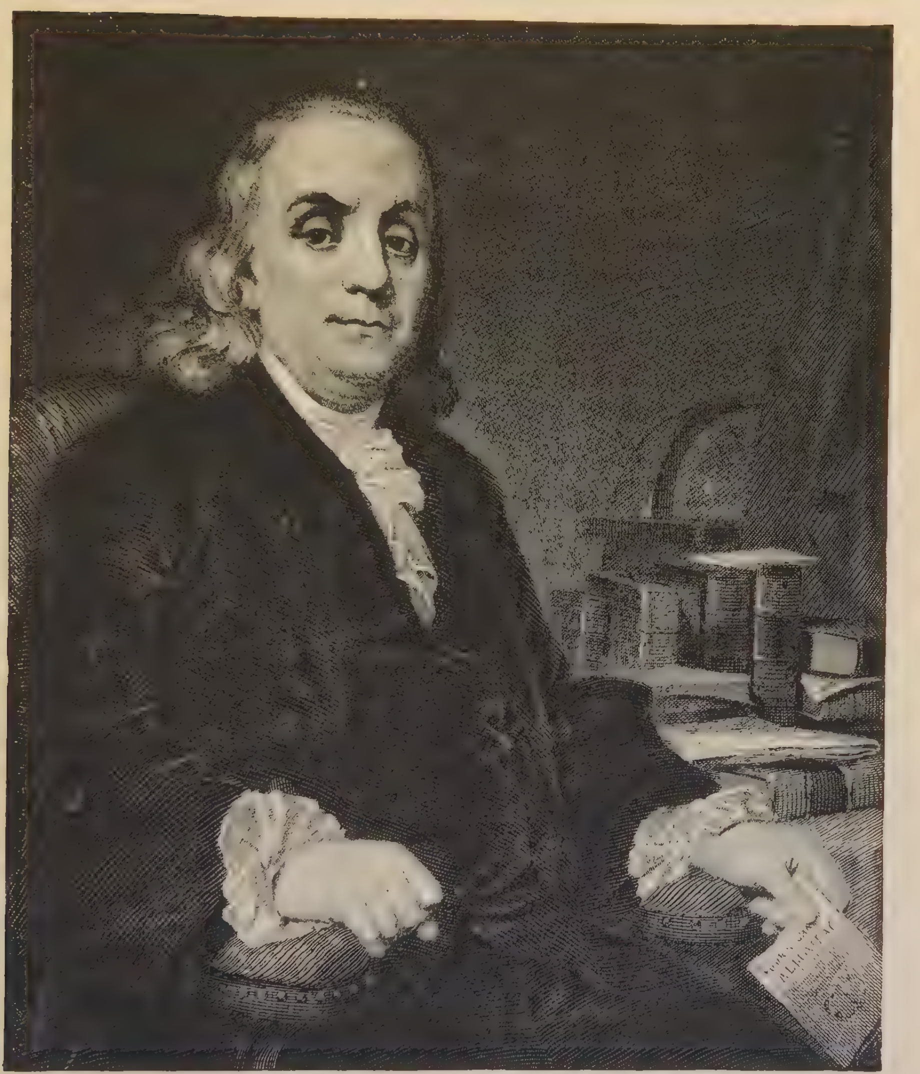
[*Engraved from the original, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

ity, containing "reflections of a very high nature." Further publication was estopped by forbidding a license to the printer. It is probable that the legislature inferred from the known character of Harris a purpose to give expression to his own radical opinions under the pretense of conveying information, for in the copy of it which I have seen it is difficult to discover anything obnoxious.

Not until April 24, 1704, did a newspaper become established in the colonies. It was called *The Boston News-Letter*, and presented a half-sheet about twelve inches by eight, printed in two columns. It was printed for several years by Bartholomew Green. John Campbell was the proprietor.

He was a Scotchman and the postmaster of Boston. Unlike Harris' paper, it placed next to the heading the potent words, "Published by Authority." The *News-Letter* was published weekly. Campbell styled himself Undertaker, a title which modern publishers would repudiate with dismay. The purpose of the *News-Letter* was merely to give intelligence, but this purpose does not seem to have been carried out with complete success, to judge from the two statements made to the subscribers. From the second we quote as follows: "The Undertaker of this *News-Letter*, the 12th January last being the Second Week of this Current Year's Intelligence, gave then Intimation that after 14 (now upwards of 15) years experience, it was impossible with half a sheet a Week to carry you all the Publick Occurrences of Europe, with those of this, our neighbouring Provinces, and the West Indies. To make up which Dificiency, and the News Newer and more acceptable, he has since Printed every other Week a Sheet, whereby that which seemed old in the former half Sheets, becomes New now by this Sheet, which is easy to be seen by any One who will be at the pains to trace back former years, and even this time 12 Months, we were then 13 Months behind with the Foreign News beyond Great Britain, and now less than Five Months. . . ."

In 1723 *The New England Courant* was started in Boston by James Franklin. It undertook to make capital by hinting that "The *News-Letter* was a dull vehicle of Intelligence." To this Campbell replied: "☞N. B. On Monday last, the 7th currant, came forth a Third Newspaper in this Town, Entituled, *The New England Courant*, by *Homo non Unius Negotii*; or, Jack of all Trades, and it would seem, Good at none; giving some very, very frothy fulsome Account of himself, but lest the continuance of that stile should offend his readers; wherein with submission, (I speak for the Publisher of this Intelligence, whose endeavours has always been to give no offence, not meddling with things out of his Province) the said Jack promises in pretence of Friendship to other News-Publishers to amend like soure Ale in Summer, Reflecting too, too much that my performances are now and then very, very Dull, Misrepresenting my candid endeavours (according to the talent of my Capacity and Education; not soaring above my sphere) in giving a true and genuine account of all Matters of Fact, both Foreign and Domestick, as comes any way well Attested, for these Seventeen Years & an half past. It is often observed, a bright morning is succeeded by a Dark Rainy Day, and so much Mercury in the beginning may end in *Album Græcum* . . . and our New Publisher being a Scholar and Master, he should (me thinks) have given us (whom he terms low, flat and dull) Admonition and told one and the other wherein our



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

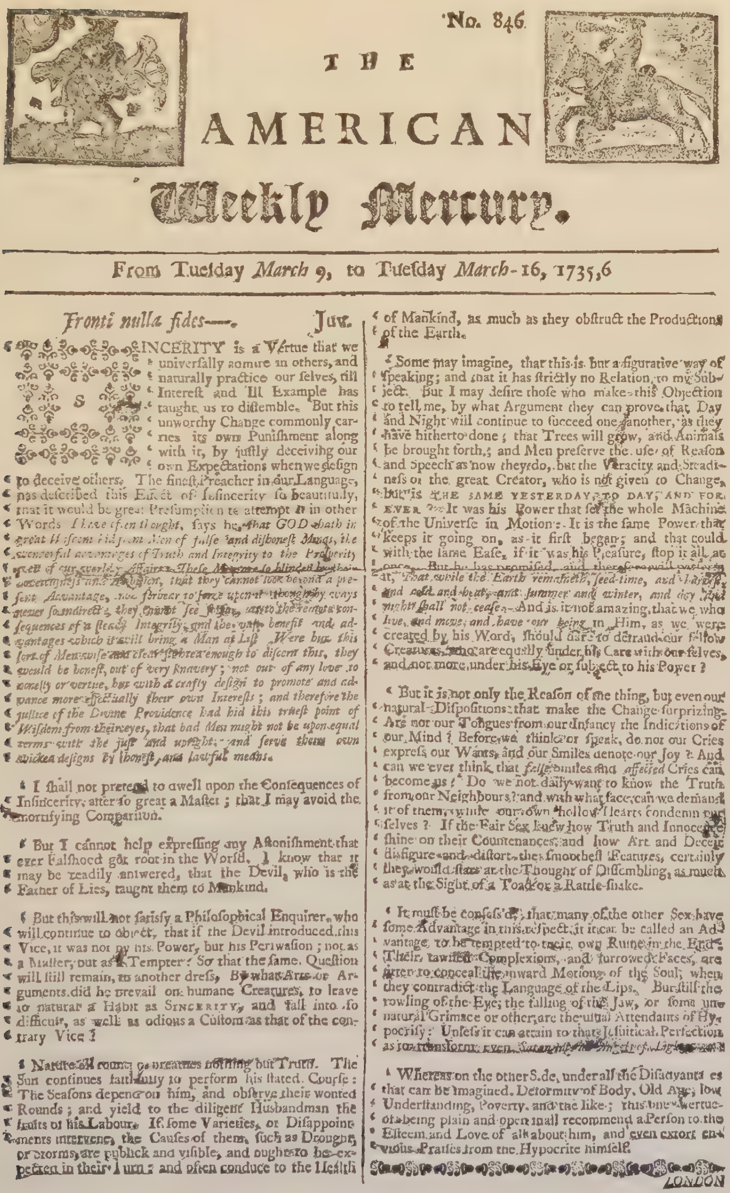
Dulness lay . . . before publick Censure, and a good example to copy and write after, and not tell us and the world at his first setting out, that he 'l be like us in doing as we have done, *Turpe est Doctori cum culpa redurgit ipsum.* And now all my Latin being spent excepting what I design always to remember *Nemo sine crimine vivit*, I promise for my part so soon as he or any Scholler will Undertake my hitherto Task, and Endeavours, giving proof that he will not be very, very Dull, I shall not only desist for his advantage, but also so far as capable Assist such a good Scribe." The exchange of compliments between the "Undertakers" of the *News-Letter* and *Courant* continued for some months, indicating that, however lacking in other respects, the editorial brethren of colonial times had about as much human nature as the editors of the present day.

Whatever were the shortcomings of the *News-Letter*, we are indebted to it for the record of numerous interesting occurrences which give us a vivid idea of the condition of life in the colonies early in the last century. It is in the *News-Letter* we find the most full account of the execution of Captain Quelch, the pirate, with six of his crew, an event which, together with the circumstances of their capture, attracted much attention at the time, and suggests a most thrilling narrative.

In 1722 Campbell gave up his enterprise in disgust, and Bartholomew Green became the editor, proprietor, and printer of the *News-Letter*. The condition of Church and State in the colony at the time was much disturbed, and the religious and political quarrels were filled with acrimony, or, as a writer of the period expressed it, "Billingsgate ribaldry . . . which soured and leavened the tempers of persons formerly esteemed some of the most sweet and amiable." Green undertook to avoid discussion, or at least partisanship, regarding these questions, and inserted an address to the public in his paper, which was now issued without the phrase "Published by Authority:" "The Design of this Paper," said the prospectus, "is not merely to Amuse the Reader; much less to Gratify any ill Tempers by Reproach or Ridicule, to Promote Contention, or Espouse any Party among us. . . . The Publisher would therefore strive to oblige all his Readers by Publishing those Transactions only, that have no Relation to any of our Quarrels, and may be equally entertaining to the greatest Adversaries."

Green appears to have been one of the few prominent editors of that century who escaped dissensions with his fellow-craftsmen of the pen and press, or prosecutions from the government. It was said of him at his death: "Bartholomew Green was a person generally known and esteemed among us, as a very humble and exemplary Christian, one who had much of that primitive Christianity which has always been the distinguishing glory of New England."

After the death of Green, the *News-Letter* was conducted successively by his son-in-law, John Draper, and his grandson, Richard Draper, and finally by the widow of the latter, Mrs. Margaret Draper. Unfortunately, the Drapers sided with the home government at the outbreak of the Revo-



No. 846.

THE

AMERICAN

Weekly Mercury.

From Tueſday *March* 9, to Tueſday *March*-16, 1735,6

Fronti nulla fides——. Juv.

‘SINCERITY is a Vertue that we univerſally admire in others, and naturally practice our ſelves, till Intereſt and Ill Example has taught us to diſſemble. But this unworthy Change commonly carries its own Puniſhment along with it, by juſtly deceiving our own Expectations when we deſign to deceive others. The fineſt Preacher in our Language, has deſcribed this Effect of Inſincerity ſo beautifully, that it would be great Preſumption to attempt it in other Words. *I have often thought*, ſays he, *that GOD hath in great Wiſdom hid from Men of falſe and diſhoneſt Minds, the wonderful advantages of Truth and Integrity to the Proſperity even of our worldly Affairs. Theſe Men are ſo blinded by their covetouſneſs and ambition, that they cannot look beyond a preſent Advantage, nor forbear to force upon it though by ways never ſo indirect; they cannot ſee ſo far, as to the remote conſequences of a ſteady Integrity, and the vaſt benefit and advantages which it will bring a Man at laſt. Were but this ſort of Men wiſe and clear ſighted enough to diſcern this, they would be honeſt, out of very knavery; not out of any love to honeſty or vertue, but with a crafty deſign to promote and advance more effectually their own Intereſts; and therefore the juſtice of the Divine Providence hath hid this trueſt point of Wiſdom from their eyes, that bad Men might not be upon equal terms with the juſt and upright, and ſerve their own wicked deſigns by honeſt and lawful means.*

‘I ſhall not pretend to dwell upon the Conſequences of Inſincerity, after ſo great a Maſter; that I may avoid the mortifying Compariſon.

‘But I cannot help expreſſing my Aſtoniſhment that ever Falſhood got root in the World. I know that it may be readily anſwered, that the Devil, who is the Father of Lies, taught them to Mankind.

‘But this will not ſatisfy a Philoſophical Enquirer, who will continue to object, that if the Devil introduced this Vice, it was not by his Power, but his Perſwaſion; not as a Maſter, but as a Tempter: So that the ſame Queſtion will ſtill remain, in another dreſs, By what Arts or Arguments did he prevail on humane Creatures, to leave ſo natural a Habit as SINCERITY, and fall into ſo difficult, as well as odious a Cuſtom as that of the contrary Vice?

‘Nature all round us breathes nothing but Truth. The Sun continues faithfully to perform his ſtated Courſe: The Seaſons depend on him, and obſerve their wonted Rounds; and yield to the diligent Huſbandman the fruits of his Labour. If ſome Varieties, or Diſappointments intervene, the Cauſes of them, ſuch as Droughts, or Storms, are publick and viſible, and ought to be expected in their Turn; and often conduce to the Health of Mankind, as much as they obſtruct the Productions of the Earth.

‘Some may imagine, that this is but a figurative way of ſpeaking; and that it has ſtrictly no Relation to my Subject. But I may deſire thoſe who make this Objection to tell me, by what Argument they can prove that Day and Night will continue to ſucceed one another, as they have hitherto done; that Trees will grow, and Animals be brought forth; and Men preſerve the uſe of Reaſon and Speech as now they do, but the Veracity and Steadineſs of the great Creator, who is not given to Change, but is THE SAME YESTERDAY, TO DAY, AND FOR EVER? It was his Power that ſet the whole Machine of the Univerſe in Motion: It is the ſame Power that keeps it going on, as it firſt began; and that could with the ſame Eaſe, if it was his Pleaſure, ſtop it all at once. But he has promiſed, and therefore will perform it, *That while the Earth remaineth, ſeed-time, and harveſt, and cold and heat, and ſummer and winter, and day and night ſhall not ceaſe.* And is it not amazing, that we who *live, and move, and have our being* in Him, as we were created by his Word, ſhould dare to defraud our fellow Creatures, who are equally under his Care with our ſelves, and not more under his Eye or ſubject to his Power?

‘But it is not only the Reaſon of the thing, but even our natural Diſpoſitions that make the Change ſurprizing. Are not our Tongues from our Infancy the Indications of our Mind? Before we think or ſpeak, do not our Cries expreſs our Wants, and our Smiles denote our Joy? And can we ever think that *falſe* Smiles and *affected* Cries can become us? Do we not daily want to know the Truth from our Neighbours? and with what face can we demand it of them, while our own hollow Hearts condemn our ſelves? If the Fair Sex knew how Truth and Innocence ſhine on their Countenances, and how Art and Deceit disfigure and diſtort the ſmootheſt Features, certainly they would ſtart at the Thought of Diſſembling, as much as at the Sight of a Toad or a Rattle-ſnake.

‘It muſt be confeſs'd, that many of the other Sex have ſome Advantage in this reſpect, if it can be called an Advantage, to be tempted to their own Ruine in the End. Their tawny Complexions, and furrowed Faces, are fitter to conceal the inward Motions of the Soul, when they contradict the Language of the Lips. But ſtill the rowling of the Eye, the falling of the Jaw, or ſome unnatural Grimace or other, are the uſual Attendants of Hypocriſy: Unleſs it can attain to that Jeſuitical Perfection as to transform even *Satan into an Angel of Light.*

‘Whereas on the other Side, under all the Diſadvantages that can be imagined, Deformity of Body, Old Age, low Underſtanding, Poverty, and the like; this one Vertue of being plain and open ſhall recommend a Perſon to the Eſteem and Love of all about him, and even extort envious Praiſes from the Hypocrite himſelf.

LONDON

FAC-SIMILE OF RARE COPY OF THE *Mercury*: 1735.

[*Engraved from very rare original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

lution, and after the evacuation of Boston by the British forces, the paper ceased to exist, in 1776. Under the management of the Drapers it continued to be a respectable sheet, entering temperately into the discussion of the topics of the time, both literary and political. Its pages, although less spicy than some of its contemporaries, still afford much entertaining matter to us of a later age, as in the accompanying extract from an advertisement, giving one a vivid idea of the old-time methods of doing business. " Advertisement. The Bell Cart will go through Boston before the end of next month, to collect rags for the Paper-mill at Milton, when all people that will encourage the Paper Manufactory, may dispose of them. . . ."

We also subjoin an extract from a characteristic criticism on the Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms, relating to the lines :

"No longer let the wicked vaunt,
And proudly boasting say,
Tush, God regards not what we do."

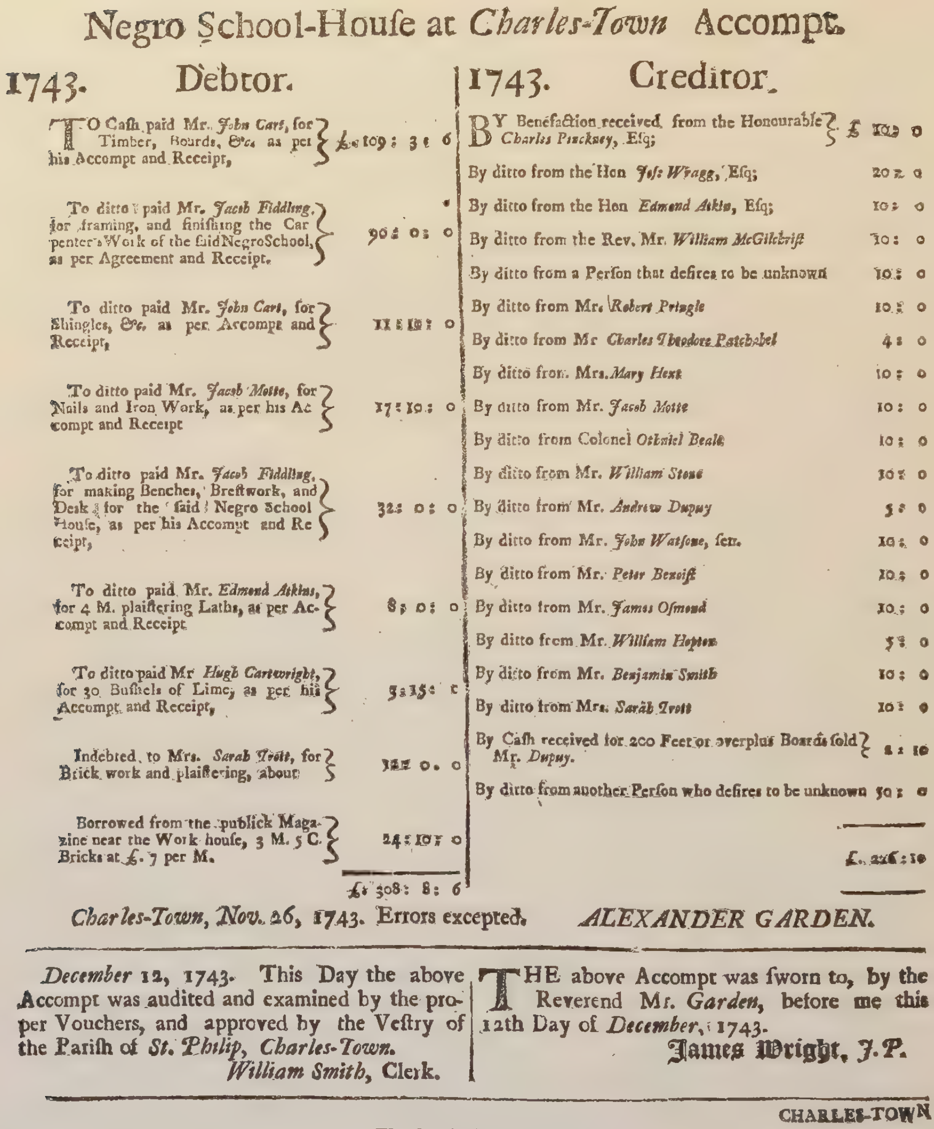
" To hear a man cry Tush, in a prayer to GOD, you would think him extremely impolite, or vain, or beside himself. How much more oddly will this sound in the midst of the devotions of a great assembly? To hear them, both men and women, singing T-U-S-SH, whether Treble, Base, or Tenor ; 'twill be difficult for the more lively part of the congregation to keep from smiling. And the idea this raises in me is so disagreeable, that I should not wonder if this were called the *Tush version.*"

The New England Courant pursued altogether a different course from the pacific policy of Bartholomew Green, in the *News-Letter*. The *Courant* was founded by James Franklin, and it was sensational from the outset, being one of the first newspapers which anywhere undertook a serious departure from the mere purpose of reporting news. Controversial in tone, it sought to influence opinion, and attacked the provincial government, the clergy, and even private individuals, without fear and often with intemperate zeal. The *Courant* came into collision with the clergy, first on the question of inoculation for the small-pox, a method it violently opposed with lampoons of a character scarcely less violent than the disease which suggested these polemic tactics. One is amazed at the lengths reached both by Franklin and his opponents, trying to outdo each other in flinging abuse. The times are certainly modified since then, for no paper would now be permitted such license of speech. The clergy asserted and were believed by some—for those were the palmy days of witchcraft and the Mathers—that the *Courant* was " carried on by a Hell-Fire club, with a Non-Juror at the head of them."

The upshot of the controversy was, that Franklin was thrown in jail, where he lay several weeks. In 1722, the boldness of the *Courant* in its attacks against the government and the religious precepts of the colonial clergy, moved the legislature to appoint a special committee to examine and report what action should be taken to provide a remedy for what was considered a public evil and danger. Franklin was thereby enjoined to issue no number of the *Courant* without previous official inspection and approval. He evaded the difficulty much as men in difficulties now get around injunctions of the law, by issuing his paper in the name of his younger brother, Benjamin Franklin, then an apprentice and a minor. The authorities winked at the evasion, and the *Courant* continued to live for three years more.

Another characteristic figure in the editorial annals of New England was Thomas Fleet, who was a native of England. He arrived in Boston in 1712, and opened a printing-office in Pudding Lane, where he had the distinguished honor of first introducing the famous *Mother Goose* to the world. In 1731, he built himself a mansion on the corner of Water Street, indicating prosperity in business, having for his sign a heart and crown. In this building he lived with his family, prosecuted printing and editing, and maintained a shop and an auction room. He was evidently a genuine Yankee in enterprise and versatility. In 1733, Fleet became the proprietor of the weekly entitled *The Rehearsal*, but two years later he changed its name to *The Boston Evening Post*. He was possessed of a vein of keen, coarse wit that was suited to the times, and aided the popularity of the *Post*. The squibs, lampoons and advertisements in its columns bear internal evidence of being the productions of the indefatigable Fleet. We find the following, for example: " To be sold by the Printer of this paper, the very best Negro Woman in this Town, who has had the small-pox and the measles; is as hearty as a Horse, as brisk as a Bird, and will work like a Beaver. *Aug.* 23, 1742."

In this advertisement we are forcibly reminded of the former existence of slavery in the Northern States of America, and also of a curious indication, that at that period at least, the welfare of the slave in America was more carefully considered in some parts of the South than in the North. We refer to the fact, that in South Carolina, during the colonial period, there were schools for slaves, under the auspices of the churches. We give here a reduced fac-simile of a statement of account of a negro school, which appeared in *The South Carolina Gazette*. We also quote from *The*



Negro School-Houſe at *Charles-Town* Accompt.

1743. Debtor.	
TO Caſh paid Mr. *John Cart*, for Timber, Boards, &c. as per his Accompt and Receipt,	£. 109 : 3 : 6
To ditto paid Mr. *Jacob Fiddling*, for framing, and finiſhing the Carpenter's Work of the ſaid Negro School, as per Agreement and Receipt.	90 : 0 : 0
To ditto paid Mr. *John Cart*, for Shingles, &c. as per Accompt and Receipt,	11 : 10 : 0
To ditto paid Mr. *Jacob Motte*, for Nails and Iron Work, as per his Accompt and Receipt	17 : 10 : 0
To ditto paid Mr. *Jacob Fiddling*, for making Benches, Breſtwork, and Desk for the ſaid Negro School Houſe, as per his Accompt and Receipt,	32 : 0 : 0
To ditto paid Mr. *Edmond Atkins*, for 4 M. plaiſtering Laths, as per Accompt and Receipt	8 : 0 : 0
To ditto paid Mr *Hugh Cartwright*, for 30 Buſhels of Lime, as per his Accompt and Receipt,	5 : 15 : 0
Indebted to Mrs. *Sarah Trott*, for Brick work and plaiſtering, about	12 : 0 : 0
Borrowed from the publick Magazine near the Work-houſe, 3 M. 5 C. Bricks at £. 7 per M.	24 : 10 : 0
	£. 308 : 8 : 6

1743. Creditor.	
BY Benefaction received from the Honourable *Charles Pinckney*, Eſq;	£ 10 : 0
By ditto from the Hon *Joſ: Wragg*, Eſq;	20 : 0
By ditto from the Hon *Edmond Atkin*, Eſq;	10 : 0
By ditto from the Rev. Mr. *William McGilchriſt*	10 : 0
By ditto from a Perſon that deſires to be unknown	10 : 0
By ditto from Mr. *Robert Pringle*	10 : 0
By ditto from Mr *Charles Theodore Patchabel*	4 : 0
By ditto from Mrs. *Mary Hext*	10 : 0
By ditto from Mr. *Jacob Motte*	10 : 0
By ditto from Colonel *Othniel Beale*	10 : 0
By ditto from Mr. *William Stone*	10 : 0
By ditto from Mr. *Andrew Dupuy*	5 : 0
By ditto from Mr. *John Watſone*, ſen.	10 : 0
By ditto from Mr. *Peter Benoiſt*	10 : 0
By ditto from Mr. *James Oſmond*	10 : 0
By ditto from Mr. *William Hopton*	5 : 0
By ditto from Mr. *Benjamin Smith*	10 : 0
By ditto from Mrs. *Sarah Trott*	10 : 0
By Caſh received for 200 Feet of overplus Boards ſold Mr. *Dupuy*.	2 : 10
By ditto from another Perſon who deſires to be unknown	50 : 0
	£. 226 : 10

Charles-Town, Nov. 26, 1743. Errors excepted. *ALEXANDER GARDEN.*

December 12, 1743. This Day the above Accompt was audited and examined by the proper Vouchers, and approved by the Veſtry of the Pariſh of *St. Philip, Charles-Town.*
William Smith, Clerk.

THE above Accompt was ſworn to, by the Reverend Mr. *Garden*, before me this 12th Day of *December*, 1743.
James Wright, *J.P.*

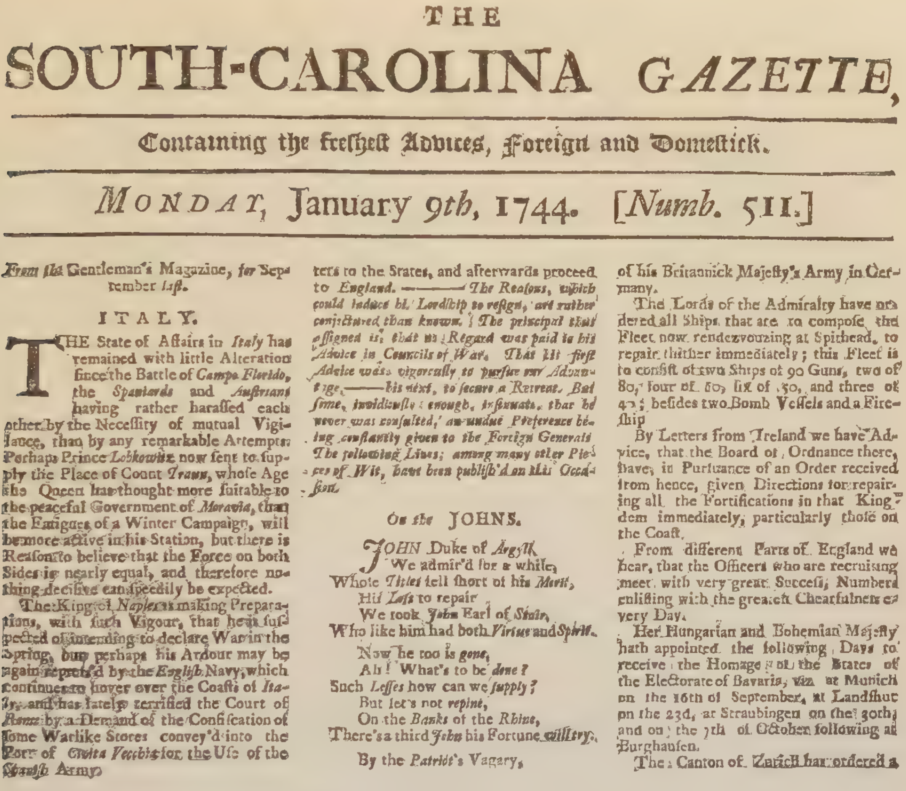
CHARLES-TOWN

FROM *The South Carolina Gazette.*

[*Engraved from the original, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

Boston Evening Post, a clever riddle, once well known, but now apparently forgotten.

"One morning as I walked to take the air,
I chanced to overtake two ladies fair ;



THE

SOUTH-CAROLINA *GAZETTE,*

Containing the freſheſt Advices, Foreign and Domeſtick.

MONDAY, January *9th*, 1744. [*Numb.* 511.]

From the Gentleman's Magazine, *for September laſt.*

ITALY.

THE State of Affairs in *Italy* has remained with little Alteration ſince the Battle of *Campo Florido*, the *Spaniards* and *Auſtrians* having rather haraſſed each other by the Neceſſity of mutual Vigilance, than by any remarkable Attempts. Perhaps Prince *Lobkowitz* now ſent to ſupply the Place of Count *Traun*, whoſe Age the Queen has thought more ſuitable to the peaceful Government of *Moravia*, than the Fatigues of a Winter Campaign, will be more active in his Station, but there is Reaſon to believe that the Force on both Sides is nearly equal, and therefore nothing deciſive can ſpeedily be expected.

The King of *Naples* is making Preparations, with ſuch Vigour, that he is ſuſpected of intending to declare War in the Spring, but perhaps his Ardour may be again repreſs'd by the *Engliſh* Navy, which continues to hover over the Coaſts of *Italy*, and has lately terrified the Court of *Rome* by a Demand of the Confiſcation of ſome Warlike Stores convey'd into the Port of *Civita Vecchia* for the Uſe of the *Spaniſh* Army

ters to the States, and afterwards proceed to *England.* ——— *The Reaſons, which could induce his Lordſhip to reſign, are rather conjectured than known. The principal that aſſigned is, that no Regard was paid to his Advice in Councils of War. That his firſt Advice was vigorouſly to purſue our Advantage,* ——— *his next, to ſecure a Retreat. But ſome, invidiouſly enough, inſinuate, that he never was conſulted, an undue Preference being conſtantly given to the Foreign Generals The following Lines; among many other Pieces of Wit, have been publiſh'd on this Occaſion.*

On the JOHNS.

JOHN Duke of *Argyll*
We admir'd for a while,
Whoſe *Titles* fell ſhort of his *Merit*,
His *Loſs* to repair
We took *John* Earl of *Stair*,
Who like him had both *Virtue* and *Spirit*.

Now he too is *gone*,
Ah! What's to be *done*?
Such *Loſſes* how can we *ſupply*?
But let's not *repine*,
On the *Banks* of the *Rhine*,
There's a third *John* his Fortune *will try*.

By the *Patriot's* Vagary.

of his Britannick Majeſty's Army in Germany.

The Lords of the Admiralty have ordered all Ships that are to compoſe the Fleet now rendezvouzing at Spithead, to repair thither immediately; this Fleet is to conſiſt of two Ships of 90 Guns, two of 80, four of 60, ſix of 50, and three of 40; beſides two Bomb Veſſels and a Fire-ſhip

By Letters from Ireland we have Advice, that the Board of Ordnance there, have, in Purſuance of an Order received from hence, given Directions for repairing all the Fortifications in that Kingdom immediately, particularly thoſe on the Coaſt.

From different Parts of England we hear, that the Officers who are recruiting meet with very great Succeſs, Numbers enliſting with the greateſt Chearfulneſs every Day.

Her Hungarian and Bohemian Majeſty hath appointed the following Days to receive the Homage of the States of the Electorate of Bavaria, viz. at Munich on the 16th of September, at Landſhut on the 23d, at Straubingen on the 30th, and on the 7th of October following at Burghauſen.

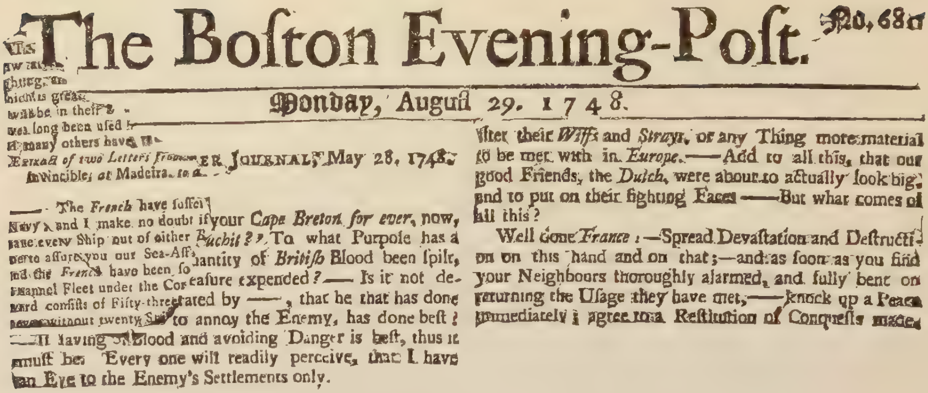
The Canton of Zurich has ordered a

FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING OF *The South Carolina Gazette:* 1774.

[*Engraved from the original, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

Each by the hand a lovely boy did lead,
To whom in courteous manner thus I said:
Ladies, so far oblige me as to shew
How near a kin these lads are unto you;
They smiling, quickly made me this reply:
Sons to our sons they are we can't deny;
Tho' it seems strange they're each our husband's brother,
And likewise each is uncle to the other.
They both begot in wedlock were;
And neither mothers and grand mothers are;
Now try if you this mystery can declare."

One of the most interesting among the figures of the colonial period, as well as one of the most talented editors this country has produced, was Isaiah Thomas, who is well remembered for the almanac he founded, which



The Boſton Evening-Poſt. No, 680

Monday, Auguſt 29. 1748.

your *Cape Breton for ever*, now, *Buchit*?? To what Purpoſe has a antity of *Britiſh* Blood been ſpilt, eaſure expended? —— Is it not de- ated by ——, that he that has done to annoy the Enemy, has done beſt! laving Blood and avoiding Danger is beſt, thus it muſt be. Every one will readily perceive, that I have an Eye to the Enemy's Settlements only.

after their *Wiffs* and *Strays*, or any Thing more material to be met with in *Europe*. —— Add to all this, that our good Friends, the *Dutch*, were about to actually look big, and to put on their fighting Faces —— But what comes of all this?

Well done *France*! — Spread Devaſtation and Deſtruction on this hand and on that; — and as ſoon as you find your Neighbours thoroughly alarmed, and fully bent on returning the Uſage they have met, —— knock up a Peace immediately; agree to a Reſtitution of Conqueſts made,

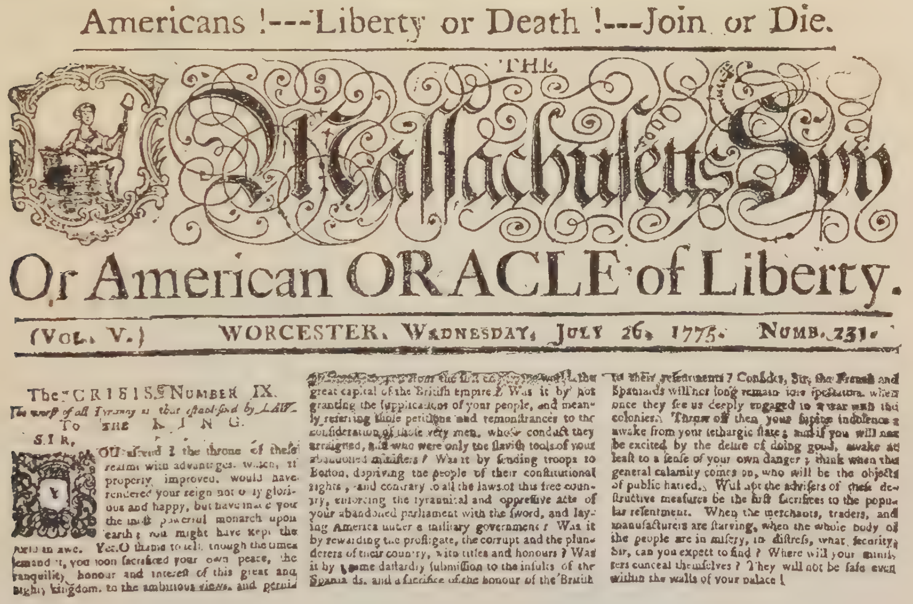
FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING OF *The Boston Evening Post*, IN 1748.

[*Engraved from the original, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

is still published with his name, and yet carefully studied, as it has been for five generations, by the farmers and fishermen of New England. Mr. Thomas was born in 1749, and at the tender age of six years was apprenticed to Zechariah Fowle, a printer, and placed at setting types. He was probably the youngest printer on record. After eleven years' apprenticeship, Thomas set out to seek his fortune, and wandered from the West Indies to Nova Scotia, finally drifting back to Boston, where he entered into partnership with his former master, Fowle. They started a tri-weekly, called *The Massachusetts Spy*. In three months the partnership was dissolved, and Thomas enlarged and continued the paper, and took for his motto "Open to all parties but influenced by none." The title stood between two symbolical cuts. In a short time the new periodical had distanced all its competitors in its subscription list. The *Spy* was open to articles by the ablest writers of New England, representing both sides of the great political question then raging. But Thomas was himself a Whig, and this fact gradually brought about a change in the policy of the paper, which from being a neutral became an organ of the Whigs. It is always difficult, then as now, to maintain neutrality in a fight, or to carry water in two buckets without spilling.

The acts of the British government were criticised in the *Spy* with great boldness, and on one occasion, Governor Hutchinson ordered the attorney-general to prosecute Thomas, but the grand jury failed to find cause for indictment. As armed hostilities drew nearer, the Tories became more incensed against the unflinching course of the *Spy*, and a few days before the battle of Lexington, Thomas packed his press and types, and conveyed them by night to Worcester. All his other property was destroyed.

On the 18th of April, Thomas engaged with Paul Revere and his associates in giving information of the march of the British on Concord. After these transactions, he proceeded to Worcester, and four weeks later resumed the publication of the *Spy* in that city, where it has been published to this time, with the exception of the year 1776–7, when it was issued in Boston,



Americans !---Liberty or Death !---Join or Die.

THE Maſſachuſetts Spy

Or American ORACLE of Liberty.

(VOL. V.) WORCESTER, WEDNESDAY, JULY 26, 1775. NUMB. 231.

The CRISIS. NUMBER IX.

The worſt of all Tyranny is that eſtabliſh'd by LAW.

TO THE KING.

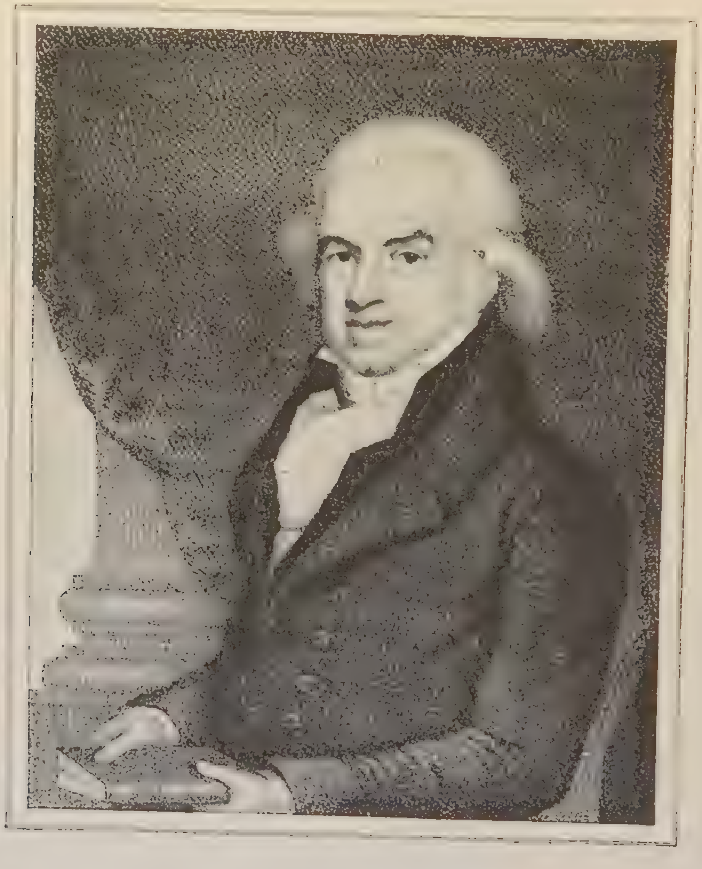
SIR,

YOU aſcend[ed] the throne of theſe realms with advantages, which, if properly improved, would have rendered your reign not only glorious and happy, but have made you the moſt powerful monarch upon earth; you might have kept the world in awe. Yet, O ſhame to tell, though the times demand it, you ſoon ſacrificed your own peace, the tranquility, honour and intereſt of this great and mighty kingdom, to the ambitious views, and pernici[illegible] from the [illegible] the great capital of the Britiſh empire? Was it by not granting the ſupplications of your people, and meanly referring thoſe petitions and remonſtrances to the conſideration of thoſe very men, whoſe conduct they arraigned, and who were only the ſlaviſh tools of your abandoned miniſters? Was it by ſending troops to Boſton, depriving the people of their conſtitutional rights, and contrary to all the laws of this free country, enforcing the tyrannical and oppreſſive acts of your abandoned parliament with the ſword, and laying America under a military government? Was it by rewarding the profligate, the corrupt and the plunderers of their country, with titles and honours? Was it by ſome daſtardly ſubmiſſion to the inſults of the Spaniards, and a ſacrifice of the honour of the Britiſh to their reſentment? Conſider, Sir, the French and Spaniards will not long remain idle ſpectators, when once they ſee us deeply engaged in a war with the colonies. Throw off then your ſupine indolence; awake from your lethargic ſtate; and if you will not be excited by the deſire of doing good, awake at leaſt to a ſenſe of your own danger; think when the general calamity comes on, who will be the objects of public hatred. Will not the adviſers of theſe deſtructive meaſures be the firſt ſacrifices to the popular reſentment. When the merchants, traders, and manufacturers are ſtarving, when the whole body of the people are in miſery, in diſtreſs, what ſecurity, Sir, can you expect to find? Where will your miniſters conceal themſelves? They will not be ſafe even within the walls of your palace!

FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING TO THE *Spy*: 1775.

[*Engraved from the original, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

and a temporary suspension in 1786, on account of the Stamp Act. Thomas established papers in several towns of New England, and engaged in many other enterprises, being the founder of the American Antiquarian Society, and member of numerous benevolent associations, as well as a justice of the Court of Sessions. He also had business relations in many cities, both North and South. He will, perhaps, be chiefly remembered for his *History of Printing*, a work indicating a vast amount of labor. In its invaluable records of printing in North America, it resembles Dunlap's *Arts of Design in the United States*, although of more weight and character. Mr. Thomas died in Worcester in 1831, aged eighty-two years. Lincoln, in his *History of Worcester*, well says of him: "His reputation in future time will rest, as a patriot, on the manly independence, which gave—through the initiatory stages and progress of the Revolution—the strong influence of the press he directed, toward the cause of freedom, when royal flattery would have seduced, and the power of government subdued its action."



ISAIAH THOMAS.

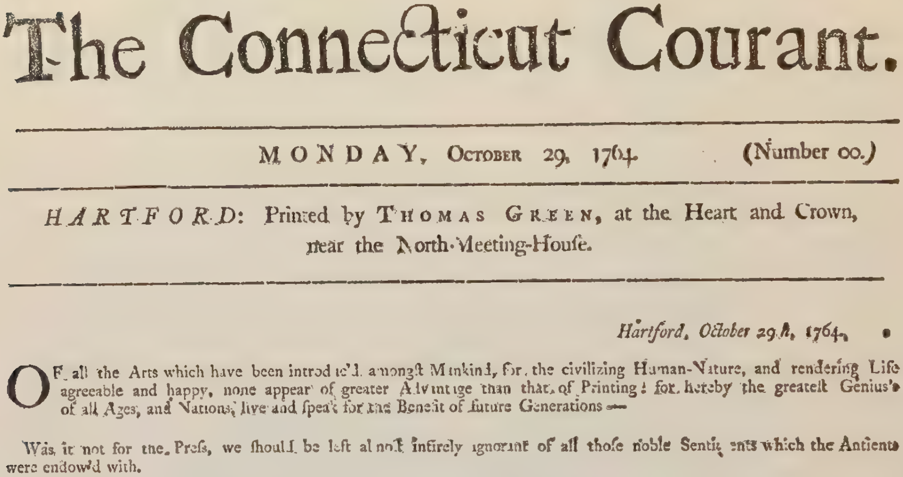
In considering the career of Isaiah Thomas amid the stirring events of the opening Revolution, we are reminded of one of the strong men whose fame is associated with the American press, who, although coming on the stage toward the close of that struggle, imbibed from the Revolution a certain breezy vigor and indomitable will that made him a power in the country. We refer to Benjamin Russell, the founder of *The*

Massachusetts Centinel, and in his time one of the stanchest upholders of the fame of General Washington. Russell, when a mere lad, took a fancy to frequenting the printing-office of Isaiah Thomas, out of school hours, and there gained a taste for the pursuit he afterward adopted. One morning, the celebrated 19th of April, 1775, the boys in school heard the roll of drums, and the tread of British troops marching on the way to Concord. Master Carter said to his pupils: "Boys, the war's begun, and you may run!" Rushing forth from the school-room, the lads followed the troops across the Cambridge bridge. But when they desired to return at evening, they found the bridge removed. Thus unexpectedly banished from home, young Russell joined the militia as an assistant to the officers, and was a witness of the Battle of Bunker Hill. In the following August, Russell met his father on Cambridge Common. The elder Russell manifested his extreme gratification on meeting his son by giving him a severe flogging and then carrying him to Worcester, where he apprenticed him in the office of *The Massachusetts Spy*. In those days, both Thomas and his apprentices lived chiefly on milk and bread, bought by the pennyworth; times were hard indeed.

The Declaration of Independence was not in its immediate results altogether beneficial to Russell, for when it arrived in Worcester, it was read by Thomas in public with such universal enthusiasm, that the feeling could only find adequate expression by liberal libations of punch. In consequence, Russell and sixteen of his companions, while under the influence of these patriotic potations, enlisted in the army. But Thomas would not permit his apprentice to leave him in this way, and had him discharged on the ground of not being yet sixteen. While yet in his teens, Russell showed indications of the bent of his talents, by publishing a number of anonymous editorials in the *Spy* which attracted much attention. Later on, he joined the army again, and was one of the guards who attended Major André to the scene of execution. After the departure of the British from New York, Mr. Russell established *The Massachusetts Centinel*, and soon became prominent in the editorial and political conflicts and successes of the country, an eminence he long maintained, being a strong Federalist. He interested himself in numerous philanthropic enterprises, living until January, 1844.

Among other newspapers, which acquired some prominence in colonial times in New England, was *The Essex Gazette*, founded at Salem, in August, 1768. With various alterations and removals, it continues to be published there with commendable vigor. It is characteristic of that old town that *The Salem Register*, which was established in May, 1800, is still printed in the same office that it has occupied for fifty-four consecutive years, probably the only example of such stability in the history of the American newspaper press. *The Connecticut Courant*, the third newspaper in that colony, was first issued in December, 1764, by Thomas Green, and continued successively by Ebenezer Watson, and after his death by his widow. At the outset, not unfavorable to the king, it soon wheeled into line as a patriot sheet, and gained much importance at the time the publication of such papers was forbidden in New York. It is still published and ably conducted in Hartford.

The small and widely scattered population in most of the Southern States in the pre-Revolutionary period seemed to create less demand, and offer less opportunity for newspapers than in any other section of the country, and this may, in part, account for the very much larger power that individual influence has always obtained in the South than in the North. We find that only two newspapers were founded in Virginia previous to 1775, both published at Williamsburg; of these, the first was *The Virginia Gazette*, which appeared in 1736, and continued until 1750. Three short-lived newspapers were issued during the same period in North Carolina, and four in South Carolina and Georgia, of which the most important appears to have been *The South Carolina Gazette*. It was first published January 8, 1731, by Thomas Whitmarsh, and continued an active and influential journal until the year 1800.



The Connecticut Courant.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1764. (Number 00.)

HARTFORD: Printed by THOMAS GREEN, at the Heart and Crown,
near the North-Meeting-Houſe.

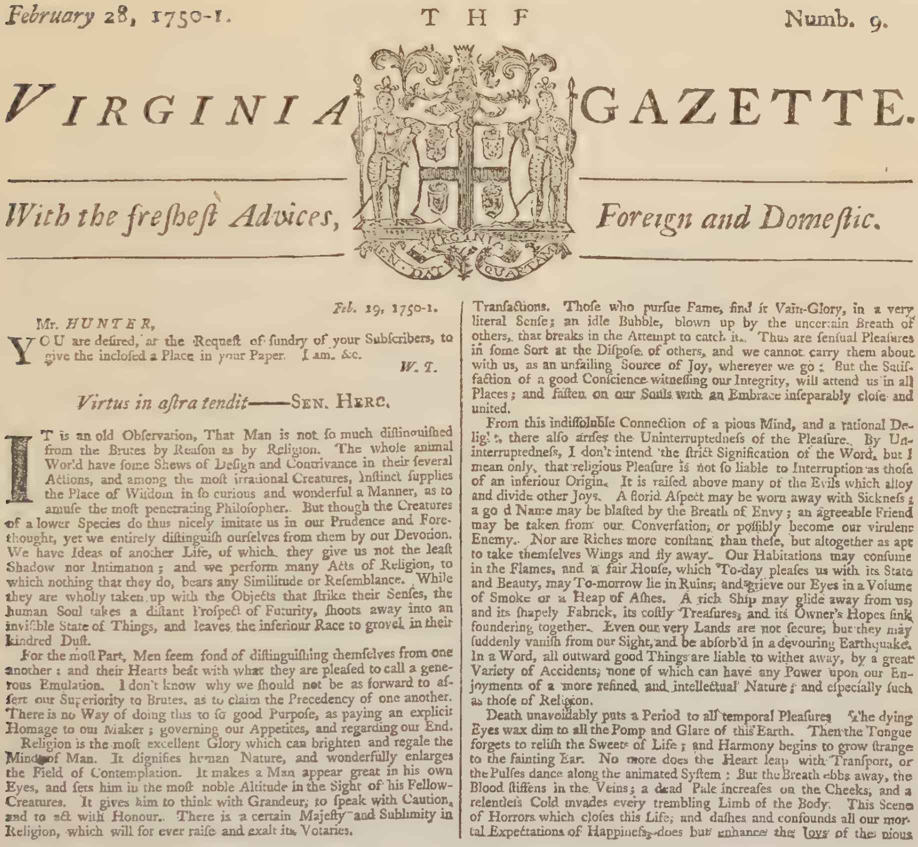
Hartford, October 29th, 1764.

OF all the Arts which have been introduc'd amongſt Mankind, for the civilizing Human-Nature, and rendering Life agreeable and happy, none appear of greater Advantage than that of Printing: for hereby the greateſt Genius's of all Ages, and Nations, live and ſpeak for the Benefit of future Generations—

Was it not for the Preſs, we ſhould be left almoſt intirely ignorant of all thoſe noble Sentiments which the Antients were endow'd with.

FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING OF THE OLD *Connecticut Courant*: 1764.

[*Engraved from the original, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]


EN DAT VIRGINIA QUARTAM

February 28, 1750-1. THE Numb. 9.

VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

With the freſheſt Advices, Foreign and Domeſtic.

Feb. 19, 1750-1.

Mr. *HUNTER*,

YOU are deſired, at the Requeſt of ſundry of your Subſcribers, to give the incloſed a Place in your Paper. I am, &c.

W. T.

Virtus in aſtra tendit——SEN. HERC.

IT is an old Obſervation, That Man is not ſo much diſtinguiſhed from the Brutes by Reaſon as by Religion. The whole animal World have ſome Shews of Deſign and Contrivance in their ſeveral Actions, and among the moſt irrational Creatures, Inſtinct ſupplies the Place of Wiſdom in ſo curious and wonderful a Manner, as to amuſe the moſt penetrating Philoſopher. But though the Creatures of a lower Species do thus nicely imitate us in our Prudence and Forethought, yet we entirely diſtinguiſh ourſelves from them by our Devotion. We have Ideas of another Life, of which they give us not the leaſt Shadow nor Intimation; and we perform many Acts of Religion, to which nothing that they do, bears any Similitude or Reſemblance. While they are wholly taken up with the Objects that ſtrike their Senſes, the human Soul takes a diſtant Proſpect of Futurity, ſhoots away into an inviſible State of Things, and leaves the inferiour Race to grovel in their kindred Duſt.

For the moſt Part, Men ſeem fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves from one another: and their Hearts beat with what they are pleaſed to call a generous Emulation. I don't know why we ſhould not be as forward to aſſert our Superiority to Brutes, as to claim the Precedency of one another. There is no Way of doing this to ſo good Purpoſe, as paying an explicit Homage to our Maker; governing our Appetites, and regarding our End.

Religion is the moſt excellent Glory which can brighten and regale the Mind of Man. It dignifies human Nature, and wonderfully enlarges the Field of Contemplation. It makes a Man appear great in his own Eyes, and ſets him in the moſt noble Altitude in the Sight of his Fellow-Creatures. It gives him to think with Grandeur; to ſpeak with Caution, and to act with Honour. There is a certain Majeſty and Sublimity in Religion, which will for ever raiſe and exalt its Votaries.

Tranſactions. Thoſe who purſue Fame, find it Vain-Glory, in a very literal Senſe; an idle Bubble, blown up by the uncertain Breath of others, that breaks in the Attempt to catch it. Thus are ſenſual Pleaſures in ſome Sort at the Diſpoſe of others, and we cannot carry them about with us, as an unfailing Source of Joy, wherever we go: But the Satiſfaction of a good Conſcience witneſſing our Integrity, will attend us in all Places; and faſten on our Souls with an Embrace inſeparably cloſe and united.

From this indiſſoluble Connection of a pious Mind, and a rational Delight, there alſo ariſes the Uninterruptedneſs of the Pleaſure. By Uninterruptedneſs, I don't intend the ſtrict Signification of the Word, but I mean only, that religious Pleaſure is not ſo liable to Interruption as thoſe of an inferiour Origin. It is raiſed above many of the Evils which alloy and divide other Joys. A florid Aſpect may be worn away with Sickneſs; a good Name may be blaſted by the Breath of Envy; an agreeable Friend may be taken from our Converſation, or poſſibly become our virulent Enemy. Nor are Riches more conſtant than theſe, but altogether as apt to take themſelves Wings and fly away. Our Habitations may conſume in the Flames, and a fair Houſe, which To-day pleaſes us with its State and Beauty, may To-morrow lie in Ruins, and grieve our Eyes in a Volume of Smoke or a Heap of Aſhes. A rich Ship may glide away from us, and its ſhapely Fabrick, its coſtly Treaſures, and its Owner's Hopes ſink foundering together. Even our very Lands are not ſecure; but they may ſuddenly vaniſh from our Sight, and be abſorb'd in a devouring Earthquake. In a Word, all outward good Things are liable to wither away, by a great Variety of Accidents; none of which can have any Power upon our Enjoyments of a more refined and intellectual Nature; and eſpecially ſuch as thoſe of Religion.

Death unavoidably puts a Period to all temporal Pleaſures. The dying Eyes wax dim to all the Pomp and Glare of this Earth. Then the Tongue forgets to reliſh the Sweets of Life; and Harmony begins to grow ſtrange to the fainting Ear. No more does the Heart leap with Tranſport, or the Pulſes dance along the animated Syſtem: But the Breath ebbs away, the Blood ſtiffens in the Veins; a dead Pale increaſes on the Cheeks, and a relentleſs Cold invades every trembling Limb of the Body. This Scene of Horrors which cloſes this Life, and daſhes and confounds all our mortal Expectations of Happineſs, does but enhance the Joys of the pious

FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING OF *The Virginia Gazette*: 1750.

[*Engraved from the original, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

In Maryland considerable enterprise distinguished the colonial newspaper press. *The Maryland Gazette* seems, from inferential evidence, to have first appeared in 1727; there is no question that in June, 1728, it had already been published some little time, and continued until 1736. *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, which was founded in 1773, gained prominence through its editor, William Goddard, who in 1762 published *The Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, and afterward *The Pennsylvania Chronicle.* Being through various unfortunate ventures unable to conduct the paper in his own name, it appeared as under the management of his sister. The Whig Club of Baltimore took violent exception to certain anonymous sarcastic articles on the relations between Congress and the mother country. The club reasoned that these articles were of a dangerous and mischievous character. They demanded the name of the author, and were referred by his sister, the publisher, to Goddard, who stated that the author could not be produced, being out of town. A committee of the club then by violence carried Goddard to the club rooms, where a resolution was passed, giving him until twelve of the morrow to quit the town, and three days to leave the county, on pain of severe results.

WILLIAM GODDARD.

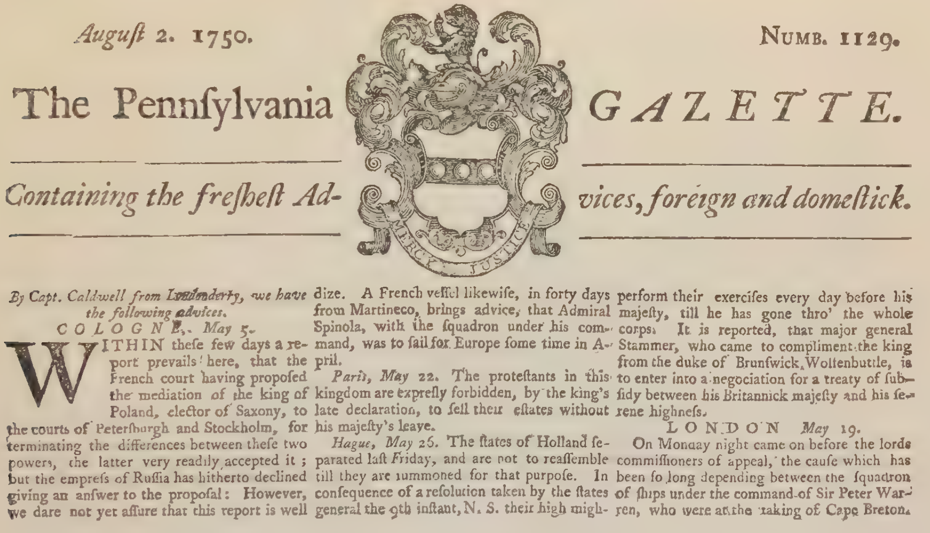
[*From a rare print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

Goddard went to Annapolis and lodged a complaint in a memorial to the legislature. By their request the governor issued a proclamation, strongly condemning the high-handed and illegal action of the club, and directing the justices of Baltimore to furnish Goddard with all needed protection. The affair did not, however, cool down for some time. Mr. Goddard was also prominent as an intimate friend of General Charles Lee, now celebrated chiefly for the famous reprimand he received on the field of Monmouth. Lee confided all his papers to Goddard, and bequeathed him a piece of land in Virginia.

In point of date the newspaper press of Philadelphia takes precedence of every other city in North America after Boston. The first newspaper published in Philadelphia was *The American Weekly Mercury*, whose first issue appeared Tuesday, December 22, 1719, on a half sheet, and printed by Andrew Bradford. The place of publication was at the BIBLE in Second Street, and also in New York, by William Bradford, Senior. The subscription was 10*s.* per annum. After the death of Andrew Bradford the publication was continued by his widow, Cornelia Bradford, who carried it on until its discontinuance in 1746.

In 1728 Samuel Keimer started *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences: and Pennsylvania Gazette*, the dates being in Quaker phraseology.

The former part of this cumbrous title was soon dropped, and the paper has ever since been known as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. The history of this paper derives importance because as its editor, Benjamin Franklin first achieved prominence. He had drifted to Philadelphia, as is well known, and was himself proposing to start a newspaper. He was much embarrassed by the appearance of Keimer's paper, for the field in those days was small for such enterprises. The course Franklin adopted can hardly be approved, while at the same time we see in it the germs of the shrewd, cold, calculating nature which at a later period gave him a fame in diplomacy equal to that he acquired as a philosopher. He has no hesitation in informing us that he made every effort to ruin Keimer's paper by bringing it into contempt; and he succeeded, Keimer being obliged to cede the paper to his abler rival for a trifling consideration. It must be admitted, in palliation, that Franklin claimed to have originated the idea of the *Gazette*, which was stolen from him by Keimer.



Auguſt 2. 1750. NUMB. 1129.

The Pennſylvania *GAZETTE.*

Containing the freſheſt Advices, foreign and domeſtick.

MERCY JUSTICE

By Capt. Caldwell from Londonderry, we have the following advices.

COLOGNE, May 5.

WITHIN theſe few days a report prevails here, that the French court having propoſed the mediation of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, to the courts of Peterſburgh and Stockholm, for terminating the differences between theſe two powers, the latter very readily accepted it; but the empreſs of Ruſſia has hitherto declined giving an anſwer to the propoſal: However, we dare not yet aſſure that this report is well

dize. A French veſſel likewiſe, in forty days from Martineco, brings advice, that Admiral Spinola, with the ſquadron under his command, was to ſail for Europe ſome time in April.

Paris, May 22. The proteſtants in this kingdom are expreſly forbidden, by the king's late declaration, to ſell their eſtates without his majeſty's leave.

Hague, May 26. The ſtates of Holland ſeparated laſt *Friday*, and are not to reaſſemble till they are ſummoned for that purpoſe. In conſequence of a reſolution taken by the ſtates general the 9th inſtant, N. S. their high migh-

perform their exerciſes every day before his majeſty, till he has gone thro' the whole corps. It is reported, that major general Stammer, who came to compliment the king from the duke of Brunſwick Woltenbuttle, is to enter into a negociation for a treaty of ſubſidy between his Britannick majeſty and his ſerene highneſs.

LONDON *May* 19.

On Monday night came on before the lords commiſſioners of appeal, the cauſe which has been ſo long depending between the ſquadron of ſhips under the command of Sir Peter Warren, who were at the taking of Cape Breton.

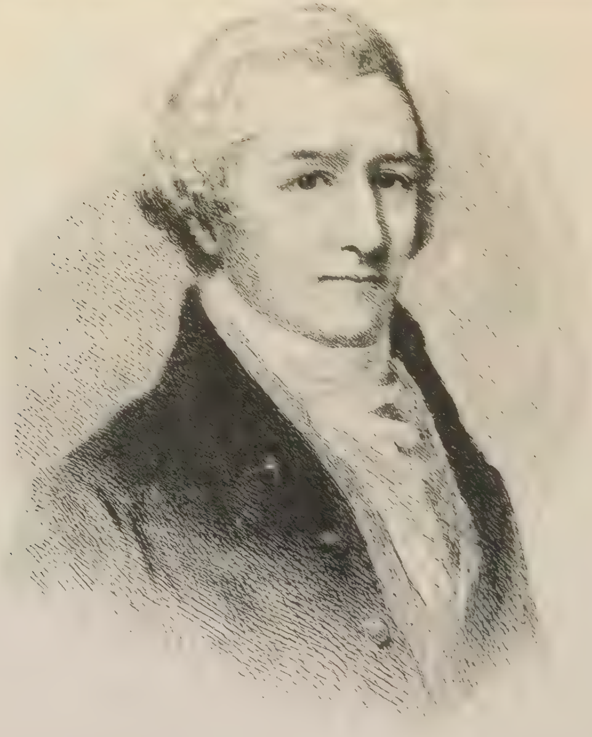
FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING TO *The Pennsylvania Gazette*: 1750.

[*Engraved from the original through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

Franklin was in turn subjected to the sharp practice of Andrew Bradford, editor of *The Weekly Mercury*, who took means to prevent the post-carriers from distributing the *Gazette*. Franklin, on discovering what was interfering with the circulation of his paper, secretly bribed the carriers.

Those were the good old times of which we hear so much, but there seems to have been as much guile then as now.

Under its new auspices, and under such astute management, *The Pennsylvania Gazette* prospered. But when Franklin was able to put on it the imprint, "Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin, Post-master," the *Gazette* throve still more, both in subscriptions and advertisements. In those days, as in our day, post-offices were places much sought for influence and power as well as emolument. It is not unlikely that Franklin borrowed a suggestion for his *Poor Richard* from Keimer's plan of filling one page of the *Gazette* with quotations from Chamber's Dictionary.



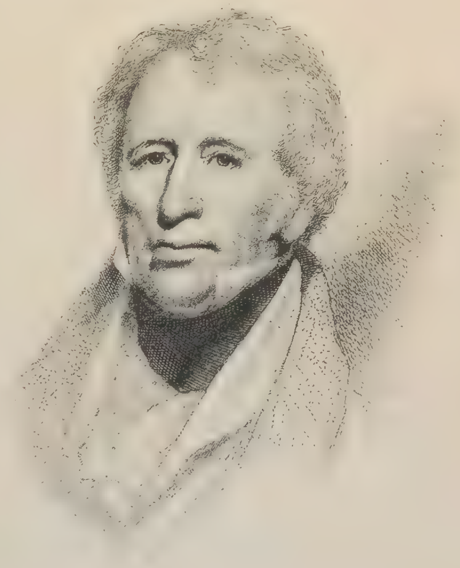
COLONEL WILLIAM BRADFORD, "THE PATRIOTIC PRINTER OF 1776."

[*From a rare copy of a miniature in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.*]

About the same period, several German newspapers were started in Germantown, of which the first, entitled in English *The Pennsylvania German Recorder of Events* was founded in 1739. A periodical of more importance was *The Pennsylvania Journal, and the Weekly Advertiser*, first issued

December 2, 1742, by William Bradford, an editor and publisher who will always hold a most honorable position in the history of the American press.

Colonel William Bradford was a grandson of William Bradford, first printer of New York, and a nephew of Andrew Bradford, and was the fourth of a generation of printers. He seems to have had a genius for his profession; without being in any sense a great man, he had excellent sense, enterprise, and general adaptability. He founded *The Pennsylvania Journal*, December 2, 1742, and it continued for sixty years from that date. Bradford perceived more keenly than his contemporaries the shortcomings of the papers of the period and the possibilities of influence of which a properly edited newspaper is capable. In his prospectus he says: " . . . In which paper gentlemen may have extracts of their letters published, containing matter fit to be communicated to the public. . . ." He carried out the principle suggested in his preamble, and the *Journal* soon became one of the most respectable and influential controllers of thought on the questions then agitating the colonies. Franklin, in 1735, had already expressed a perception that the newspapers of the time fell short of their possibilities, and Bradford was among the first in this country who succeeded in elevating the newspaper to its proper position as a power in molding society and government.



BENJAMIN RUSSELL.

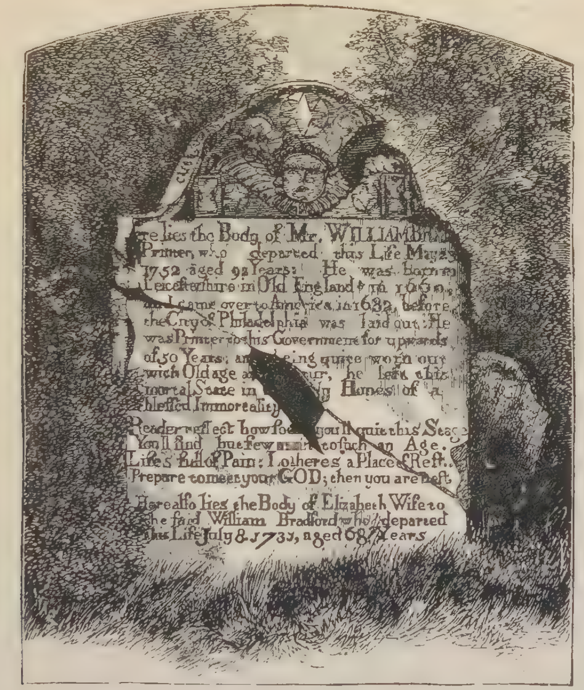
Bradford had his residence, printing-office, and bookstore combined in one building, near the south-west corner of Front and High Streets. In 1754, he succeeded in establishing the London Coffee-house on the adjoining corner of Front and Market Streets. It was started by subscription, and was doubtless intended by him as a means of extending the influence of his own opinions. In the words of his biographer, Mr. J. W. Wallace, this coffee-house, or Philadelphia Exchange Loan, soon became " the headquarters of life and action; the pulsating heart of excitement, enterprise, and patriotism, as the exigencies of the time might demand."

The *Journal* was continued throughout the Revolutionary war, except from November 27, 1776, a month before Trenton's memorable day, to January 29, 1777. It was stopped again during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British, to be resumed after their departure. During part of the war, Bradford held the post of colonel, and commanded a battalion at Princeton, where he was wounded. After the operations on the Delaware, Henry Laurens said: "Colonel Bradford, formerly a printer in Philadelphia, has had a great share of merit in the noble perseverence." He was also an excellent draughtsman, as maps and surveys testify, drawn by his own hand and still preserved. To his other avocations he added that of a marine insurance office, opened in 1762. He died in 1791, broken down by paralysis, induced by this intense activity and the hardships of war. His second son, William, became attorney-general of the United States.

An editor of Philadelphia, who achieved notoriety quite in excess of his abilities, was Benjamin Towne, a native of England, who started *The Evening Post* in that city in 1775. The paper was at first emphatically a Whig partisan; but as soon as the British entered Philadelphia, Towne became as violently Tory. On the return of the Continental Congress to Philadelphia, then Towne resumed his Whiggism. These changes only brought him into contempt, while at the same time they were so barefaced as to give an air of humor to the entire proceeding, and quite neutralize the influence of the paper and disarm the indignation of his enemies.

Towne asked Dr. Witherspoon, then a member of Congress, to contribute to his columns. The doctor declined, saying that a member of the government could have no dealings with one who was really under the ban of the law; but he added, "if you make your peace with the country first I will then assist you." "How shall I do it, doctor?" "Why, write and publish a piece acknowledging your fault, professing repentance, and asking forgiveness." "But what shall I say? You write expeditiously and to the point; I will thank you to write something for me and I will publish it." Dr. Witherspoon immediately dashed off a paper entitled, "The Humble Confession, Recantation, and Apology of Benjamin Towne." But Towne declined to publish it unless modified. It appeared, however, elsewhere credited to Towne, and created immense glee throughout the community, being a most delicious piece of satirical drollery. It is interesting to see from such incidents how the buoyancy of the heart keeps up amid the smoke of battle and the miseries of a country wasted and rent by war.

New York, strange to say, was behind its sister cities, Boston and Philadelphia, in the establishment of newspapers, a deficiency more than amply atoned for since the Revolution. This tardiness regarding a movement of such significance was doubtless due in part to the action of the home government. In 1686 King James instructed Governor Dongan to "allow no printing press in the province." It is hence inferred that the pamphlets concerning the famous case of Governor Leisler were printed in Boston.


re lies the Body of Mr. WILLIAM BR
Printer, who departed this Life May 23
1752 aged 92 Years: He was born in
Leiceſterſhire in Old England in 1660,
and came over to America in 1682, before
the City of Philadelphia was laid out: He
was Printer to this Government for upwards
of 50 Years; an eing quite worn out
with Old age a ur, he left this
mortal State in g Hopes of a
bleſſed Immortality
Reader reflect how ſo you'll quit this Stage
You'll find but few to ſuch an Age.
Life's full of Pain: Lo here's a Place of Reſt.
Prepare to meet your GOD; then you are bleſt.
Here alſo lies the Body of Elizabeth Wife to
the ſaid William Bradford who departed
this Life July 8 1731, aged 68 Years

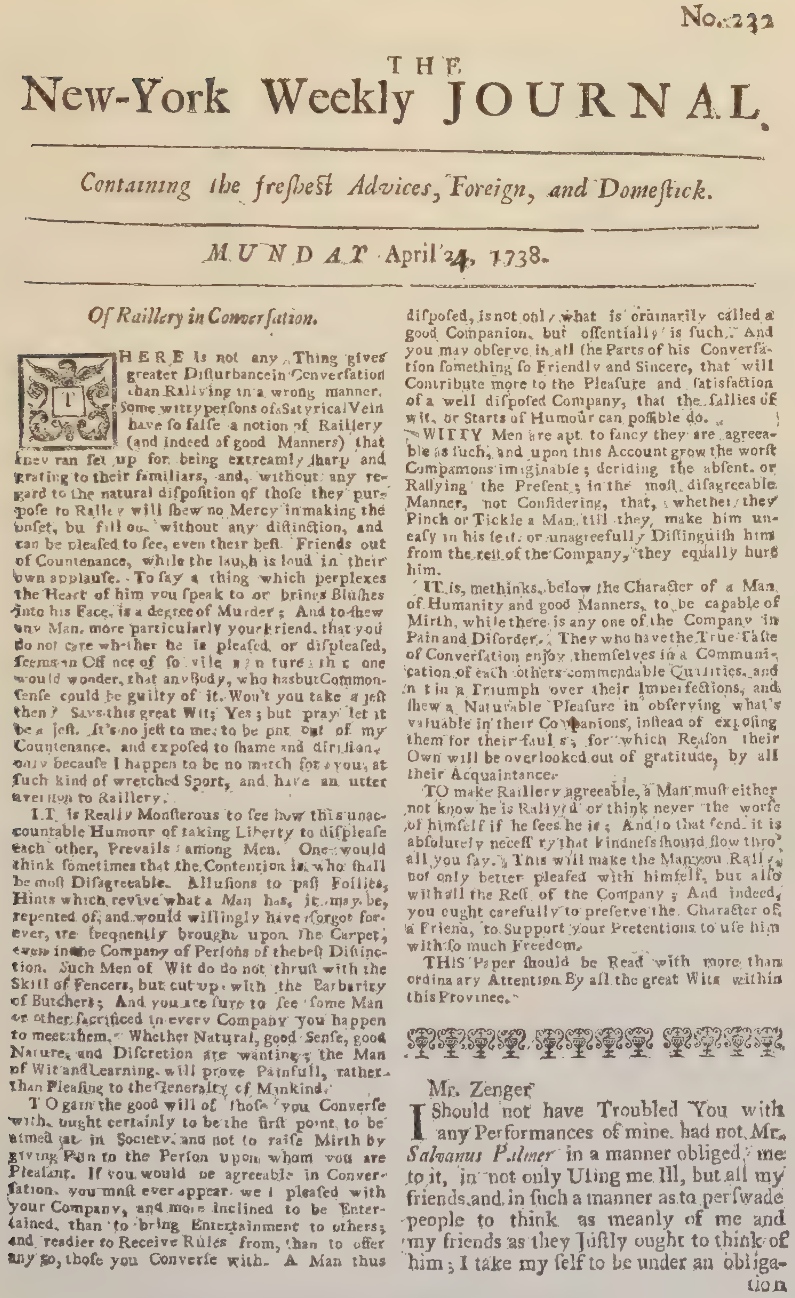
WILLIAM BRADFORD'S TOMB IN TRINITY CHURCH-YARD.

But in 1693 William Bradford, senior, the Quaker printer, came from Philadelphia and settled in New York. He was born in England, and first went to the neighborhood of Philadelphia. There he became involved in a most bitter dissension among the Quakers themselves, and was thrown into prison, where he lingered several months. On his release he seems to have discarded his Quaker sentiments, and decided to abandon the City of Peace—for him anything but peace—for a more congenial atmosphere. Benjamin Franklin calls William Bradford "a cunning old fox." But there seems no other proof of this than Franklin's statement, who was, on the other hand, indebted to Bradford for substantial favors. Mr. Bradford appears to have taken his press and types with him to New York, notwithstanding the commands of the crown, and his services were immediately called to aid the provincial government in printing official pamphlets.

In October, 1725, when he was already in his seventieth year, William Bradford, senior, founded *The New York Gazette*, which was the first newspaper published in the State of New York. It is a noteworthy fact that he continued to publish this periodical until his retirement from business, seventeen years later. He died aged ninety-one, and was buried in Trinity Church-yard, where his tombstone may still be seen. In May, 1863, the second centennial of his birth was celebrated with much enthusiasm by the New York Historical Society and the corporation of Trinity Church.

The New York Weekly Journal was started November 5, 1733. It was published by John Peter Zenger, a German, who had been an apprentice of William Bradford, senior. He appears to have been a man of fair education, but not thoroughly master of English. The paper, from the start, was intended to be the organ of the powerful party opposed to the governor of the province, and was backed by such able supporters as Rip Van Dam, James Alexander, ex-Chief-Justice Morris, and others. While abounding in pasquinades and lampoons which attracted much popular attention, the *Journal* was also freighted with powerful attacks on the government, which caused great irritation, and undoubtedly contributed greatly to loosen the bonds between England and the colonies. The *Gazette*, in the mean time, was edited under the patronage of Governor Cosby, and enjoyed the privilege of printing official documents.

At length, on November 17, 1734, Zenger was arrested and imprisoned, by virtue of a warrant from the governor and council "for printing and publishing several seditious libels." The House of Representatives failing to concur with the governor, he ordered the mayor to burn the papers, containing the alleged libels, by aid of the common hangman. The papers were finally burned, not by the hangman but by the sheriff's servant. At the next term of the Supreme Court, the grand jury failing to find an indictment against Zenger, the attorney-general was then directed to file an information against Zenger for said libels. The judges would not even hear the exceptions presented by the prisoner's counsel, Messrs. Smith and Alexander, and, proceeding still further, actually disbarred those gentlemen. In this crisis, the political friends of Zenger made a secret arrangement with Mr. Andrew Hamilton, a distinguished lawyer of Philadelphia, who came to New York to plead the case of Zenger, and, as it proved, also the question of the liberty of the press in North America. Zenger's



No. 232

THE New-York Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the freſheſt Advices, Foreign, and Domeſtick.

MUNDAY April 24, 1738.

Of Raillery in Converſation.

THERE is not any Thing gives greater Diſturbance in Converſation than Rallying in a wrong manner. Some witty perſons of a Satyrical Vein have ſo falſe a notion of Raillery (and indeed of good Manners) that they can ſet up for being extreamly ſharp and grating to their familiars, and, without any regard to the natural diſpoſition of thoſe they purpoſe to Ralley will ſhew no Mercy in making the onſet, but fall on without any diſtinction, and can be pleaſed to ſee, even their beſt Friends out of Countenance, while the laugh is loud in their own applauſe. To ſay a thing which perplexes the Heart of him you ſpeak to or brings Bluſhes into his Face, is a degree of Murder; And to ſhew any Man, more particularly your Friend, that you do not care whether he is pleaſed, or diſpleaſed, ſeems an Offence of ſo vile a nature that one would wonder, that any Body, who has but Common-ſenſe could be guilty of it. Won't you take a jeſt then? Says this great Wit; Yes; but pray let it be a jeſt. It's no jeſt to me, to be put out of my Countenance, and expoſed to ſhame and diriſion, only becauſe I happen to be no match for you, at ſuch kind of wretched Sport, and have an utter averſion to Raillery.

IT is Really Monſterous to ſee how this unaccountable Humour of taking Liberty to diſpleaſe each other, Prevails among Men. One would think ſometimes that the Contention is who ſhall be moſt Diſagreeable. Alluſions to paſt Follies, Hints which revive what a *Man* has, it may be, repented of, and would willingly have forgot for-ever, are frequently brought upon the Carpet, even in the Company of Perſons of the beſt Diſtinction. Such Men of Wit do do not thruſt with the Skill of Fencers, but cut up with the Barbarity of Butchers; And you are ſure to ſee ſome Man or other ſacrificed in every Company you happen to meet them. Whether Natural, good Senſe, good Nature, and Diſcretion are wanting; the Man of Wit and Learning will prove Painfull, rather than Pleaſing to the Generality of Mankind.

TO gain the good will of thoſe you Converſe with, ought certainly to be the firſt point to be aimed at in Society, and not to raiſe Mirth by giving Pain to the Perſon upon whom you are Pleaſant. If you would be agreeable in Converſation, you muſt ever appear well pleaſed with your Company, and more inclined to be Entertained, than to bring Entertainment to others; and readier to Receive Rules from, than to offer any to, thoſe you Converſe with. A Man thus diſpoſed, is not only what is ordinarily called a good Companion, but eſſentially is ſuch. And you may obſerve in all the Parts of his Converſation ſomething ſo Friendly and Sincere, that will Contribute more to the Pleaſure and ſatisfaction of a well diſpoſed Company, that the ſallies of wit, or Starts of Humour can poſſible do.

WITTY Men are apt to fancy they are agreeable as ſuch, and upon this Account grow the worſt Companions imaginable; deriding the abſent, or Rallying the Preſent, in the moſt diſagreeable Manner, not Conſidering, that, whether they Pinch or Tickle a Man, till they make him uneaſy in his ſeat, or unagreefully Diſtinguiſh him from the reſt of the Company, they equally hurt him.

IT is, methinks, below the Character of a Man of Humanity and good Manners, to be capable of Mirth, while there is any one of the Company in Pain and Diſorder. They who have the True Taſte of Converſation enjoy themſelves in a Communication of each others commendable Qualities, and not in a Triumph over their Imperfections, and ſhew a Naturable Pleaſure in obſerving what's valuable in their Companions, inſtead of expoſing them for their faults; for which Reaſon their Own will be overlooked out of gratitude, by all their Acquaintance.

TO make Raillery agreeable, a Man muſt either not know he is Rally'd or think never the worſe of himſelf if he ſees he is; And to that end it is abſolutely neceſſary that kindneſs ſhould flow thro' all you ſay. This will make the Man you Rally, not only better pleaſed with himſelf, but alſo with all the Reſt of the Company; And indeed, you ought carefully to preſerve the Character of a Friend, to Support your Pretentions to uſe him with ſo much Freedom.

THIS Paper ſhould be Read with more than ordinaary Attention By all the great Wits within this Province.

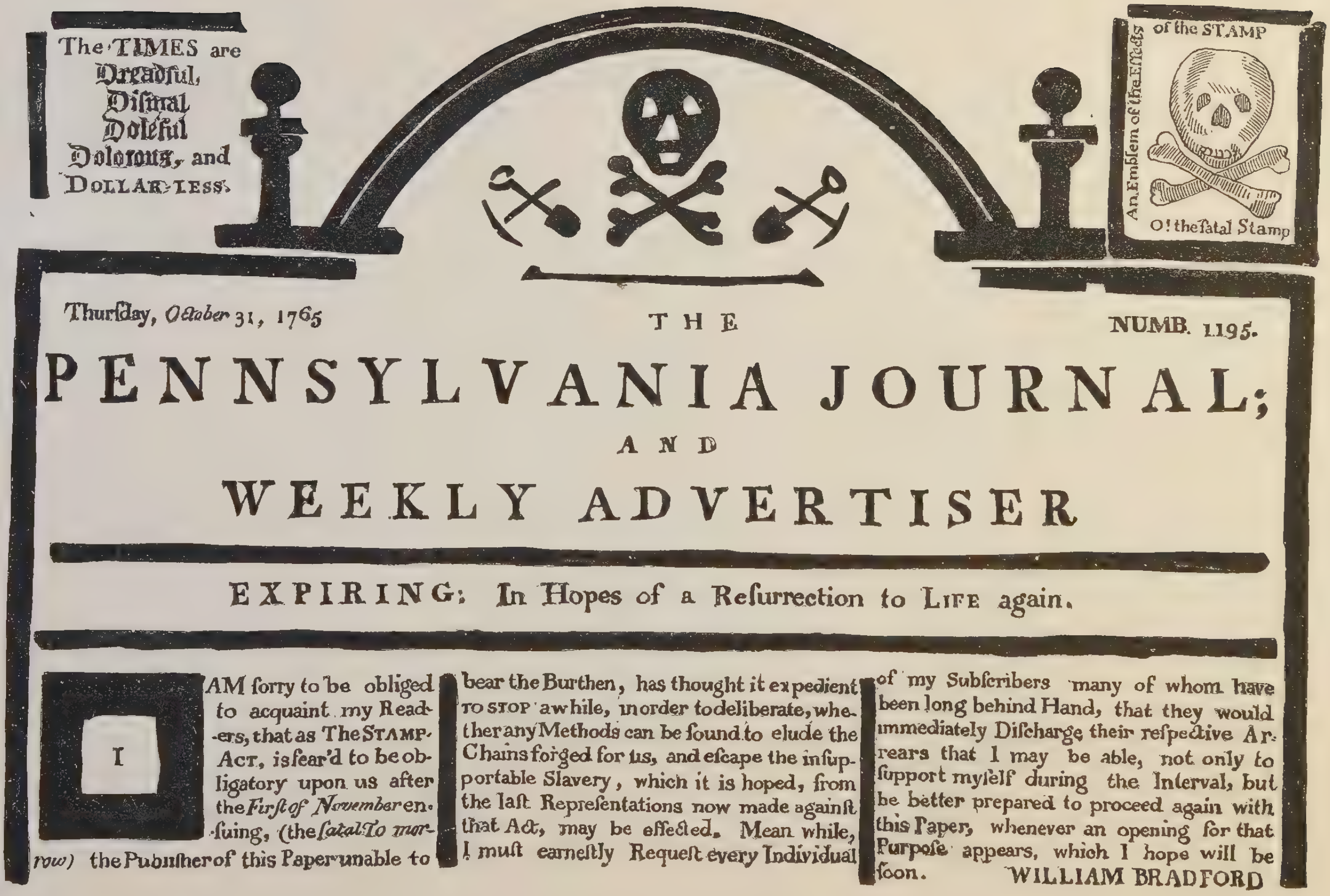
* * *

Mr. Zenger,

I Should not have Troubled You with any Performances of mine, had not Mr. *Salvanus Palmer* in a manner obliged me to it, in not only Uſing me Ill, but all my friends, and in ſuch a manner as to perſwade people to think as meanly of me and my friends as they Juſtly ought to think of him; I take my ſelf to be under an obligation

FAC-SIMILE OF OPENING PAGE OF ZENGER'S *New York Journal.*

[*Engraved from rare original, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]



The TIMES are
Dreadful,
Diſmal
Doleful
Dolorous, and
DOLLAR-LESS.

An Emblem of the Effects of the STAMP
O! the fatal Stamp

Thurſday, *October* 31, 1765 THE NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL;
AND
WEEKLY ADVERTISER

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Reſurrection to LIFE again.

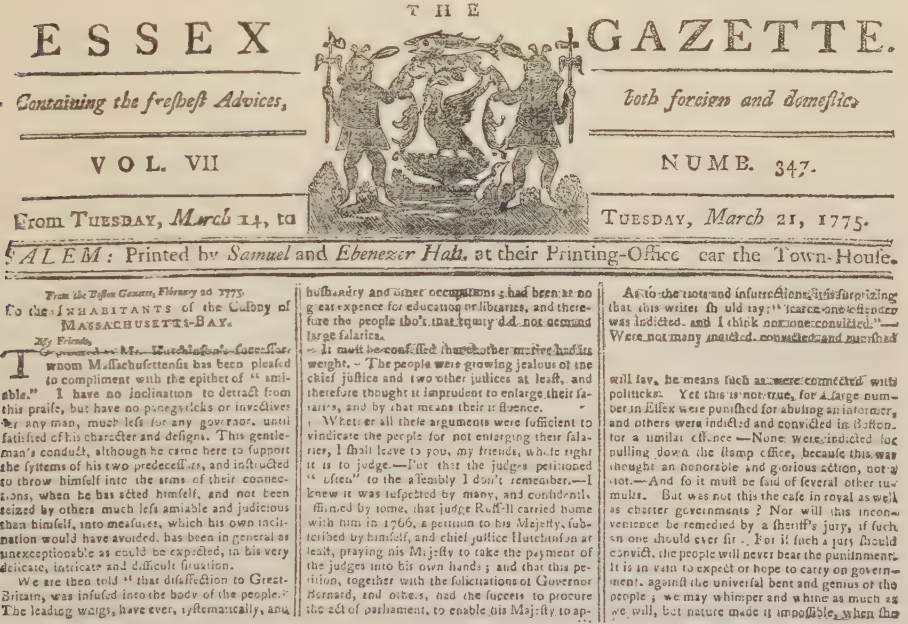
I AM ſorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The STAMP-ACT, is fear'd to be obligatory upon us after the *Firſt of November* enſuing, (the *fatal To-morrow*) the Publiſher of this Paper unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient TO STOP awhile, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and eſcape the inſupportable Slavery, which it is hoped, from the laſt Repreſentations now made againſt that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I muſt earneſtly Requeſt every Individual of my Subſcribers many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Diſcharge their reſpective Arrears that I may be able, not only to ſupport myſelf during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpoſe appears, which I hope will be ſoon. WILLIAM BRADFORD

FAC-SIMILE OF BRADFORD'S BROADSIDE.

[*Engraved from original copy, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

counsel admitted the publication of the obnoxious papers, but insisted on giving the truth in evidence. This the court strenuously resisted. Mr. Hamilton made a magnificent argument in favor of this view of the case, and, in opposition to the charge of the court, addressed to the jury the advice that they had an unquestionable right to judge of the law as well as of the fact,—the very point at issue.

The jury were out only a few moments, and then brought a verdict of "not guilty." The result, as unexpected as it was mortifying to the court and prosecutors, was received by the audience with deafening shouts of applause, which were continued to the echo by the dense crowd anxiously awaiting the result in the streets. The people were for carrying Hamilton on their shoulders to his lodgings, and on the 29th of September following, the aldermen presented him with the thanks of the corporation, and the freedom of the city inclosed in a costly box of gold made for the occasion. The keen-eyed men of the time evidently realized the importance of an event which has been termed "the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America."



THE

ESSEX GAZETTE.

Containing the freſheſt Advices, both foreign and domeſtic.

VOL. VII NUMB. 347.

From TUESDAY, *March* 14, to TUESDAY, *March* 21, 1775.

SALEM: Printed by *Samuel* and *Ebenezer Hall*, at their Printing-Office near the Town-Houſe.

From the Boſton Gazette, February 20 1775.

To the INHABITANTS of the Colony of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

My Friends,

T Governor Mr. Hutchinſon's ſucceſſor, whom Maſſachuſettenſis has been pleaſed to compliment with the epithet of "amiable." I have no inclination to detract from this praiſe, but have no panegyricks or invectives for any man, much leſs for any governor, until ſatisfied of his character and deſigns. This gentleman's conduct, although he came here to ſupport the ſyſtems of his two predeceſſors, and inſtructed to throw himſelf into the arms of their connections, when he has acted himſelf, and not been ſeized by others much leſs amiable and judicious than himſelf, into meaſures, which his own inclination would have avoided, has been in general as unexceptionable as could be expected, in his very delicate, intricate and difficult ſituation.

We are then told "that diſaffection to Great-Britain, was infuſed into the body of the people." The leading whigs, have ever, ſyſtematically, and

huſbandry and other occupations, had been at no great expence for education or libraries, and therefore the people tho't that equity did not demand large ſalaries.

It muſt be confeſſed that another motive had its weight. The people were growing jealous of the chief juſtice and two other juſtices at leaſt, and therefore thought it imprudent to enlarge their ſalaries, and by that means their influence.

Whether all theſe arguments were ſufficient to vindicate the people for not enlarging their ſalaries, I ſhall leave to you, my friends, whoſe right it is to judge.—That the judges petitioned "often" to the aſſembly I don't remember.—I knew it was ſuſpected by many, and confidently affirmed by ſome, that judge Ruſſell carried home with him in 1766, a petition to his Majeſty, ſubſcribed by himſelf, and chief juſtice Hutchinſon at leaſt, praying his Majeſty to take the payment of the judges into his own hands; and that this petition, together with the ſolicitations of Governor Bernard, and others, had the ſucceſs to procure the act of parliament, to enable his Majeſty to ap-

As to the riots and inſurrections, it is ſurprizing that this writer ſhould ſay, "ſcarce one offender was indicted, and I think not one convicted."—Were not many indicted, convicted and puniſhed

will ſay, he means ſuch as were connected with politicks. Yet this is not true, for a large number in Eſſex were puniſhed for abuſing an informer, and others were indicted and convicted in Boſton for a ſimilar offence.—None were indicted for pulling down the ſtamp office, becauſe this was thought an honorable and glorious action, not a riot.—And ſo it muſt be ſaid of ſeveral other tumults. But was not this the caſe in royal as well as charter governments? Nor will this inconvenience be remedied by a ſheriff's jury, if ſuch an one ſhould ever ſit. For if ſuch a jury ſhould convict, the people will never bear the puniſhment. It is in vain to expect or hope to carry on government againſt the univerſal bent and genius of the people; we may whimper and whine as much as we will, but nature made it impoſſible, when the

FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING OF *The Essex Gazette.*

[*Engraved from original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

William Weyman, who started *The New York Gazette*, February 16, 1759, became notorious for a carelessness in proof-reading, which brought him the dignity of becoming an object of legislative inquiry. In one case he inserted in an official document *never* instead of *ever;* in another instance he caused the House to say exactly the opposite of what was intended in an address to the governor, by omitting the word *no;* the sentence should have read, " Your Excellency has done us *no* more than strict justice." It is a small word, but its omission procured Weyman a summons to appear before the House. After several days' consideration of this momentous question, Weyman was finally allowed the benefit of the doubt, and was released after making acknowledgment of his fault, asking pardon of the House, " and promising to behave more circumspectly for the future." The noise made over this little word is another indication of the strained condition of affairs at the time, and the extreme jealously of the colonies concerning their rights and liberties.

James Rivington was a character of some force and picturesqueness, who loomed up toward the close of the colonial period as a supporter of the expiring influence of England in the colonies. That he should have been a Tory is nothing to his discredit, for he was a native of England who did not come to this country until 1760; and we, at the present time, can see more dispassionately than his contemporaries that there were two sides to the questions at issue, and it must be granted that his utterances were met by expressions as violent from the enemy. He made himself extremely obnoxious by styling the colonists rebels in his *Gazetteer;* but we can now readily admit that, until their efforts were crowned with success, the colonists could not well deny the appropriateness of the title. Revolution, until it triumphs, is rebellion, if language has any meaning.

We have been able to give only a sketch of the chief points in the rise and progress of the American newspaper press up to the close of the Revolution; but enough has been said to indicate that it was directed by men of character and ability, who understood their opportunity, and made the quill and the printing-press scarcely less potential in asserting and securing our liberties than the forum and the field. If the utterances of the colonial press were often acrimonious and severe, we must remember that the life of a nation was at stake. The hearts of the editors and publishers of that momentous period were fired by the same spirit which threw the tea into Boston harbor, and cast the bullets of Bunker Hill, of Eutaw Springs, and Saratoga.

S. G. W. Benjamin

A CURIOUS CHAPTER IN VERMONT'S HISTORY

In the Canadian archives at Ottawa are hundreds of old quill-written manuscripts, yellowed with time, which afford ample proof of Vermont's narrow escape from becoming a British province. Much of what took place in this connection during the fretful days of the American Revolution has been obscured through the meager amount of documentary evidence within reach of modern historians; yet papers exist which throw upon the past all the light required to make the record clear, so far, at least, as Vermont is concerned. When 1776 had passed, thirteen States were found to be on an organized footing, but Vermont was out in the cold. Congress refused to recognize her, and added to this cause of discouragement were territorial troubles with New York and New Hampshire. It was Vermont's ambition to become an independent State, but to such a thing the new-born Congress raised very emphatic objections, largely under the influence of New York. This was regarded as little short of tyranny, and the documents in Canada show how keenly the opposition was felt. Whatever may be the relationship between the two States now, it is quite certain that a little over a hundred years ago there existed between New York and Vermont feelings of bitter animosity. The language of the manuscripts expresses that hatred by comparing it to the feelings entertained toward his satanic majesty. It was furthermore suspected that General Washington was in no way favorable to the unrecognized State. Finally an intrigue, the object of which was a return to British allegiance, was vigorously instituted. The word intrigue is used because the movement was so far from being an open one that it was secretly conducted by a few, without the knowledge and against the desire of the many who were naturally interested. If, since that time those actors in the extraordinary movement have been idealized for loyalty, it shows, perhaps, how charitably history has dealt with them.

In 1780 Captain Justus Sherwood, while serving as commissioner for General Haldimand, then governor of Canada and commander of His Majesty's forces in British America, began a series of conferences with the authorities of Vermont. His letters to His Excellency the governor explain themselves. From Miller Bay, October 26, 1780, he announced that having received His Excellency's instructions for a negotiation with the State of Vermont, he would set off in the evening with a flag, a drum, a fife, and five privates. On the 28th he arrived at Herrick's Camp, a frontier post of three hundred men, where he was blindfolded and taken to Colonel Herrick's room. He says: "I informed him I was sent by Major Carleton to negotiate a cartel for exchange of prisoners, and that I had dispatches from His Excellency General Haldimand and from Major Carleton to Governor Chittenden and General Allen."

Subsequently he arrived at General Allen's headquarters, and after obtaining that officer's pledge to observe absolute secrecy, he revealed the information that "General Haldimand was no stranger to their disputes with the other States respecting jurisdiction, and that His Excellency was perfectly well informed of all that had lately passed between Congress and Vermont, and of the fixed intentions of Congress never to consent to Vermont's being a separate State. General Haldimand felt that in this Congress was only duping them, and waited for a favorable opportunity to crush them; and therefore it was a proper time for them to cast off the congressional yoke and resume their former allegiance to the king of Great Britain, by doing which they would secure to themselves those privileges they had so long contended for with New York."

General Allen, in his reply, said he would be governed by the principles of justice and honor, but as this was a matter affecting the liberties of the people of Vermont, it would receive his consideration. He assured Captain Sherwood of his intention to observe secrecy, and on returning to the council-chamber informed those who were assembled that the conversation had related merely to the cartel under consideration. The next day, General Allen intimated that Colonel Ira Allen and Major Fay would join the conference, but cautioned the British officer not to divulge any portion of the previous day's conversation, and to hint at nothing further than neutrality between Vermont and Great Britain. Captain Sherwood does not go into further details of the negotiations, but explains that the result of all that was said and done was to lead General Allen to remark that he found himself surrounded by enemies, the most inveterate of which was New York; that he was weary of war, and wished once more to enjoy the sweets of peace. He was, however, attached to the cause of Vermont, and nothing short of the continued tyranny of Congress would drive him from that allegiance. If he should come out boldly and declare for Great Britain his people would cut off his head, and for the present he doubted General Haldimand's power to protect him in the event of direct hostilities by Congress against Vermont. He felt sure, however, that if he made a stand against Congress and in favor of independency, re-enforcements from the surrounding States, and especially from the county of Berkshire, would pour in.

Then follows General Ethan Allen's statement of what he might be willing to do, which we quote in Captain Sherwood's words: "Should he have any proposals to make to General Haldimand hereafter, they would be nearly as follows: He will expect to command his own forces. Vermont must be a Government separate from and independent of any other Province in America; must choose their own officers and civil representatives; be entitled to all the privileges of the other States offered by the King's Commissioners, and the New Hampshire Grants as chartered by Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, must be confirmed free from any patents or claims from New York or other Provinces. He desires me to inform His Excellency that a revolution of this nature must be a work of time; that it is impossible to bring so many minds into one channel on a sudden, and hopes that he will not be anxious to hurry matters on too fast, as that would certainly ruin the whole. He says it is not in his power to wait on Gen'l Haldimand or Major Carleton, as that would create too much suspicion, and would therefore propose to keep up the negotiations by flags. He desires this may be kept a secret from all the world but those already employed. If, however, Congress should grant Vermont a seat in that Assembly as a separate State, then this negotiation to be at an end and be kept secret on both sides."

The severity of winter, and difficulties in the way of communication, put a stop to these negotiations for some months. On the part of Vermont, however, the propositions made by General Haldimand were not forgotten, for the manuscripts show that, on the 7th of May, 1781, Colonel Ira Allen visited Canada in person, ostensibly to arrange about the exchange of prisoners, but really for the purpose of carrying on the negotiations with Great Britain on behalf of Vermont. As to his visit, Captain Sherwood writes to the governor: "I have the honour to enclose to you a letter from Colonel Allen to His Excellency General Haldimand, together with some other papers, which is all I have yet been able to get from him. From what he told me on his first arrival, I flattered myself that something of consequence would soon take place; but am much disappointed to find he has no particular instructions to make or receive proposals for Vermont, or to make the smallest advances toward an accommodation. He says matters are not yet ripe. Governor Chittenden, General Allen and the major part of the leading men are anxious to bring about a neutrality, and are fully convinced that Congress never intends to confirm them as a separate State, but they dare not at this time make any separate agreement with Great Britain until the populace are better modelled for the purpose. Till this they wish by the cartel and Exchange of prisoners to keep a door open for a union."

A few days later Captain Sherwood writes to the governor that he fears the object of Colonel Allen's visit is to alarm Congress into a compliance with Vermont's demands. The Colonel's manner he describes as "dark and intricate." The situation, however, he sums up in these words: "Those suspicious circumstances, with the great opinion Allen seems to entertain of the mighty power & consequence of Vermont, induce me to think they flatter themselves with a belief, that if Britain should invade them, the neighboring colonies rather than lose them as a frontier would protect them, and on the other hand should Congress invade them, they could easily be admitted to a Union with Britain at the latest hour, which they would at the last Extremity choose as the least of two evils; for Allen says they hate Congress like the d—l, & have not yet a very good opinion of Britain. Sometimes I am inclined from Allen's discourse to hope & almost believe that they are endeavoring to prepare for a re-union. To this, I suppose I am somewhat inclined by my anxious desire that it may be so." A few days later, these letters were written:

[First Letter.]

"Isle-aux-Noix 15th May 1781.

Sir

Since my last I have had much conversation with Col Allen, in which he has thrown out many hints that Vermont wishes by the cartel to keep a door open for some further negotiations of much more consequence. He says they have enlarged their state east & west to strength'en themselves for any event that may happen they have formed three brigades, the first commanded by Gen'l Allen on the east side of the mountains, the second by Brigadier Gen'l Bellows on the East side of the Connecticut River, the third by Brigadier Gen'l Olcot between the mountains & the river. Their Lieut Govr, whose name is Carpenter, resides on the East side. He says some of the new Assembly men are friends to the Government & that Vermont, when the union is completed, will be able to bring into the field 10.000 fighting men".

[Second Letter.]

"Isle-aux-Noix, 18th May 1781.

Sir

Col Allen now makes use of every art to persuade me that Vermont is sincere and will send commissioners to treat on pacific measures as soon as they are ripe (as he terms it). I suppose, or at least fear, they will not be fully ripe till they despair of success from any other quarter. Col Allen says General Washington is an implacable enemy to Vermont."

There are several letters of this character, one of which intimates that Colonel Allen had said that " Judge Wells, Judge Jones Col Olcot and many others are favourable to Great Britain ". In one letter, bearing date 16th May, 1781—by the same writer—is this remarkable statement: "Col Allen says Washington is, and has ever been, against the independency of Vermont, as it is repugnant to his darling object of engrossing to Virginia all the immense country west of that state; that for the same reason Maryland was in favour of Vermont and refused to sign the Confederacy until Virginia would renounce her claim ".

After nearly three weeks' sojourn in Canada, Colonel Allen departed. The result of this extended conference is outlined in one of Sherwood's letters as follows: " I believe Allen has gone with a full determination to do his utmost for a re-union, and I believe he will be seconded by Governor Chittenden, his brother Ethan Allen & a few others, all acting from interest without any principle of loyalty."

What took place after Colonel Allen's return to Vermont is made the subject of a letter by Captain Sherwood to General Haldimand, on the 1st of July, 1781, in which these facts are stated: " Soon after Col Allen's return from Canada, a convention was called at New Windsor, in which Col Allen's report was read and the whole convention, with the exception of two men, voted to accept of Gen'l Haldimand's proposals to Vermont. Judge Jones is made Chief Justice, and Colonels Wells and Olcot, Royalists, Assistant Judges for Vermont. The people of the East side are almost all in favor of our Government and intend to join with Canada if they can; but they are very much afraid of the people on the West side of the mountains, who are almost all rebels, and begin to threaten Governor Chittenden and the Allens very much."

Some time about the beginning of July, in the same year, Major Joseph Fay arrived in Canada, and remained here for a number of weeks, during which he gave this significant pledge: " I do hereby pledge my sacred faith and honour as a gentleman and private agent, instructed by the governor and a number of the council of the State of Vermont, to communicate their sentiments to General Haldimand respecting a private negotiation; that all letters, extracts of letters, or other writings relative thereto, which I have or shall receive from General Haldimand, or his Commissioners or Agents, I will not suffer them to be copied, made public, or transmitted to Congress. Given under my hand and seal, this 20th day of August, 1781."

From Major Fay encouraging information was received respecting the Vermont cabal. Captain Sherwood writes: "Major Fay says the governor, council and leading men are bringing about a revolution as fast as time and circumstances will permit; that nothing has been omitted which could be done with safety by the governor, council and other well-wishers of the King's Government, those having entered into a written combination which they cause everyone to sign who is let into the secret."

I must, however, briefly conclude the result of my examination of these old manuscripts. They show that subsequent to these events Governor Chittenden carefully broached the subject of a return to British allegiance in a meeting of the Assembly, which had in the meantime been elected. He was rebuked for his presumption in having any negotiations with General Haldimand, and Messrs. Jones, Wells, Knowlton, and Beadle lost their seats. So far as the authorities in Canada were concerned, they came at last to recognize that Vermont was endeavoring to carry its cause with Congress at the same time that its governor and the Allens were keeping the door of union open toward Canada. Nothing ever came of these negotiations, although they extended over a period of two or three years; but the fact of their existence, so long concealed, is of interest to the world, and forms a page of history worth preserving.

OTTAWA, CANADA, *November*, 1886.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR

In yielding to the request of the editor of this magazine for a brief contribution in regard to the late ex-President Arthur, I did not forget that the enterprise of the daily newspapers had already met the public demand for all the attainable facts in relation to him. And yet it is too soon for any one to pass a critical, judicial, impartial and exhaustive judgment on Mr. Arthur's life and career. As to the most important epochs of his life, a just judgment requires considerable "inside information," which is now accurately known to very few persons.

But out of all the mass of contributions to the personal and public history of Mr. Arthur, there has come abundant material for a very fair estimate of his general characteristics and his actual achievements, as a political leader and as a public official. He lived long enough to know that there was a general agreement among the good and intelligent men of both parties, that he had united executive ability, sagacity and firmness in the highest office on earth, and that under the most trying circumstances, showing through all a gentleness of character, an unassuming modesty and a fidelity of friendship seldom exhibited by the world's rulers. He was affectionately mourned by the American people as a thorough and noble specimen of his countrymen, a perfect gentleman, a man of generous impulses and genial manners, and as a politician of high and broad traits and methods. History is not likely to change these contemporary verdicts, and they were as sincere as they were complimentary.

The careful study of Mr. Arthur's whole career that was prompted by the news of his mortal illness has revealed a great deal of material for a larger estimate of his caliber, character and conduct than was afforded by the general knowledge of him while still President and under constant fire. Much is still to be developed in regard to the most critical and painful period of Mr. Arthur's life—that which began with Garfield's inauguration and ended with Garfield's death. It is now known to many, at least, how reluctantly Mr. Arthur took part in the senatorial contest in this State, and in the struggle over the appointment of Judge Robertson to the collectorship of this port. Many, also, know the depth and sincerity of Mr. Arthur's sympathy with Garfield, during the latter's prolonged martyrdom. As to this all direct testimony is valuable, and I cannot withhold my own, but will give it, as briefly as possible.

During a critical period of Garfield's desperate struggle for life, I called on Arthur at his Lexington Avenue residence. Between us, at that time, there could be but one topic of talk. Arthur's features always had a great facility for expressing sympathy and sorrow. On this occasion, as the sufferings of Garfield were the theme, it seemed as though Arthur's face was one of the most painful pictures of agony I had ever seen. It was the sincere expression of a grief, sympathy and anxiety so great as to be almost unendurable. In a short time he was so overcome by his feelings that his voice failed him, as my voice failed me, and we both sat with eyes bedimmed and with heavy hearts, and then silently shook hands and parted. I then realized fully, for the first time, how terribly oppressed Arthur was by the peculiar and overwhelming agonies of his situation. If his earnest prayers could have restored Garfield to strength and health, Arthur would have contentedly and happily served out his term as Vice-President.

Mr. Arthur was drafted into the Presidency, and—to my own personal knowledge—with a sadness, reluctance, and feeling akin to despair that were well-nigh crushing. But it was a fresh proof of the strength and conservatism of our institutions, that when at last death relieved Garfield and promoted Arthur, the transition was made as easily and as safely as though the latter had been elected President by a unanimous vote. Arthur, like Garfield, was a thorough American. Both illustrated the developing power of American institutions. Arthur was President from the start, not because he loved power or the assertion of authority, but because the Presidency had come to him constitutionally, and its functions were to be as jealously maintained as though he had been elected President. But the transition from the Garfield Cabinet interregnum to the Arthur administration was made successfully, and without the slightest disturbance to the public credit or of any branch of the federal administration, because Mr. Arthur had learned statesmanship and public affairs in his close and confidential relations with the great Republican leaders; because he was a man of great natural sagacity, and because he understood the American people and the traditions of the American government, now the oldest unchanged government that bears sway over any great Christian people on earth.

Even all the elaborate newspaper biographies of Arthur have failed to give sufficient emphasis to the great services which he rendered while quartermaster-general on Governor Morgan's staff, in equipping and moving an army of New York volunteers to the front; and afterwards in marshaling the New York Republicans, as a solid body, on the side of the

Committee of Seventy, in the fight against the Tweed Ring, and in the practical reforms he introduced in the Custom House.

When he became President he was in the prime of his vigor, and was then a superb specimen of manhood. He was of a most generous and sympathetic nature, not easily roused to either anger or suspicion, but a good fighter when sufficiently provoked. He performed many acts of rare generosity and magnanimity. He was as modest as he was true and manly, and seldom asserted for himself the full measure of consideration that he could have exacted. A man of more affectionate nature is seldom known, or one more susceptible to a high order of the sentiment of friendship.

It must not be forgotten, even in the briefest and most fragmentary memorial of Arthur, that the better elements of his nature, which were so absolutely essential to his success in the most trying period of his career, had been exhibited all through his active life. He was always, not only a gentleman, and with a gentleman's honorable methods, but a man who cherished and was largely guided by the affections and sympathies. Many rough riders on the highway to political power passed him; many more selfish men "got the better" of him, now and then, and some, more pretentious and grasping, at times seemed to domineer and eclipse him, but in the end, the gentler and more generous nature overtopped them all, and was found to have a will equal to the highest place of power on earth. Men call it "luck" that put him there, but there was no "luck" in the traits of character that made him so strong and executive a President, yet so gentle in his high office.

Arthur was never a brilliant man, in speech or in action, but under pressure of responsibilities and circumstances he often developed unexpected resources, that were almost as effective as genius. This was especially true of his conduct of a great political campaign, and of his dealings with vicious legislation, such as the River and Harbor Bill, that called out from him a veto full of force, and occasionally bursting into epigrams that cut to the core of old evils in legislation.

J. M. Bundy,

THE FIRST AMERICAN REBEL

A small stream, after passing through the heart of Richmond, empties into James River, just at the head of tide-water. It is called, "Bacon's quarter Branch," and east of that city is another stream, called "Bloody Run," which was in the vicinity of the fighting during the siege of Richmond, and its waters were more than once reddened in those eventful days. "Bacon's quarter Branch" was named after Nathaniel Bacon, the first and one of the greatest and most patriotic of American rebels. "Bloody Run" was so called, because it was the scene of the overwhelming defeat of the Indians by Bacon, when, as was said, the slaughter of the red men was so great that it did, in fact, color the waters.

History has not done justice to Nathaniel Bacon, nor to the cause he sustained. He was the precursor of the American Revolution by just one hundred years. The grievances and the wrongs the colonies then suffered were as great as those that brought on the struggle of a century later—with this difference only, that some of them were peculiar to Virginia, while those which are recited in the Declaration of Independence belonged equally to all the colonies. The colonists were too weak then, even if united, to make a successful contest with the mother country. They were few in number, and all their energies and resources were required to protect their lives and secure their families and property from the Indians. So far as Virginia was concerned, Bacon relieved that colony of any danger from that savage source. The victory he achieved at "Bloody Run" was so complete as to break forever the power of the Indian tribes, and leave the people with a sense of security they had never before felt.

The best evidence that can be given of Bacon's extraordinary capacity and force of character is found in the fact that he was selected unanimously, by the people of Virginia, as their leader and champion, under peculiar circumstances. The only warfare that the colonists had to carry on at that time was with the Indians, and it was entirely different from that practiced among civilized nations in the open field. It was a war of strategy, of secrecy, of individual valor and skill, of physical endurance, of quickness of apprehension and sight, of presence of mind. Discipline, as understood in great armies, had no place in it, and it was commonly supposed, and indeed was true in a general way, that Indian fighting could only be learned by actual experience. All, or nearly all, of the male inhabitants of the North American colonies had to learn the art, and there were but few of them who, at some period of their lives, had not shouldered their rifles and gone into the woods and mountains, on the perilous march against the Indians. It was only natural to suppose, when it was ascertained the Indian tribes were collecting all their forces, and evidently intent on making a concerted effort to exterminate the whites, that the latter would select their best and most experienced man to lead them—one who had shown his capacity and fitness by actual service. But this was not done. Nathaniel Bacon was a young man, not yet thirty, who had spent his youth and early manhood in England, and had studied law at the Inns of the Temple. He had inherited estates in Henrico County, and had come there to live only about a year before the people settled upon him as their general. He had, probably, never seen a hostile Indian, had never been on an expedition against them, and knew from personal experience absolutely nothing of how to fight them. Yet the knowledge seemed to come to him as if by instinct. He had already been elected to a seat in the Assembly, where his course excited the displeasure and disapproval of Governor Berkeley, who was an extreme aristocrat and loyalist, while Bacon, though born in the same rank of life as the governor, was a liberal and a democrat. The governor, for some reason, was slow and inert in making the preparations necessary to repel the Indians, and the people demanded of him the leave to take the matter in their own hands and defend themselves. Bacon applied for authority to organize the people, but applied in vain. Berkeley did not refuse, nor did he grant permission—he simply did nothing, and then Bacon declared, and took care that the declaration should reach the ears of the governor, that if another white person lost life at the hands of the Indians, he would not wait further for formal authority, but act without it. Just then intelligence arrived that Bacon's own men had been killed at his place on James River, and the news spreading speedily, the people rose, came together, and Bacon, putting himself at the head of a force estimated at five hundred, took the field against the savages. He had no commission, and no authority or even permission from the governor.

Berkeley very soon heard of what had taken place, and deeply incensed at Bacon for presuming to raise a military force, even in such an emergency as then existed, he issued a proclamation, depriving Bacon of his seat in the Assembly, and ordering his troops to disband and return to their homes. Berkeley had no right to remove Bacon from the seat to which the people elected him, yet, many of his men, fearing to set themselves up in opposition to the governor, and apprehending that their property would be seized and their estates confiscated, did desert Bacon, leaving him with only fifty-seven men. With this force, however, he kept on his way into the wilderness, until the small supply of provisions his men were able to carry with them was exhausted. In this condition he reached a fort, occupied by friendly Indians, to whom he applied for food, and offered to pay for whatever was furnished him. The Indians agreed to this, but delayed doing it for several days; and Bacon, fearing that they were acting under instructions from Berkeley, with his followers waded the stream in front of the fort, and again demanded food. While in the act of parleying, an Indian fired from the fort and killed one of the whites. Bacon was prompt, and instantly set fire to the palisades, stormed the fort, and slew a hundred and fifty of the Indians, losing himself only three men.

Notwithstanding the conflict between Berkeley and Bacon, the latter declared his loyalty to the crown, and asserted that he only wanted the people protected from the Indians, and relieved from the oppressions under which they suffered. After his capture of the Indian fort, he proceeded to Jamestown, to see the governor and council, and demand of them his restoration to his seat, and a commission as general, in accordance with the demand of the whole people of Virginia. But Berkeley's passions were deeply stirred—he could think of Bacon with nothing but hatred. The two represented different and wholly antagonistic principles. Berkeley foresaw that his power and influence, his monopolies and facilities for acquiring wealth would be destroyed if Bacon was allowed a large control of public affairs and put in a position of command. Bacon was accompanied to Jamestown by an armed body of his men, and made known his desires to the governor and council, who were not at all inclined to accord them. The interview was stormy. Bacon spoke out boldly, setting forth the wrongs inflicted upon the people, and not even hesitating to say that his commission as general was withheld from bad motives, and that the government was willing to let the people be butchered, rather than risk the loss of the trade with the Indians; and thereupon withdrew, embarked on his sloop, and started on his way back to his quarters.

The governor dispatched a vessel to stop him. Shots were exchanged, but Bacon, seeing that his sloop was unable to contend with the better-armed craft of the governor, left it and got into a skiff, hoping the better to escape that way. The course of the James is very crooked, and Berkeley sent messengers on horseback across the bends, to the ships lying higher up, and Bacon was intercepted, arrested and taken back to Jamestown as a prisoner, with about twenty of his followers. Berkeley was conscious, meanwhile, that he had overstepped his powers when he suspended Bacon from his seat, and he knew only too well the estimate placed upon Bacon by the people, and that he dared not proceed to extremes with him. He promised to give Bacon his commission as general, but demanded of him that he should acknowledge his wrong in proceeding to arm and command a military force, without the proper warrant, and renew his allegiance to the government. This Bacon's friends induced him to do. He knew that, technically, he had erred, and he always professed to be loyal—claiming that he did not desire to subvert the government, but only to reform it. And it was so arranged. Bacon appeared openly before the governor and council, and made the statements required, which, to all appearance, satisfied Berkeley, and produced an apparent good feeling between the two.

But the governor still failed to issue the commission, and after waiting three or four days and despairing of getting it by peaceful means, Bacon, who was daring and full of resource, left Jamestown, and hastily assembled a force of six hundred men, all with rifles in their hands. With these he returned to Jamestown, determined to coerce Berkeley into compliance with his promise. Bacon and all his followers were justly incensed at the governor for his want of faith, and the deliberate manner in which he had sought to tie Bacon's hands, and entrap him into a position where he would be in his power. Bacon drew up his men in line in front of the State House, and made known his demands. The scene that ensued is so graphically described by Mr. Bancroft that we cannot do better than to quote it:

" The governor, rising from the chair of judicature, came down to Bacon and told him to his face, and before all his men, that he was a rebel and a traitor, and should have no commission; and, uncovering his naked bosom, required that some of his men might shoot him, before ever he would sign or consent to a commission for such a rebel. 'No,' continued Berkeley, 'let us first try and end the difference singly, between ourselves,' and offered to measure swords with him. To the challenge Bacon gave only this answer: 'Sir, I came not, nor intend, to hurt a hair of your head; and, for your sword, your honor may please put it up; it shall rust in the scabbard before ever I shall desire you to draw it. I come for a commission against the heathen, who daily inhumanly murder us and spill our children's blood, and no care is taken to prevent it.' A member of the House of Burgesses, who was present at this meeting, and witnessed it from the window of the State House, but was not near enough to hear what was said, tells that Bacon stood a little in advance of his men, who were drawn up in a double line, and that as the governor left the steps of the State House and walked toward Bacon, he saw him open his breast. At this Bacon instantly put his hand to his sword, but withdrew it as quick, and, touching his hat, bowed respectfully, and, after a short parley, Berkeley turned abruptly and without any salutation, and re-entered the State House.

"When passion had subsided, Berkeley yielded. The commission was issued; the governor united with the burgesses and council in transmitting to England warm commendations of the zeal, loyalty and patriotism of Bacon, and the ameliorating legislation of the Assembly was ratified."

This happened on the 4th day of July, 1676, just precisely one hundred years before the Declaration of Independence.

Bacon immediately withdrew his men, and turned them against the Indians. He traversed the country in all directions, to prevent the assemblage of any considerable force, and to expel the Indians from the vicinity of whites. But he was scarcely out of sight of the capital, when a complete revulsion of feeling came over the governor. Though he had made an open and public reconciliation; though he had, in writing, addressed the king himself, indorsed not only the zeal, but the loyalty of Bacon; though he had himself signed his commission, and signed it to enable him to engage in the very service he was then executing—the defense of the settlements from the Indians—yet he determined to continue the warfare on Bacon, and destroy him if he could. He dared not, however, do this at Jamestown, so he retired to the county of Gloucester, then the most populous and esteemed the most loyal county in the State, and, calling together a convention of the people, he submitted his plans to them. He received no support, however. Bacon was the idol of the people, and was at that moment, by authority of the governor, engaged, at the risk of his own life, in defending them against their constant enemies, the Indians. So they refused unanimously to act in concert with the governor, in whose conduct they saw nothing but a hatred of Bacon, and a desire to maintain all the advantages and power he had so long enjoyed, without any curtailment. This did not deter Berkeley. He had given his most solemn promise to Bacon, and the people, and the most loyal county in the State demanded that he should keep faith and observe his pledges. No consideration could restrain him, however, and he once more proclaimed Bacon a rebel and a traitor, and endeavored to raise a force to pursue and surprise, slay or capture him. But he could not induce the people to engage with him.

The two special friends and supporters of Bacon were Drummond, who had been governor of North Carolina, and Richard Lawrence, a man very distinguished for learning and wisdom. Both of them resided at Jamestown, and as soon as Drummond heard of the proceedings of Berkeley, he departed with all speed to notify Bacon. Contemporaneous chronicles relate that Bacon, upon receiving the news, said: "It vexes me to the hart, for to think that while I am hunting wolves, tygers and foxes, which dayly destroyed our harmless sheepe and lambs, that I and those with me, should be persued with a full crye, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast."

Nevertheless he obeyed the summons of the governor, and retraced his steps with his whole force, keeping them together and under arms. The governor hearing of this, and finding himself wholly unable to raise a force to oppose Bacon, who he thought had come to fight, took to flight and went to the county of Accomack, which is separated by the Potomac, there several miles wide, from the mainland. Bacon marched to Williamsburg, which was the most important place in the colony, and the center of population, and there established himself. It was difficult for him to decide upon a proper course. Berkeley had made him a rebel in spite of himself. While he only wanted to improve the condition of the people, repeal injurious and obnoxious laws, and protect the country from Indian raids, but not to overthrow the government, he was left no choice. Berkeley would not permit him to do these things, and branded his efforts to accomplish them as rebellion and treason. This was the most critical period of his whole life, for he had then to take a decisive attitude one way or the other. He consulted with his friends, mainly Drummond and Lawrence, and it was at last considered that Berkeley's conduct in abandoning the seat of government, and retreating to a distant, and at that time almost inaccessible, part of the colony, should be regarded as an abdication, and the more so, as the term for which he had been appointed was already at an end; and it could be reasonably claimed that, on that account, he was no longer governor of the colony, and his authority need not be respected.

Bacon issued a proclamation to this effect, and invited the gentlemen of Virginia, as the colony was without a governor, to come in and consult with him for the settlement of the distracted colony, the preservation of peace, and the best means of prosecuting the war against the Indians.

The convention did assemble, and Bacon dominated it completely. They published a manifesto of their grievances, and took an oath to support Bacon against the Indians, and to use every effort to prevent civil war. They took steps to lay the matter before the king, and resolved to resist Berkeley and everybody else till the king could hear and consider their case. These proceedings stirred and excited the people to the very depths. Sarah, the wife of Drummond, was not behind her husband nor any one else in zeal. Indeed, she went further than any of them did, or desired to do; for when some prudent man said, "Should we overcome the governor, we must expect a greater power from England, that would certainly be our ruin," she took up a small stick, and breaking it into pieces, said, "I fear the power of England no more than a broken straw."

Bacon, who was now practically dictator, started once more against the Indians, and it was on this occasion that he fought the successful battle at "Bloody Run," which was a virtual ending of the Indian wars in that region. While he was absent in this enterprise, there happened to be a more than usual number of English ships in the Virginia waters, whose officers, of course, espoused the side of Berkeley. Aided by them, he assembled a force and re-occupied Jamestown, where he continued to act as governor. After his victory over the Indians, Bacon had disbanded his army except a small force, and allowed the men to return to their homes.

But when he learned what Berkeley had done, he hastened toward Jamestown, as the old chronicle describes it, with "marvelous celerity," gathering his men as he went, who flocked willingly to his standard. He did not rely on force alone, knowing that the English ships were at Jamestown, some of them with guns and all with crews of gallant men, who would be put, he knew, into service, and whenever he could do so, he seized upon the wives of prominent loyalists, who were with Berkeley, and carried them with him as hostages, who were put in conspicuous places in front while intrenchments were thrown up.

The men who had been gathered by the governor were a bad class, and not courageous enough to venture out and attack Bacon. Many of them had joined merely in the hope of securing plunder, and to get the opportunity to do this, deserted, and Berkeley, finding himself without an army, abandoned the town in the night, and the next morning Bacon took possession. Here again he was confronted with a great and serious difficulty. Jamestown was the capital, and was well fortified. If Bacon remained there and held the town, he would, undoubtedly, be in the attitude of a rebel—if he went away, leaving the place undefended, Berkeley would return and the struggle be renewed. Promptness, decision and boldness were characteristics of the man, and summoning a council of war, he proposed that the place should be burned to the ground, and as nobody ventured, at any part of his career, to dispute or question his wishes, the council assented. The records of the colony were secured and removed to a place of safety, and just as night came on the torch was applied to all the houses. Drummond and Lawrence owned the most valuable of the houses, and each of those men fired his own house with his own hand. The English fleet was at anchor about twenty miles down the river, and the light of the conflagration was plainly visible to them, and gave them early notice of what had been done.

Hearing that Brent had assembled a force of loyalists on the Rappahannock, Bacon left the ruins of Jamestown, still smoking, and hastened to meet them. But on his approach the men all joined him, leaving Brent without any army. This gave Bacon absolute control over the whole colony, except the two counties of Accomack and Northampton, which were separated from the others by water.

But it was the last of the exploits of Bacon. His brief career was soon to end. About the 1st of October he died, and, prominent as he was, the cause, place and manner of his death are not certainly known. The generally accepted account is that he perished from an attack of malaria, contracted during the summer from exposure to the miasma of the marshes of lower Virginia. Some, however, declare that he was assassinated. Contemporaneous histories of the events of those days, written by eye-witnesses and participants, while full of minute detail of everything else, yet leave his death unsolved. And this mystery was and is heightened by the fact that his place of burial was not known, except to the few who put his body in the earth, and has never to this day been ascertained. His followers wrote a long epitaph upon him, but even in that no mention of the time or place of his death and burial is made. It is too long to give in full, but two or three extracts will be sufficient to show the estimate his most intimate friends, who were themselves distinguished men, put upon him:

"Death why so crewill: what, no other way,
To manifest thy spleene, but thus to slay,
Our hopes of safety:"
"Our army (though near so strong),
Will want the aid of his commanding tongue,
Which conquered more than Cæsar."

And a publication, made at the time, thus describes him: "Foo tho' he was but a yong man, yet they found him, master and owner of those induments, which constitutes a compleate man, (as to intrinsicalls)—wisdom to apprehend and discretion to chuse."

Immediately after his death, Berkeley caused the most diligent and active search to be made for his grave, but was unable to find it. It was supposed, and charged at the time, that the object was to subject the body to indignities. But this can scarcely be so. Irascible and full of spleen as Berkeley was, it is hard to believe that, honorable cavalier and brave man as he was known to be, he would be guilty of such a cruel and barbarous outrage. His object probably was to be assured that Bacon was in fact dead.

That Bacon was an extraordinary man, and had all the qualities of a great leader, there can be no doubt. He was young when he settled in Virginia, and probably did not know one man in the whole colony. His life there did not exceed three years, yet in that brief time he acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of the colony, its wants, its wrongs, and the remedies for them. He saw with instinctive wisdom that the raids and standing menace of the Indians constituted a great drawback, and therefore addressed himself first to the settlement of that question, which was the most urgent. And he acquired an influence and control as great as any man ever exercised in any country. It was more than influence and control, for the people speedily settled down into a condition of absolute obedience and dependence upon him.

While a member of the Assembly, he caused to be enacted a series of laws intended to correct as far as possible the abuses of the government, which are found in Henning's *Statutes at Large*, and were so entirely his work that they appear in the volume under the heading of "Bacon's Laws." And any one who will take the trouble to look over them will see with what wisdom, sagacity and patriotism they were framed. The first provides for the raising, equipment and management of a military force to operate against the Indians—in which every detail is provided for, even to giving pensions to "all such soldiers as shall be maimed or disabled in this war." Another was to restore deserted Indian lands to the colony; a third regulated offices and office-holders; a fourth authorized free men to vote in the election of burgesses (in other words, gave manhood suffrage), and punished false returns and frauds in elections; and still another, of general pardon and oblivion. Whatever Bacon suggested or wanted was done at once—nobody seemed ever to hesitate in yielding to him, except Berkeley.

After Bacon's death, the king, by proclamation, repealed all the laws, without exception, passed by the Assembly of which Bacon had been a member, and the next Assembly of the colony, elected under the influence and auspices of Berkeley and the government in England, also repealed them by statute, and passed a bill of attainder against the memory of Bacon.

That the Virginia colonists had real grievances of great magnitude, and that they were mercilessly plundered and oppressed, and had ample cause for rebellion, is certain. In order that a true appreciation of the character, motives and purposes of Bacon may be reached, we will give a very brief detail of the injurious and tyrannical measures, both of England and the government of the colony, toward the people. The first, and one of the greatest of these, was the total neglect to provide for the safety and defense of the people against the Indians. It was not neglect only, but absolute refusal and resistance; for Berkeley would not raise and equip a force, and when the people took the matter into their own hands, he declared them rebels. While he professed that he could not gather an army to fight the Indians, he was prompt enough to raise one to fight his own subjects, for no other reason than that they were on the war-path against the savages, without his orders and gracious permission.

The shipping and navigation laws of the English Parliament applicable to the colonies were framed solely for the benefit of the English merchant, shipper and manufacturer, without any regard whatever to the interests of the people of Virginia. An act of Parliament declared that all goods, from whatever country or place they came, intended for Virginia, should be shipped first to England, and thence be reshipped to the colony in English vessels. The object of this was twofold—first to give the whole commissions and profits of carrying to English traders and ships, and next to compel the colonies to buy all they wanted from England, and put it out of their power to trade with any other people. The effect of this was to destroy the only source of revenue the colonists had—the raising of tobacco; for, as it could be sold nowhere but in England, the Englishman could fix his own price and get it on his own terms, and at the same time, the cost of all the people bought was enhanced by charges of transportation, reshipment and duties. And as a means of enforcing this law, the government resorted to a mean subterfuge. Under pretense of protecting the people, forts were erected, and it is not easy to see, at the first glance, why the people objected so much to them. But when we learn that they were not places of defense, but for trade and monopoly, that they were all built on navigable waters and at points secure from the inroads of Indians, we can understand the feeling of the people about them. The people could not sell their tobacco, nor other produce, at any point except where there was a fort, and this under the pretense that the fort was necessary to protect an English armed vessel in deep water and well manned, against the Indians! At last the Virginians came justly to the conclusion that the forts "were only a juggle of the grandees to engross, into their own hands, the whole tobacco trade"—tobacco being then legal currency in Virginia. Bacon forced Berkeley to dismantle and abandon these forts.

Parliament did not stop at the measures mentioned above, but caused duties to be collected on trade between the colonies themselves, and what would seem incredible, if it were not well authenticated, not one dollar of these duties went into the treasury, or was devoted in any way to the public service. The collector got one-half of them, the comptroller one-fourth, and the other fourth was given in salaries to minor officials.

Of the same class of outrages, was the law by which fish from the colonies, if shipped by the colonists, were liable to a duty, but if by a citizen of England, could go free.

What is known as the Northern Neck in Virginia, the region lying between the Potomac and Rappahannock, was one of the earliest settlements in the colony, and at that day was well settled—the people being as a rule wealthy, and living upon well improved estates, under old grants from the crown. But notwithstanding this fact, the king was induced to grant to Lord Culpeper the whole of the Neck, without any reservation whatever. And, as a crowning piece of public plunder and royal favoritism, the whole province of Virginia, about the year 1673, which was the date of Bacon's arrival on the continent, was assigned to Lords Arlington and Culpeper for thirty-one years, with the power to collect for their own use all quitrents, escheats, to make new counties, to grant lands, make presentation to new churches, and to name sheriffs, surveyors, and other officers.

The Assembly, when Bacon reached the colony, was made up almost entirely of loyalists (that meant not only a man who was loyal to the crown, but who was its devoted slave and tool) and landowners, who, in order to preserve their own power, restricted the right of suffrage, confining it entirely to men who owned a freehold. It voted itself two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco a day for each member, worth then about nine dollars, and equivalent to fifty now, and kept itself in office for year after year by taking recesses, and again re-assembling.

After this recital, we think that the reader will conclude that Bacon was more patriot than rebel—or if rebel, that he had good reason to be so. He lived a hundred years too soon. If he had been the contemporary of the great men of 1776, his name and fame would have been as resplendent as theirs.

John W. Johnston

THE PROPERTY LINE OF 1768

The treaty of 1768 at Fort Stanwix was one of the most important ever consummated by the English and the Six Nations. The object of this treaty was to fix what should be forever a dividing line between English avarice and Indian revenge, between the sovereignty of England and the great tribal union of the Six Nations. This important line, which has exerted so marked an influence in both war and civilization, was known for many years as the "boundary line," and not until after the Revolution did the more definite term of "The Property Line" come into use.

The causes which led to the treaty at Fort Stanwix had been at work for many years. The Indians were discontented with the treatment they received from the English, and at last rebelled against the frauds practiced upon them by the Indian traders and the agents of the crown. For many years the colonists had looked with longing eyes to the rich valleys of the Wyoming and the Ohio, and after the French and Indian war they commenced crossing the mountains to occupy the desired fields. Thus the Indians saw their limits every year growing more narrow, and nursed within their hearts the spirit of revenge at this invasion of their hunting grounds. In 1763 England set apart the valley of the Ohio and the adjacent region as an Indian domain, and the Lords of Trade of London issued a proclamation strictly forbidding settlers to intrude upon this territory. For a time it had the desired effect, and the Indians were more peaceable. But colonists soon began to cross the mountains and settle in the forbidden region, and outrages on the border told of the coming troubles.

Besides the discontent of the Indians, other matters, quite as important, hastened the adoption of a boundary line. The Indian trade, which had promised such large returns if pursued in the West, was almost a failure. It had decreased more rapidly after the occupation of Illinois, because of the strong opposition from the French traders, who still retained their hold upon the tribes in that region. The Spaniards had also commenced to seek favor with the western tribes, and drawn away much profitable trade. This condition of affairs was observed by the wealthy trading companies of the East with no slight alarm. How to gain further western trade, and retain what they already had, was the absorbing theme. Finally it was decided that by the purchase of a large tract of land south of the Ohio, and the establishment of an English colony, the Indian business could be made profitable. Sir William Johnson thought that a regular civil government could be formed in that region, which would revive declining trade. In the spring of 1764, Sir William had instructed his agent, George Croghan, who was then in London, to prepare a memorial* on Indian affairs for the Lords of Trade. In this he urged that the British government purchase a large tract, to be bounded on the north by the Ohio River, and that a new colony should be established there. Two very important matters were urged in favor of such a purchase. First, the grant made to the Ohio Company was still in dispute, and many influential persons were impatient for its settlement. In the second place, the lands purchased by Governor Dinwiddie in 1754, to be distributed as bounty lands, were unapportioned, and the soldiers who had enlisted under this inducement were eagerly pressing their claims. It became more and more evident that land must be obtained from some source to satisfy the claims of the Ohio Company and the soldiers. The discontent of the Indians, the declining Indian trade, and the need of land were the more apparent causes which led to the adoption of a boundary between the colonists and the Indians. Aside from these, there were causes at work in the "mother country," which, though more concealed, were exerting quite as much influence over the American policy. Parliament had commenced to view with alarm the rapid interior growth of America. The Lords of Trade thought a prosperous colony in the interior, being quite remote from the sea coast, would very soon erect manufactories, by their own industry supply their wants, and thus become independent of the "mother country." This meant ruin to English trade in America. Then, too, England wished to keep the colonies near the coast, in order that they might be of easy access to the British soldiery. Although it may seem strange, England feared most of all to have the colonies in peace. The prevailing opinion was that if a peaceful border was maintained with the Indians, the colonists would not be obliged to call on British arms for aid or defense, and that England's children across the sea would become alienated. It will be seen that when a boundary line was about to be determined upon, England, on account of this fear, sought to make the limits of colonies as narrow as possible.

In response to the memorial which Croghan had presented, the Lords of Trade recommended that he ascertain the disposition of the Six Nations respecting a "boundary line." Accordingly, at a conference at Johnson Hall, in April and May, 1765, Sir William said that the king wished to end all dispute between the Indians and his people concerning lands, and that a boundary between them—which no white man should ever invade—was the surest way to end all cause for such disputes. After consultation among themselves, the Onondaga speaker, in behalf of the red men, said they would agree to a boundary running from Fort Edward along the Mohawk Castle, and from there along the Great Mountains to Harris Ferry* on the Susquehanna, remarking at the same time, that "if the English would be more honest, we should be more generous." Such a line as they had proposed, Sir William explained to them, would be ridiculous, since England already possessed considerable land west of it. After this the Indians went into consultation, and on the sixth of May, assembled and reported a more reasonable consideration of the line. They said it should follow the water-courses, beginning at Owegy, † on the East Branch of the Susquehanna, thence down the east side of the river to Shamoken ‡ (or Fort Augusta), and running up the West Branch, and from there to Kittanning or Adigo, on the Ohio; then the line was to continue down the Ohio to the Cherokee River, § and up the same to its head. This line they could not close to eastward at that time, they said, because of the opposition of the tribes living about the Susquehanna, but they hoped to continue it from Owegy up the river to Cherry Valley Lake, and thence to German Flats. At this, Sir William Johnson, not being empowered to take any decisive action in regard to the matter, only made treaties of peace with the several tribes represented; after which he dismissed the congress. As they were departing, they expressed their willingness to attend the grand meeting for settling the boundary line, when it should be called. They also promised to abide by what they had said.

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* See Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, vol. vii., p. 602.

It was at this time that the spirit of independence, like the giant Enceladus, whom fable has told was buried beneath Mount Ætna, sweating under the burden which oppressed it, commenced to stir itself. The feeling of discontent at English oppression was wide spread throughout the colonies. The attention of Parliament, as well as that of the Lords of Trade, was so occupied in attempting to quiet these rebellious feelings and outbreaks, that the subject of "the boundary line" was dropped for some time. Sir William, however, called attention to it in nearly every letter which he wrote to the Lords of Trade; yet it was not until December, 1767, that they wrote to Shelburne, then in charge of colonial affairs, urging the expediency of establishing at once the long agitated boundary. They deemed it advisable, however, to extend the line no farther down the Ohio than the mouth of the Conohway River. In modern geography this river is known as the Great Kanawha. By terminating at this river, it would meet the line agreed upon by the governors of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, in behalf of their colonies and the Cherokees, in 1765, as a boundary between their lands. That line extended from the Conohway River to the southern part of Florida, and from there followed, at a few miles to inland, the Gulf coast, and terminated at Mobile Bay. If this had been done at the Treaty of 1768, an unbroken boundary would have been established.

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* Now Harrisburg, Pa.

† Owego.

‡ This place is now Sunbury, Pa.

§ The Indian name of the present Tennessee River.

In 1767, the management of the colonies was taken from Shelburne and given to Hillsborough, whose early duty was to communicate "His Majesty's" command concerning the immediate settlement of the "boundary line" to Sir William Johnson. In accordance with this command, Guy Johnson, Sir William's deputy, sent belts among the Confederacy, calling them to a congress at Fort Stanwix, in September; it was then in the spring of 1768. The time was ill adapted to the satisfactory settlement of the boundary. The French and Spaniards had sent belts among the Confederacy, summoning a congress at the Mississippi; also urging the Indians to a general uprising against the English. The Indians, already much incensed at the long delay in the settlement of the boundary, became uneasy and undecided. They were surrounded by conflicting influences—had trusted the English, and been defrauded, had turned to the crafty Frenchman and the smooth-tongued Spaniard, and been in turn deceived and cheated—and they looked forward to the important gathering at Fort Stanwix with but little hope or anticipation.

Sir William had been commanded by Hillsborough * to extend an unbroken line of Indian frontier from Georgia to Canada, as an impassable barrier to immigration. In this command is seen the spirit which wished to keep the colonies under the watchful eye of the British soldiery. But both the command and the wish were disobeyed. Stuart had been appointed agent to settle the western boundary of Virginia, and in October he met the chiefs of the Cherokees at Hard Labor, in western South Carolina. At that council they established as a boundary a straight line running north from Chiswell's mine, on the east bank of the Great Kanawha, to where it empties into the Ohio. This line was in accordance with the instructions Stuart had received. But Virginia was looking with eager eyes toward the valleys beyond the mountains, and in order to defeat the treaty at Hard Labor, she sent Thomas Walker as her commissioner to the congress at Fort Stanwix. On the 19th of September, Sir William, accompanied by Governor Wm. Franklin, of New Jersey, reached Fort Stanwix. He found the commissioners from Virginia await-

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* Bancroft, vol. iv., page 126.

ing him, and the commissioners from Pennsylvania and New Jersey* soon arrived. The Indians came not with their usual promptness, but slowly and in small bands. By the first of October, only eight hundred and five had arrived, making scarcely one-third of the number desired to be present. While waiting the coming of the others the twenty batteaux of flour and provisions, which had been sent to the fort from Albany, were fast disappearing. Other belts were sent among the lagging Indians. On the 24th of October, nearly three thousand had arrived, and the congress was opened with the usual ceremonies.

Besides the Six Nations, the Shawnees and the Delawares were represented. After all had been seated, Sir William reviewed the commissions of the gentlemen from the colonies. The first few days were spent in condoling with the Indians and lighting anew their council fires. The scene at Fort Stanwix on the morning of the 24th must have been picturesque and interesting. Words of welcome were spoken which were best suited to the character of " the sons of the forest," to whom everything in nature carried an idea, and whose language was almost entirely figurative. Their sorrows were indicated by tears; their joys and hopes by sunshine; their comfort and peace by the council fire. After welcoming them, Sir William said:† " I do now, agreeable to the ancient custom established by our fathers, proceed to the ceremony of condolence usual on these occasions, and, first, with this string of wampun I do, on behalf of His Majesty and all his subjects, wipe away the tears from your eyes, which you are constantly shedding for your late deceased chiefs, and I clear your sight that so you may look cheerfully at your brethren, who are come from several of the provinces to attend this general congress, ordered by His Majesty to be held by me, in order to settle some necessary points between him and you. With this string I clear the passage to your hearts, that you may speak cheerfully and candidly on the several subjects which, during this congress, will be treated of, as well as to remove all sorrow and uneasiness from you." On saying this he gave two belts. And so Sir William continued and gave several belts, with which he rekindled their council fires and dispelled the darkness about them. This occupied the first day of the congress. The warriors gave the accustomed "Yo-ha" at the proper places. On the following day Canaghquieson, chief of the Oneidas, answered the ceremony of condolence in these words: "Brother,—We congratulate you, the governor, and the rest of the gentlemen on your safe arrival at this place, where we are heartily glad to meet you." Then, after repeating what Sir William had said in presenting the three strings of wampum the day before, he said they did, on their part, wipe away the tears which their brothers, the English, were shedding for their losses, as they would also wipe away the blood of their friends from their seats, cleansing their hearts that they might be able to attend to the important affairs which were to be transacted. After giving Sir William three belts of wampum, he said: " Brother, we are much concerned at the losses you have met with since our last congress, and we sincerely condole with you upon the occasion for them all." He then gave a belt of nine rows of beads, and continued: " Brother, we thank you for rekindling our several council fires, whereby we are enabled to proceed to business as formerly, and we shall endeavor to render our meeting useful to the public." He then gave another belt.

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* Richard Peters and James Tilghman were the commissioners from the Province of Pennsylvania, and Chief Justice Smith represented New Jersey—Geo. Croghan, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson, and several other gentlemen from the colonies.

† Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, vol. viii., page 114.

So the ceremony of answering the condolence was continued, the chief thanking them for the observance of their ancient custom, rekindling their council fires, and giving them the torch by which they might travel by night. As another preliminary to the business of the congress, the chiefs were given presents, trinkets and showy trappings. In this manner Sir William adroitly worked his way into the favor and confidence of the Indians.

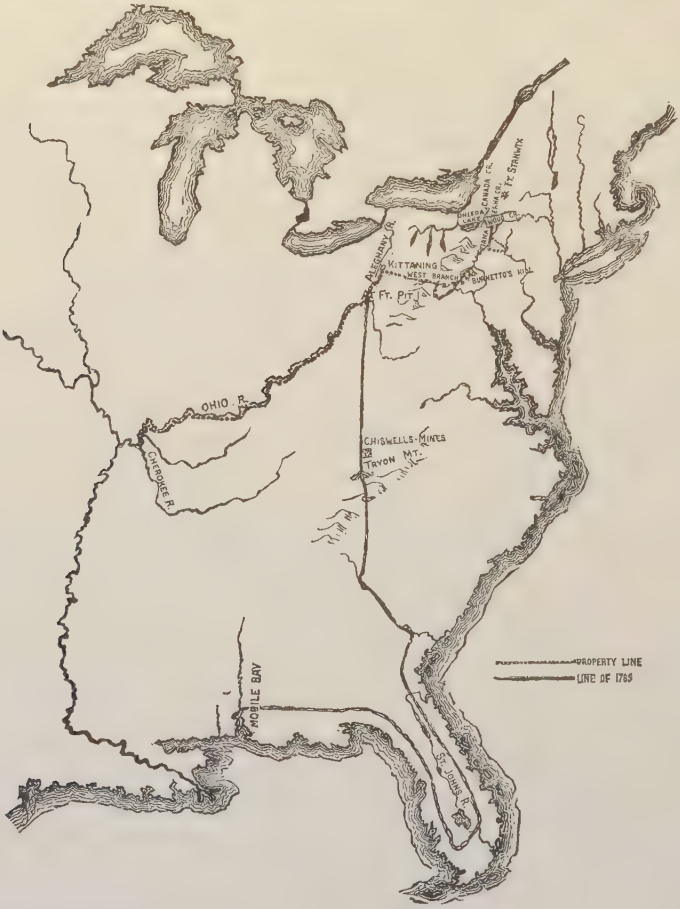
On the 26th Sir William laid the subject of the "boundary line" before them. From that day until the 5th of November the congress was convened and adjourned on each day; the Indians held councils among themselves daily concerning the matter. Great difficulty was experienced in extending the "line" from the Delaware River; the Indians desired that it should run from that river to Lake George, as they had proposed at the conference at Johnson Hall in 1765. The cause of the difficulty was that the Indians wished to keep the carrying place between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek. The carrying place was the only barrier to navigation between the Mohawk and the Great Lakes. It seems that the Indians, grasping this fact, thought that by keeping this they might become transporters for the traders. Sir William saw at once the danger which would arise in such a case. It was extremely probable that it would lead to continual trouble and variance between the traders and the Indians. So he determined that the line should extend to, or very near, Lake Ontario. After considerable parley the Indians consented to give up the carrying place, and that the "line" should have its northern termination at the confluence of Canada and Wood Creeks. By Saturday, the 5th of November, everything had been agreed upon, and on the morning of that day all assembled about the fort, and a chief for each nation signed the deed determining the "boundary line" and conveying the land to the English. The chiefs used a symbol of their nation as their signatures individually.

The deed conveyed to the English all lands east of a line commencing at the confluence of the Ohio and Cherokee rivers, and following the Ohio and Alleghany rivers to Kittanning. From Kittanning it went in a straight line to the west branch of the Susquehanna, and along the Burnett Hills to the east branch of the same river. It then followed the east branch as far as Owegy. From thence it went to the Delaware, following it for a short distance, and then the "line" went across the country to the confluence of Tianaderah Creek and the Susquehanna; it then followed the Tianaderah to the head of its westerly branch; a straight line from that point to the confluence of Wood and Canada creeks completed the boundary.

After signing the deed, the chiefs spent the remainder of the day in distributing the money and goods which they received from the sale. £10,000 was the price the English paid for the vast tract of land and all the privileges which the treaty at Fort Stanwix brought them. Thus closed the last and greatest treaty between England and the Six Nations. It was by the "line" then adopted that England acquired the right to say to the colonies, "so far and no farther;" by this did she gain the right to settle lands in Kentucky, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. England recognized and the Indians asserted their rights in that clause of the deed which affirmed that the Six Nations were the "true and absolute proprietors of the lands in question." Sunday, November 6, the Indians commenced to leave the fort and Sir William returned to Johnson Hall. Very soon the garrison was withdrawn from the fort, and it stood desolate and forsaken amid the leafless trees of a November landscape, a fitting emblem of the race which had so recently bartered away their birthright, and of the fast fading glory of a once proud and powerful people.

While the Indians were assuming a more peaceful attitude, after the consummation of this treaty, the colonies were growing more restive under the British oppression. The clouds of war grew thicker and blacker until the storm burst. It is when viewed in the light of that event that the importance of the treaty at Fort Stanwix is seen. It averted a general Indian war, which might have prevented the Revolution; for the union which would have taken place between England and the colonies, in the event of such a war, might have bridged the gulf between the "mother country" and her colonies. This treaty was the means of keeping the Six Nations neutral during the first part of the Revolution; and even when they took an active part in the struggle, the Oneidas remained true to the colonies.

After the Revolution, both the treaty and the "boundary line" were still considered binding; the Declaration of Independence extended only to the line of 1768. The lands west of it still belonged to the Indians, and when the colonies, or rather the States, extended their borders, they professed, at least, to purchase the lands they occupied. It was in connection with these purchases that the line ceased to be a "boundary line," and became known as the "property line;" for in all conveyances of land between the whites and the Indians, this line was the standard of measurement; and years later it was used in the same manner in all real estate transactions, along its extent, among the settlers themselves. That part of the "line" in New York, which extends from the Unadilla to Wood Creek, has been especially well preserved in history; the patent of Coxeborough, which



was granted soon after its adoption, was bounded by it on the west. At a council of the entire confederacy at Fort Stanwix, October 15, 1784, a treaty was made by which a special reservation was made to the "Six Nations," the "unfriendly Mohawks excepted;" and a boundary was established between the Oneidas and the State of New York, upon the "property line of 1768." In Oneida County the presence of the "line" is noticeable, even at the present day, by the fences and highways, which run either parallel or at right angles to it.

Yet even more abiding monuments to this famous line remain. On the 1st of July, 1794, Baron Steuben, in the presence of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, Shanondo, Chief of the Oneidas, and others, laid the first corner-stone of Hamilton Oneida Academy. This academy, which was the beginning of Hamilton College, was but a few hundred yards west of the "line." The design of its founder, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, was that both the Indian and white man should receive an education there. On the 30th of June, 1885, the class of '87 of Hamilton College dedicated a monument marking the spot where this "line" crosses College Hill. To the thoughtful observer, the "line," the monument, and the college crowning the distant hills are mile-stones in the path of progress and civilization.

By the terms of the treaty of 1768, the "line" was to be unchangeable, but history shows how this purpose was defeated. It was useless to attempt to restrain the onward march of civilization. The principles which crossed in the *Mayflower* were destined to grow and send their influence throughout the world. And they did grow; civilization followed the "star of empire," and pushed before it all boundaries of race or color. Before its westward march all boundaries retreated, until, passing beyond the "Golden Gate," they were lost in the waters of the "peaceful ocean." Centuries ago Balboa, stood knee deep in the Pacific, and claimed America for the King of Spain; but Liberty was seeking a home and "the hand of destiny" guided the fair goddess across the blue Atlantic to Columbia, "the land of the free."

Charles. W. E. Chapin.

JOHN VAN BUREN

A STUDY IN BY-GONE POLITICS

In no department of letters is the ideal of the critic more exacting than in history. He would have it the union of science and art. He would combine the patient precision of the antiquary with judicial penetration and dramatic skill. He would have the truth, and yet have it clothed with the charm of fiction—the accuracy of the photograph with the colors of a picture in oil. Artists sketch and paint, dry-as-dusts chronicle and compile, philosophers preach and bore, but the style, the fact and the philosophy rarely combine—the qualities are too difficult and too diverse. Nevertheless, criticism has not been futile. Under its persistent teaching, the first fundamental has been slowly instilled. The muse of history has gradually assumed the scientific temper, without which art is only romance.

In this view the past, like the present, is an intricate maze. No longer content to survey but the peaks, we would see the plains and valleys of the past, where the myriads toiled and moiled at the foundations of the state. To comprehend the chief events, we would trace the combined and devious influences from which they emerged—a means peculiarly needful to elucidate our own political annals. For in no other land have public events more manifold sources, and affairs of state more remote and complex causes. Such is the hybrid fruit of politics and popular government.

In the days of ambitious youth, few words have more dignified and stimulating associations than "statesmanship." And government, upon which the happiness of the race so largely depends, may justly induce a greater deference than is due to other intellectual activities which rest upon canons of art instead of human hearts and shoulders. It is this gravity of reality that dignifies statesmanship. Yet, in looking back upon the past through the medium of classic annals, generous-minded youth, unversed in the motives and methods of action in the field of politics and government, is not likely to discern the multifarious and seemingly trivial undercurrents of events which inaugurate historical epochs and give to nations their character. Nor does the discernment of the elements of history now transacting itself about us obtain in much greater degree among the masses through whose agency that history is being created.

The people, although supreme, are a most ductile and tractable sovereign.

Within certain extremes of endurance they are easily satisfied, easily mollified. Their political affiliations are fixed by their principles. Those principles may be hereditary or acquired, reasoned or absorbed, but as a rule they are steadfast and controlling. Not seeking political influence or preferment, the average citizen is seldom moved by other considerations; and while he is reasonably proud of his powers and privileges, he is commonly content with that exercise of them which begins and ends with casting the party vote. The large and stable element thus composed forms the reliable basis of the two chief phases of political action—the strife among politicians to control the convention, and the effort of party to gain the floating vote when it holds the balance of power. And here is the sub-soil of history.

Thus the dignity of the state and the statesman, in the mind of the student and the citizen who judge from consequences rather than causes, changes in some degree to a different sentiment when they come to perceive the composition of events and the mechanism of public prominence. To such the first interior view of politics is neither elevating nor inspiring. They find the Constitution the fruit of a deal; in the annexation of Texas another motive than the grandeur of the Union; and in the civil war a theatre of personal ambitions. They find the great men of their conception given to their pettinesses and subservience to empty clamor; find that instead of being held in power and position by their superior talents alone, they were equally dependent upon their intrigues and manipulations. They find that in politics interests are monarch, motor and monitor, and that duplicity and machination are there reduced to a science. But with a more mature and practical understanding of the situation, their notions grow less splenetic. They see that the pursuit of one's interests may be consistent with high motives and pure character; that while politics afford scope and opportunity for much that is unworthy, they do not justify a wholesale reprehension, and are to be judged rather as a system by itself with its own peculiar needs and conditions.

And this is the proper view. Politics are indigenous to American soil, and are the most potent trait of the American character. And if the mass of our citizens neither practice nor comprehend political politics, so to speak, it is not because they lack the talent. Few men among us but have an axe to grind; and the methods of the merchant to increase his trade, of the newspaper its circulation, and of the capitalist his property, evince a quality closely cognate with that possessed by the ward politician.

Justly considered, therefore, the successful politician is no mean character. His possibilities, both of honor to himself and service to his country, are unbounded. But on the other hand, the difficulties he encounters are fully commensurate. Unalterable conditions may, as too often they do, uplift nonentities into political power; personified accidents are no strangers to American history. He is hedged about with rival ambitions and rival forces. His career is a continuous warfare for self-preservation, in which no power of intellect or person is unuseful—breadth of information; depth of insight; impressiveness of mien; eloquence of voice; reserve where reserve is needful; prudence ever; absolute knowledge of human nature and human motives; the reflection of a philosopher; the sagacious and masterful alertness of a commander in the field—and he of all men may combine the deepest thought with the greatest power of action.

History presents a few examples of that exalted standard, frequent approaches to it, innumerable gradations below it. And be it known that many a political contemporary, be-damned of party minions and a carping press, possesses hints of these qualities which are best recognized by their immediate rivals. Nor is it strange that in such an arena, where the prizes are so lofty and the requirements so great, the frailty of human nature should be so often revealed.

Such, in its true light, is the field of American politics. It has developed great men, and brought into transient note numberless small ones; betrayed the flaws of strong men, and displayed single high qualities in men otherwise ordinary. But it presents another phase, if not so imposing, quite as interesting as those phases illustrated by such characters as Franklin, Hamilton and Webster, Washington, Lincoln and Grant. The greater the telescope that turns its gaze on the outmost stars, the deeper its foundations in the soil and rock below. The greater the statesman whose far-seeing eye bears ever upon the future, the deeper the basis of his power among his local constituents. He marks out paths of national policy, and thrills the Senate and the country with their exposition; but if he would retain his elevated post at the helm of state, he must needs have a watchful eye upon the politics of a re-election. This may seem to mar the dignity of his career, but it correspondingly enhances its difficulties. And it is chiefly this need which has called into service that class of acute and talented minds which have given to our politics their characteristic complexion. They have been astute, able and eloquent—abler in single traits than those to whose fortunes they were attached, although but little known beyond their State in the sphere of national politics. Such a man was John Van Buren, and a brief study of his career will serve the purpose of rescuing some rapidly fading traditions, and of presenting what may be termed an elementary view of the history of his times.

He who would understand the complexities and convolutions of politics should turn his attention to the history of New York State. Virginia may have furnished more Presidents, South Carolina more disturbance, Massachusetts more genius; but for political influence, political embroilment, and the number of men potently prominent in national history, New York stands alone. She has been a law unto herself, and a dictator to the Union. It is here that most of the party creeds have found their first foothold, and that political principles as variegated as the fashions of Paris have been duly furnished forth. Federalism, democratism, whigism, anti-masonism, libertyism, free-soilism, know-nothingism, all found in New York a salubrious air. On her affluent soil exotic germs soon became domesticated plants; and in the era of personal politics no creed and no principles were too absurd to be long without an interest to serve. The maker of parties, platforms and Presidents she still remains, as may be significantly seen in the most familiar axiom of existing party policy: "As goes New York, so goes the Union."

It is a super-scientific tendency of the time—the excessive outgrowth of a sound idea—to find great principles matured at their conception, their final supremacy clearly foreseen by their earliest teachers, and the long series of events they underlie humanly or divinely designed. But human wisdom is as much the creature of circumstance as it is of inspiration; and the disciples of Hamilton, for instance, may attribute to his master mind a greater degree of foresight than is justly due. Viewing the cardinal elements of the national polity as they are now defined, we are apt to ignore in our search for symmetrical development the slight turns in the scales of events that might often have culminated in widely divergent results—so long were the conditions so plastic. Thus the history of the United States, from the establishment of the Constitution to the reconstruction, is not a regular and uncheckered growth of the federal idea. No small part of the road to present nationality was through a most incoherent and distracting jumble of politics and personal ambitions. A senator once prominent in public life was wont to say that he missed the fame of the statesman by just a hair. He was forced into retirement by the legislature of his State for the lack of a single vote, which would have been thrown for him but for a remark made years before in reference to the precision with which that member parted his locks in the middle. Under scarcely less trivial circumstances has many an individual power high in its destiny, and many a factional division vast in its consequences, been created. Jackson and Jefferson are looked upon as the prime exponents of the democratic theory; yet none of the public characters who have left their impress upon party principles have owed more to claptrap and trivialities, have been more demagogical and inconsistent, and despite their political creed more arbitrary in personal power or greater exemplars of governmental centrality. And perhaps no instance better illustrates the prevalence of personal jealousies and the subordinacy of political principles, during what may be termed the middle age of American politics, than the squabble that disrupted Jackson's first cabinet, and sent Van Buren on his ill-starred mission to the Court of St. James. It was this mission that brought into more general notice his son and our subject—John.

At this time the career of Martin Van Buren had proved him a politician of the first degree. He was born in 1782, at Kinderhook, in the midst of New York Dutchdom, and with a parentage on both sides of good Dutch folk. He was an uncommonly bright boy and a born politician, doubtless receiving his first practical lessons in politics and human nature in the bar-room of his father's tavern. He began to read law at the age of fourteen, pettifogging the meanwhile with assiduity and success—an experience admirably adapted to develop his prudence and tactical skill. He attended convention at eighteen, and spent the last year of his legal preparation at Albany with William P. Van Ness, one of the best known members of the State bar, and the frequent associate of Aaron Burr. He was admitted to practice in 1803, his twenty-first year, and returned to his native town to begin, or rather to renew, his operations. And so well had he succeeded, both as lawyer and local leader in politics, that in 1808 he was appointed surrogate of his county, and removed to Hudson the following year. Here his legal reputation and political power rapidly increased, and in 1812 he was made attorney-general of the State. Soon after this he was elected to the State Senate, and in 1816, holding both offices, he removed to Albany. In consequence of the "Bucktail" opposition to Clinton, he was removed from the office of attorney-general in 1819; but in 1821, his faction being uppermost, he was elected by the legislature to the Senate of the United States, where he remained until 1828, when, at the behest of the Albany Regency, he was elected governor of his State, and resigned his senatorial seat. This office he in turn resigned in 1829 to accept the post of Secretary of State in the cabinet of Andrew Jackson.

The history of New York State, over which this period of Van Buren's career extends, is full of instructive interest, presenting in epitome all the characteristic features of the national politics of the time. And while it must not further detain us, it may be observed how fittingly was its furious and factional wrangling adapted to develop and display Van Buren's peculiar genius. He was not a great man, and had thus far contributed little to the record whose narration comprises the common histories of his country. Nevertheless, in the meantime New York had exerted a powerful sway in national affairs, and he was a prime factor in his State. He possessed deep prudence and much serviceable learning. In speech he was easy and agreeable, in manner suave and prepossessing, in methods sagacious and ambi-dextrous. He understood the art of leading by seeming to follow, and knew the danger of too fixed and pronounced opinions. Altogether, perhaps, he was the most finished and wholesome type of the mere politician the country had produced. Thus, as the representative of the New York Democracy, he entered the "Kitchen Cabinet;" and here, with the facile deftness of his genius, he secured from Jackson the promise of the presidential succession, and straightway began his effort to stifle the similar aspirations of Calhoun.

It is unnecessary to our purpose to review the dissensions of this cabinet, in which the fortunes of Peggy O'Niel played a greater part than did Democratic principles. But the astute Van Buren, taking advantage of Jackson's spleen and pugnacity, wedded him unalterably to the presidential scheme. The quarrel soon made a renovation of the cabinet needful, and thereupon, in pursuance of the concerted plan, the Jacksonians were to resign, that the others might profit by the example. Accordingly, in April, 1831, Van Buren led the way, and was at once appointed minister to England, where he arrived on the following September, accompanied by John Van Buren as Secretary of Legation. John was then in his twenty-first year.

Whoever attempts to afford an interior or personal glimpse of our most interesting political period finds his greatest obstacle in the dearth of that invaluable class of writings coming under the head of Memoirs. History is but aggregate biography; and it is chiefly in books of that description that we are able to secure concrete information of the men who make history. To know how such dined and wined, how they figured and conversed, what was the minutely woven web of their relations with the striving world at their elbows, is to discover the molecules of national life. Thus general history, even at its best, is very like a painting by Turner—reflecting much less than it represents. And this defect, inherent in general history, exists also in no small degree in American biography, because of the lack of such molecular material. However, it is not to be expected that a people, as yet scarcely able to boast a national literature, should have produced much in the way of memoirs—the fruit of a widely diffused literary temperament, which only results from the long existence of a refined and leisured class. And doubtless those histories, for the most part profitless, which have already been written by those in the current of events, forerun an order of memoirs similar to that of which England and France have been so admirably prolific, and which is so essential to the portrayal of the past to the life. Such recollections of John Van Buren would throw a strong light into the dim recesses of by-gone politics, and delight lovers of wit with the sayings of one of the most brilliant men of his day.

What John's youth must have been may be inferred to some extent from the character of his surroundings. He was born February 18, 1810, while his father was surrogate at Hudson, and was, therefore, but six years old when the latter was made attorney-general, and took up his residence at Albany. From this time his associations and opportunities, combined with his uncommon and precocious talents, made the career of his youth quite without example in this country. And, indeed, if we would seek a parallel, perhaps none better could be found than in the youth of Charles James Fox. But a comparison between Lord Holland and Martin Van Buren, except in their relations with their sons, would be as unjust to the latter as between Fox and John Van Buren it would be to the former, though not for the same reasons. Lord Holland, as we may see in Trevelyan's racy pages, was as much above Van Buren in natural parts as he was below him in political honor. Van Buren may have been a consummate master of the political art and a genius for political management, but his decency and his honor were as spotless as his immaculate linen, and his methods as precise and seemly as the cut of his unwrinkled broadcloth. He possessed too much discretion and too good taste to be either greedy or dishonest. Holland, however, prostituted his powers to venality, and deliberately flung to the winds a fine career for the sake of public plunder. His appetite outweighed his ambition. He bought his peerage with a dirty job for George the Third, and retired with the spoils of the pay-office and the unchallenged distinction of being the chief political buccaneer of his time. But in the teeth of national opprobrium he enjoyed life. "He looked upon the public as a milch cow, which might bellow and toss its horns as much as ever it pleased, now that he had filled his pail and placed the gate between himself and the animal." A man of genius, high-living and prodigal spirits, he was as lax and lavish in private life as before he had been in the means of acquiring his wealth. He delighted in his family, and especially in the gay-tempered and talented Charles. But his love for the boy took a most unique course. "Never was there a more gracious child, more rich in promise, more prone to good, when, in the spring of

1763, the devil entered the heart of Lord Holland. . . . He could think of no better diversion than to take Charles (then in his fourteenth year) from his books, and convey him to the Continent on a round of idleness and dissipation. At Spa his amusement was to send his son every night to the gaming table with a pocketful of gold; and . . . took not a little pains to contrive that the boy should leave France a finished rake. Youth as he was, and absolutely in the hands of his parent, whose fascinating manners aided and disguised an uncommon force of will, and to whom every corner of the great world was intimately known, he had little choice in this or in any other vital matter. His bench in Parliament was ready for him (at the age of nineteen) and his niche in society. Few have had the downward path made smoother before them, or strewn with brighter flowers and more deadly berries. He was received with open arms by all that was most select and least censorious in London. . . . Like Byron, Fox had no occasion to seek admission into what is called the highest circle, but was a part of it from the first. Instead of being tolerated by fine gentlemen, he was one of themselves—hand and glove with every noble rake who filled his pockets from the Exchequer and emptied them over the hazard table; and smiled on by all the dowagers and maids of honor, as to the state of whose jointures and complexions our envoy at Florence was kept so regularly and minutely informed." It is, therefore, no marvel that the loose living of these early years, in a period when gout was a badge of aristocracy and forty-five old age, should have sown the seeds that were to sprout up and choke his brilliant career. Yet, though he plunged in the midst of such fashionable dissoluteness and debauchery, cheek by jowl with the offscourings of a peerage whose descendants have in our own day supplied the salacious and sensational columns of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, he was also put upon a footing of intimacy with every public man, every genius, and every wit of note in the United Kingdom, or that blazed in the courts of the Continent. And if thus surrounded by the great, he imbibed wisdom beyond his years, it is also possible that his precocious brilliance, like the gilded fly in *Nana*, was somewhat due to the putrescent but phosphorizing muck-heap of English society. Vice was never an enemy of wit.

The dangers and advantages of John Van Buren were as similar as national and social conditions would allow. But American upper-crusts, as a class, have never treated dissipation as a means of social distinction; although in the younger days of John Van Buren the pseudo-aristocracy of the North took lessons from the more blue-blooded oligarchy of the South, and imitated many of its vices without emulating its balancing virtues. He belonged by birth and name to that circle jealous then and proud still of its Dutch descent, tracing it from the age of the Princes of Orange to the days of the New Netherland patroons. This, aided by his father's ascending star, opened to him the door to all that was ultra and gilt-edged, as well as to all that was gifted and notable. And with his extraordinary social talents he made the most of his opportunities. From his first appearance—a mere boy of six—on the scene at Albany, then the focus of New York politics and aristocracy, he became the pet of his father's clan and the prodigy of Dutchdom.

It may well be doubted, however, whether he profited to a very scholarly degree by his educational advantages. We find him graduated from Yale at the age of eighteen, after a preparation at the Albany Academy, where even then his brilliancy and promise were equaled by his supply of cash. Deep scholarship is not acquired so soon, and especially in his case, when in his college days he could empty his bottle at dinner as quickly as the next man, was a crack at billiards, the center of wit and gayety, and the willing target of beauty. But Martin Van Buren understood the social as well as the mechanical side of politics. He knew the political efficacy of the dinner table, to which John was admitted from youth, to spice the conclaves of the Regency; and it was doubtless his intimate contact with these rulers of New York politics that supplied the chief part of his practical education. And this Albany Regency, so-called, was no pigmy in its day. It was the immediate progenitor of the modern ring. It illustrated the more decent side of political bossism, and, on the whole, its more vicious features were as yet rudimental. It came into being in 1820 as an essential incident of the newly instituted convention system, and maintained a substantial supremacy until the Free Soil diversion of 1848, the beginning of its end.

When this organization—if, indeed, a body that existed without formalities, to which allegiance was known by act instead of declaration, and obedience to the leadership of superior ability or political circumstance its only ritual, may be called an organization—became potentially the Democratic party of the State, Martin Van Buren was at its head. In fact, whether or not he was its inspiration or its Atlas, its power began and waned with his. Its ramifications were subtle and widely dispersed; in every polling place it soon came to have its henchmen, and in every district its reliable delegations to convention. With subalterns and subordinates, in its palmy days, its dictation was arbitrary and unquestioning; but its rule, however absolute or exacting, was that which practiced eye for fitness and ability and profoundest sense of policy and discretion never permitted to degenerate into objectless and irrational tyranny. It was the consummate master of all its varied resources from presidential patronage down to the collectors and lock-tenders along the canals. Its rewards to fealty, if often delayed by the neccessities of the general policy, were nevertheless as certain as the penalties of disloyalty ; and its power, founded upon these principles and adhering rigidly to them through good and evil report, soon combined the chief magnates and the most efficient menials of the New York State Democracy.

Foremost among these so-called Regents was Silas Wright, esteemed a great man in his day. He was solid and sensible, and, without show or eloquence, able in debate with such men as Webster and Clay. He was prudent withal, and the obedient servant of the power at home to which he was indebted for his elevation; but time, a tolerably just arbiter on the whole, has rated him rather less than did his own generation. Then there was Marcy, also in turn senator and governor, and at all times Van Buren's faithful friend and lieutenant. He was a sound lawyer and an acute politician, though less formidable in speech than with his pen; for he possessed an uncommonly good literary style, which made him a master of documentary politics. But his chief distinction in these days is that he was first to apply to political warfare the expressive phrase, "To the victor belong the spoils." Any enumeration of these leaders must also include Edwin Croswell, editor of the *Argus*, and in some sense the Thurlow Weed of the Democratic party, although regarded by his allies as infinitely more than Weed's intellectual peer. He was a strong writer, a discreet adviser, and the judicious manipulator of the State printing. Azariah Flagg was another of the managers, known for his inflexible honesty as well as for his political sagacity. Then came the noted firm of "Hill, Cagger & Porter," partners both in politics and in law.

Whatever may be said of this ancestral ring, or of its more degenerate offspring, it is only just to credit it with having possessed more ability, more sanity, and more decency, all things considered, than any other political clique this country has ever seen. For a series of years, long in politics, it was the strongest political force in the Union. Although it advertised to avoid all but State issues, its power was deftly radiated into national politics by virtue of keeping its leaders in national places. Until its rule began to be shaken, through the successful adoption of its methods by the opposing party, aided by changing conditions, its older heads stood firmly together, with a feeling that was well-nigh fraternal and consequences that were often self-sacrificing. John Van Buren, the observer of its inside workings, and as closely acquainted with the ways and characters of its different members as with the traits of his own father, was in a position to learn what schools can never teach. And, with his possibilities, had his mind been as balanced as it was brilliant, his name would now be more than merely a flitting tradition.

While still a young man, he was one of the most familiar figures in the lobby of the State Legislature. He knew personally every one of any consequence that haunted the Capitol, together with his political antecedents and affiliations. His knowledge of political minutiæ was even then the marvel of all who had occasion to use it. His stories, often unprintable, circulated in the corridors of the hotels, and his wit sparkled in the drawing-rooms of fashion. Upon leaving college, he had entered the office of Benjamin F. Butler, at one time attorney-general, his father's law partner and one of the minor lights of the Regency. Here, for a year or so, he continued his legal studies with as much industry and advantage as his social and political diversions would permit; but, possibly for the purpose of more reclusive study, possessing indeed fine legal talents, he finished his preparation at Kinderhook, in the office of Aaron Vanderpoel, and was admitted to the bar in July, 1831. But instead of commencing his practice, in the following month, as already stated, he accompanied his father to England.

The circumstances of that mission were such as to attract more than ordinary attention. It was generally understood, that while Martin Van Buren's standing and ability, together with the elegance and amenity of his manners, would make him a fitting representative of the Republic in the first Court of Europe, his absence from the unfortunate bickerings among the leaders of his party, engaged in a public service of that dignity, would secure his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, and make his succession to Jackson a certainty. Such was the programme, the fulfillment of which was unexpectedly furthered by a move on the part of Calhoun—whose ire got the better of his judgment—intended as an obstacle, and productive of deep but transient chagrin. While it abbreviated Van Buren's experience as ambassador, in a manner somewhat humiliating, in the public mind it gave to opposition the hue of persecution, and rendered his plan assured.

On the 7th of January, 1832, his nomination was submitted by the President to the Senate. On the 26th it was rejected by the casting vote of Calhoun, the Vice-President. Such was the attempted *modus operandi* on the part of the Whig leaders of "putting" the Democratic party, and on the part of Calhoun of "putting" his rival, Van Buren—to use a current phrase—"into a hole."

And these Whig leaders found a very convenient excuse for their assault in the instructions Van Buren, while Secretary of State, had given McLane, Minister to England, as to reopening the negotiations in reference to the West India trade. For, as a foundation for this procedure, he was "to point out to the English government that the party which had brought that question into the position in which it then stood had been condemned by the people at the election." The attack was led by Clay and Webster, each the nominee expectant of the Whig party for President. By them it was directed against the policy of the administration, and was treated as a party skirmish; their rival chances were an after consideration. But the co-operation of Calhoun and his handful of friends was based upon personal motives; he was called upon to perform, through the even division of the Senate upon the question, caused by the nicest of parliamentary engineering, what was manifestly an agreeable duty—casting the decisive vote. "The famous Madame Roland," says Benton, "when mounting the scaffold, apostrophized the mock statue upon it with this exclamation: 'Oh, Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!' After what I have seen during my thirty years of inside and outside views in the Congress of the United States, I feel qualified to paraphrase the apostrophe, and exclaim: 'Oh, Politics! How much bamboozling is practiced in thy game!' . . . I heard Mr. Calhoun say to one of his doubting friends: 'It will kill him, sir, kill him dead. He will never kick, sir, never kick.' . . . On the evening of the day, on the morning of which all the London newspapers heralded the rejection of the American minister, there was a great party at Prince Talleyrand's—then the representative at the British court of the new king of the French, Louis Philippe. Mr. Van Buren, always master of himself and of all the proprieties of his position, was there as if nothing had happened, and received distinguished attentions and complimentary allusions." During the few months, however, of this rather unfortunate mission, John received some valuable and uncommon experiences.

They had arrived in England at about the time William the Fourth mounted the throne. And while the court of that elderly, easy and wife-guided monarch was not as resplendent as that of many an English sovereign before, it was in the days of Palmerston and Peel, and when England was enjoying the prestige of overthrowing Napoleon the First. Wellington was one of the sights to be seen; Brougham and Lyndhurst, O'Connell and Shiel were to be both seen and heard. Van Buren had been received with uncommon distinction, but not with more cordiality and social attentions than was his son, for John combined all the finish of his father's deportment with vastly more than his powers of conversation. To his latest day he was one of the most engaging of companions, and was not more fascinating and convivial as the toast-master of a political dinner than with those ladies who make the ball-room a paradise and the social circle a duel-ground of wit. And he was not forgotten at his next visit to Europe, six years later. In full conformity with the design of the Jackson element of his party, Martin Van Buren was elected successively Vice-President and President. During this time John's social opportunities were correspondingly enlarged, and the hospitalities of the White House have never been dispensed with more dignity and grace—and upon occasion with more gusto—than when John was master of ceremonies. But in 1838 he revisited Europe, and met with a reception that could not have been expected, even by the son of a President unassisted by the rarest of mental and social qualities. He was present at the coronation of Queen Victoria, witnessing those gorgeous ceremonies in which the presence of Marshal Soult figured scarcely more than the diamonds of Prince Esterhazy, and spent a month as the guest of Lewis Cass, our resident minister; and the rumor was that Her Majesty, then at the susceptible age of eighteen, was somewhat more than attracted by John's prepossessing charms. Indeed, whether it was due to that rumored circumstance (an easy invention), or the grace of his manner, or the desire of his enemies to produce the same effect that is now produced by the phrase "British gold," he was afterwards known by the title of "Prince John." During this visit he met most of the celebrities of the Continent, was dined by the merchants of Belfast, and entertained by the Dutch of Holland, returning home in the year before Martin Van Buren sustained his Waterloo; for impolitic finance and factious but able opposition, united with Harrison's military popularity and a canvass in which log cabins, coon skins and hard cider were more potent than argument, retired him to the privacy and repose of Lindenwald until he transiently emerged, in 1848, as the Free Soil candidate of the Buffalo Convention.

Such were the surroundings and experiences of John Van Buren's younger days. His preparation was now completed, and he was soon to attain leadership in one of the most spirited factional struggles the politics of New York State have ever known.

Chas H Peck.

Syracuse, New York.

THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION, 1860

To appreciate easily the proceedings at The Baltimore Convention, the situation must be understood.

The Federal Government, under its power to dispose of the Territory, etc., causes the land to be surveyed, and divided into plots. It establishes land-offices, to sell and to give evidences of title under its laws. It commissions a Governor, and, under its authority, a Territorial Legislature is elected. When satisfied that the population is sufficient, it authorizes, or recognizes, a Convention called to frame a Constitution. Upon that Constitution it admits the Territory into the Union as a State. No one, therefore, denied that the Convention which framed a Constitution could settle therein its internal policy as to property in slaves. *Before it became a State, the status of that property* was the bone of contention. The Republican Party held that the words "to make all necessary rules and regulations" for the disposal, invested the Federal Government with the right to prohibit slavery in the Territories. This position the Democratic Party denied, but as to the power of a Territorial Legislature on the subject, Democrats in different sections of the Union differed widely. A majority of them, in the Free States, held that the right of property in slaves was a subject within the jurisdiction of a Territorial Legislature, and that its action thereon was beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal authority. This doctrine was known as non-intervention and popular sovereignty.

A minority of them in the Free States, and nearly all in the Slave States, held that non-intervention was practically hostile intervention, because property of every kind, only existing by convention, and only continuing to exist by the protection of law, the abdication by the Federal Government of the duty of protecting any species of property in the Territories was equivalent to destroying it; that non-intervention vested in a Territorial Legislature of a few thousand settlers a power not possessed by the Federal Government, and therefore not communicable by it; a power only capable of being exercised by three-fourths of the States; and that it assumed in addition a question to be open, which was closed by the Constitution.

Mr. Douglas, a man of remarkable energy and ability, was so committed to "non-intervention at all hazards," that he could not, with a decent regard to consistency, accept a nomination upon any platform which conflicted with it. His following could have nominated him at Charleston after the secessions by rescinding the two-thirds rule, but as neither the platform nor the nomination in that case would have received the vote of a single Southern State, he would have been a sectional candidate upon a sectional platform; therefore the Convention was adjourned to Baltimore, in the hope that some if not all the Southern States would sacrifice constitutional belief for the unity of the party.

At the assemblage of the Convention, the President directed those States present at the adjournment to be called. They being reported by the Secretary present, he called the body to order, and stated the business left unfinished—the resolutions constituting a platform, and the ulterior question of adopting the majority report as amended. He recalled the fact that a motion to proceed to a ballot for nominations had been carried, under which many ballotings had been taken; then, that motion had been laid on the table, and a motion to adjourn had been carried, with a recommendation to the several States to supply vacancies in their delegations; the construction of which language, and the scope of its application, the Convention, not the chair, must determine. The chair had received communications purporting to be the credentials of delegations from certain States; they would be submitted to the Convention, the chair having no authority to canvass credentials. The President then briefly urged the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the Democratic Party, as the issue, in the political contest about to be waged, was victory or defeat for the Constitution.

The first question to be settled was the meaning of vacancies. The chair decided that it had neither the power to decide whether there were or were not vacancies, nor the right to make a suggestion to the Convention on the subject. The question was settled by the adoption of a resolution offered by Mr. Church (New York), "That the credentials of all persons claiming seats in this Convention, made vacant by the secession of delegates at Charleston, be referred to the Committee on Credentials, and said committee is instructed, as soon as practicable, to examine and report the names of persons entitled to such seats." By unanimous consent, the claims of contesting delegates to seats in the sitting delegations were referred to the same committee.

The majority of the committee reported that the seats of the original delegations from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Florida had become vacant; that those from Georgia, Arkansas, and Delaware had become partially so. That from Florida, none appeared with credentials; that from Mississippi and Texas there were delegations whose claim to seats was not contested; that there were two delegations from Arkansas, one of three, one of six, claiming the three vacant seats, which should be admitted, the six to cast two of the votes, the three, one; but if either should neglect to take their seats or cast their votes, the other should cast the three votes.

That the delegation from Louisiana (the Soulé) be admitted.

That the delegation from Alabama (the Forsyth) be admitted.

That the delegation from Texas be admitted.

That the delegation from Georgia, of which H. L. Beming is chairman, be admitted, with power to cast half the vote of the State; that the delegation of which Colonel Gardner is chairman be admitted, with power to cast half the vote of the State; and if either of the delegations neglected or refused to cast the vote as above indicated, that the ten delegates present may cast the whole vote of the State; that James A. Bayard and William G. Whitely are entitled to seats from the County of New Castle, Delaware.

That R. L. Chaffee, who (as substitute for B. F. Hallett) was admitted at Charleston, is entitled to a seat, and said Hallett, who has assumed said seat, is not.

That John O. Fallon, Jr. (as substitute for Gardy), duly admitted at Charleston as a delegate from the Eighth Congressional District of Missouri, is entitled to a seat.

A minority report gave seats to Hallett of Massachusetts, to Gardy of Missouri, and to Bayard and Whitely as delegates from Delaware. It held that the original delegations from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas were entitled to seats; as to Mississippi, agreeing with the majority. It advised that the delegation from Florida to Charleston be invited to take seats and cast the vote of Florida. Its reasoning was, that "vacancies in a delegation" meant and was intended to mean vacancies, not new delegations; that the original delegations continued such, until the power which conferred withdrew their function; but if otherwise, a new delegation must be commissioned by the same authority which commissioned the old. "The right of persons to seats is to be determined by the fact that they were appointed according to its usages by the constituency they claim to represent; wanting those essential prerequisites, they are not entitled to seats, even if there are no contestants; with them, they are entitled to seats, if there are contestants." The facts which the report stated as the basis of its conclusions are:

In Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, the Democratic Executive Committees had called Conventions of the party, by which the course of their delegations had been approved, and they were accredited to Baltimore. In Louisiana the old Convention was re-assembled, a new Convention not being possible; in that, the course of its delegation was approved, and it was accredited to Baltimore. In Texas, time not permitting the assemblage of its Democracy in Convention, its Executive Committee accredited the delegation to Baltimore. In Delaware, under the rules of the party, the old Convention reassembled and acted.

The majority report, except as to the Georgia delegation, was adopted. Upon the motion of Mr. Church (New York), the old delegation was declared entitled to seats. The chair thereupon directed tickets to be issued to the admitted delegates. Russell (Virginia) then announced, by the instructions of a large majority of the delegation, that they could no longer participate in the deliberations of the Convention, having in their judgment exhausted all honorable efforts to avert that necessity, and having arrived at that conclusion after long, mature, and anxious consideration.

Lauder (North Carolina) had the painful duty imposed on him to announce that a very large majority of the delegation of North Carolina were compelled to retire from the Convention. The recent vote had satisfied them that the Northern Democracy was no longer willing to attribute to the South equality in the Union.

Ewing (Tennessee) stated that the Tennessee delegation had exhibited, as far as they knew how, an anxious desire to harmonize the Convention, but, upon the result that day obtained, twenty of its members would have to retire. Four would remain.

Stevens (Oregon): "By the action to-day delegations as much entitled to seats as our own have been excluded. For this injustice to and ignoring of the weaker States, the delegation from Oregon will take no further part in the deliberations of the Convention."

Ten of the delegation from Kentucky deemed it inconsistent with duty to themselves and to their constituents to participate further in the deliberations of the Convention. Five, "without intending to vacate our seats, and with the intention of co-operating with the Convention, if its unity and harmony be restored by any future event, will not in the meantime participate in its deliberations, nor hold ourselves or our constituents bound by its action."

Two delegates from Missouri then retired from the Convention. A vote upon the resolution to proceed to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency being in order, the chair addressed the Convention:

"The delegations of a majority of the States of this Union have, either in whole or in part, in one form or another, ceased to participate in the deliberations of this body. I deem it due to myself, and to the members of the Convention, as to whom my action would no longer represent the will of a majority of the Convention, to resign my office, take my seat as one of the Massachusetts delegation, and abide its determination upon the future action of the Convention." The admission of bogus delegations was the cause of these withdrawals.

David Tod (Ohio) assumed the chair, and stated that if there were no privileged questions intervening, the Secretary would proceed with the call of the States.

Mr. Butler attempted to address the chair to present a protest, and asked the same respectful hearing for Massachusetts which had been given to everybody else. Objection being made, he was compelled to be silent until Massachusetts was called. He then, under instructions from the majority of the delegation, presented a protest against the action of the Convention in excluding Mr. Hallett. He also announced that part of the Massachusetts delegation would no longer participate in the deliberations of the Convention. The members whom he spoke of thereupon retired.

Two ballotings were had; in the latter one hundred and ninety-four and a half votes were cast, of which one hundred and eighty-one and a half were for Douglas, who was thereupon, by unanimous resolution, declared the regular nominee of the Democratic Party. Benjamin Fitzpatrick received the nomination as Vice-President. He declined, and the nomination was then tendered by the National Democratic Committee to Herschel V. Johnson (Georgia), who accepted.

After the nomination, the Convention, with but one or two dissenting voices, Resolved,

"That it is in accordance with the interpretation of the Cincinnati Platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government."

If this resolution was meant to embody the resolution to the same apparent effect, rejected at Charleston, it would seem wiser to have adopted it there, where it might have averted a secession. If its ambiguity in the words "domestic relations" was meant "to keep the promise to the ear and break it to the hope," the attempt at a trap for voters was not successful. It nowhere appears in the record of the Baltimore Convention that the unfinished business, stated by the chair after its organization, was considered; if so, and any action was needed to establish a platform, none existed.

The temper of the Free State delegations cannot be misunderstood or misrepresented, for it found expression. "Admit that we are wrong," said Church, "we have the right to be wrong. The right to be wrong may be inseparable from any political relation between communities or individuals, but the English race has always been impatient of the claim."

One lesson taught by the history of the Charleston Convention is, that a rule of voting in such a body should be uniform—the individual vote, or the vote by delegations. Either is fair, though the former seems more commendable, but no other rule is fair. Another is the necessity in public, as in private affairs, of avoiding the use of terms necessarily ambiguous. The word "people," in the Territorial dispute, was the source of untold woes. Men could and would construe it by their desires Therefore, if an umpire was rejected, they must quarrel. To the construction of language the majority principle is not applicable. Six men have no more natural right to govern five men than five to govern six. If the eleven agree that upon any subjects the will of six shall control that of five, to such extent the majority has the right of sway and the minority the duty of obedience. But if there is a dispute as to what they had agreed on, the right derived from agreement no longer exists. They then stand as before the compact, and must find an umpire, separate, or fight.

A. W. Clason

MINOR TOPICS

ANCESTRY OF THE BAYARDS

Editor of Magazine of American History:

The "Letter to the Secretary of State," by "Arthur Richmond," that appeared in *The North American Review*, No. CCCL. (January, 1886), contains the following paragraph relating to the family represented by the "prominent person" addressed:

"Whether your ancestor Bayard, the estimable Huguenot preacher, who fled from France into the Netherlands, and there married a sister of Petrus Stuyvesant, was by birth even a Frenchman is open to doubt. Certain records in the story of the persecutions which attended the attempt of Louis XIV. to fulfill those obligations to 'extirpate heresy' which he assumed by his marriage contract with his Austrian wife, led to the belief that, like many other Calvinist pastors in France, Domine Bayard, as the Hollanders called him, was really a Scotchman, a countryman of John Knox, and that his true name was Baird."

Upon a first reading of this paragraph, one might be moved to ask where the records that give ground for this hypothesis are to be found. But closer attention will remove any disposition to inquire further of a writer who deals after such an extraordinary fashion with some of the most familiar facts of history. Louis XIV. and his Austrian wife! Shades of Maria Theresa and Mme. de Maintenon! Doubtless "Arthur" was thinking of Louis XIII. But the persecution which drove the Huguenot pastor Nicholas Bayard to Holland, where his name is found on the roll of the Walloon clergy, in 1580, occurred more than twenty years before Louis XIII. was born!

Seriously, there is no reason known to those who have looked into this subject for entertaining a doubt as to the French origin of the Bayards. "Arthur Richmond," if he had chosen to consult the French biographical dictionary *La France Protestante*, would have found that there were Protestant families of this name in the provinces of Champagne, and Languedoc, and Flanders, from any one of which the American branch may have sprung. The Scottish derivation of the name and origin of the family are pure inventions of a writer who deals as unscrupulously with genealogy as with history.

A CRITICAL INQUIRY ABOUT SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Editor of Magazine of American History:

About fifty-three years ago, when I was a student at Yale College, it was asserted that Sir Walter Raleigh came to this country with an exploring expedition, which he fitted out for settling a colony in Carolina. A discussion ensued, and with such evidence as was then obtainable, I showed in one of the city papers that this statement was incorrect.

I have not seen it repeated in print from that time till now—though I have often heard it in conversation—and very recently by a distinguished lecturer on the history of the United States.

Very curiously this error is now revived, and in New Haven, by an eminent historical writer in a book entitled *Outlines of Universal History.* On p. 42, we read, "Walter Raleigh, on his voyage to America in 1584, visited Roanoke Island, and named the whole country between the French and Spanish possessions 'Virginia,' in honor of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth."

In recurring to the records we find that Raleigh in 1583 fitted out a ship of 200 tons costing £1,000 (S. R. Gardiner, *Encyclo. Brit.*, £2,000), called *The Raleigh*—the largest in a fleet of five vessels—under the command of Sir Humphrey Gilbert—for America. This ship became disabled in two days, and returned to England. Doyle (*English Colonies in America*, p. 48) says: "*The Raleigh* deserted on the plea that the captain and crew were sick." It has been intimated that Raleigh was on board—but of course he did not come to America. The sad fate of this fleet and its commander is well known.

In 1584 Raleigh, with a new patent (Doyle, pp. 56, 57), sent out two ships under Captains Barlow and Amidas, who landed at Roanoke in July, took formal possession, and were at home in September. Edwards E. (*Life of Raleigh*, p. 86), gives the same account, and (p. 87) quotes from *Strachey's Travels into Virginia.* "At length, with much knowledge of the country and some commodities from the salvadges obtained—as chamois, buffalo & deer skins, & a bracelet of pearls as big as peas—brought home to be delivered to Sir Walter Raleigh—the discoverers, returned in the midst of September. The Lord proprietary of the new lands obtained the Queen's permission to call that part of them which his officers' report induced him first to colonize by the name of Virginia in her honor." Raleigh sent out other expeditions, but no writers of the time nor recent students of history, as Edwards and Doyle, *English Colonies in America* and *History of the United States*, which is a text-book at Yale, assert that he came to this country. The two most recent writers, S. R. Gardiner in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and W. W. Henry in *Winsor's History of America*, Vol. III., agree with the others. It is related that when returning from Guiana in 1595, at Trinidad, he very much desired to come here; the winds prevented, and he went home without the sight.

We may safely fall back on the testimony of a contemporary who holds a conspicuous place in the early history of Virginia. Captain John Smith says: "Sir Walter Raleigh, a noble gentleman, then in great esteem undertook to discover to the southward. And though his occasions & other imployments were such, he could not goe himselfe, yet he procured her Majestie's Letters Patents, & perswaded worthy Knights and Gentlemen to adventure with him to find a place fit for a plantation." So William Byrd in the *Westover MSS.*, *The Dividing Line* 1728, Petersburgh, 1841, writes of Raleigh: "Whether that Gentleman ever made a voyage thither himself is uncertain—because those who have favoured the public with an account of his life *mention nothing of it.*" The author first quoted, Professor Fisher, in the introduction to his work (p. 7), says: "Historical scholars are much more exacting as regards evidence than *was formerly the case.* The criticism of what purports to be *fact* is more searching." These scholars will await with deep interest the presentation by him of the evidence that shall rebut all the negative testimony, *and establish the fact that in* 1584 *Raleigh visited this country.* ROANOKE

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY—HARVARD COLLEGE ANNIVERSARY

Within a few weeks two events of historic significance have engaged public attention. With imposing ceremonies the gigantic Bartholdi statue on Bedlow's Island has proclaimed its completion to the world. On the 28th of October, 1886, New York city was in holiday attire, and a monster procession paraded from Fifth Avenue to the Battery, witnessed by hundreds of thousands of enthusiastic spectators along the route. The naval procession numbered several hundred vessels, large and small, and had the day been clear the marine display would have been one of the finest ever witnessed in New York harbor. Unfortunately for all, an unwelcome mist and drizzling rain prevailed. The gift of France was unveiled in the presence of the French delegation, the President of the United States and his Cabinet, and a concourse of distinguished guests; and amid a deafening roar of artillery on every side. It was an impressive scene, and the graceful eloquence it inspired was never excelled. The Honorable Chauncey M. Depew said: "The friendship of individuals, their unselfish devotion to each other, their willingness to die in each other's stead, are the most tender and touching of human records; they are the inspiration of youth and the solace of age; but nothing human is so beautiful and sublime as two great peoples, of alien race and language, transmitting down the ages a love begotten in gratitude, and strengthening as they increase in power and assimilate in their institutions and liberties. The French alliance which enabled us to win our independence is the romance of history. It overcame improbabilites impossible in fiction, and its results surpass the dreams of imagination." The Honorable William M. Evarts closed his brilliant address with the following: "To-day, in the name of the citizens of the United States who have completed the pedestal, and raised thereon the statue, and of the voluntary committee who have executed the will of their fellow-citizens, I declare, in your presence, and in the presence of these distinguished guests from France, and of this august assemblage of the honorable and honored men of our land, and of this countless multitude, that this pedestal, and the united work of the two republics, is completed, and surrendered to the care and keeping of the government and the people of the United States." To this President Cleveland responded: "The people of the United States accept from their brethren of the French Republic, with gratitude, this grand and imposing work of art here dedicated. It is a token of the gratitude and appreciation of France, assuring us that in our efforts to commend to the world a government by a free people, we have a steadfast ally, and can demonstrate the kinship of republics. We are not met to bow before a severe and warlike god, but to honor our own peaceful deity, keeping watch and ward before the gates of America. Instead of grasping the thunderbolts of Jupiter Tonans, she holds aloft a light to illumine the way to man's enfranchisement—to the home of Liberty. And here it is that Liberty has her altars, and their fires will be kept alive by willing votaries. Her light will gleam as a beacon to our sister peoples of the East, and shall penetrate the darkness of man's oppression, until Liberty shall, in truth, enlighten the world."

Harvard College, the oldest institution of the kind on this continent, a few days later celebrated her two hundred and fiftieth birthday, in a series of exercises covering four days, the most important of which was the memorable 8th of November, 1886. Gathered upon the platform on that occasion were the distinguished leaders in literature, science, theology, and public life; white-haired men whose intellectual labors have done so much for American scholarship, and the President of the United States and his Cabinet. James Russell Lowell, whose oration was the great literary feature of the day, said of the college: "Surely never were the bases of such a structure as this has become, and was meant to be, laid by a community of men so poor, in circumstances so unprecedented, and under what seemed such sullen and averted stars. The colony was in danger of an Indian war, was in the throes of that Antinomian controversy which threatened its very existence, yet the leaders of opinion on both sides were united in the resolve that sound learning and an educated clergy should never cease from among them or their descendants in the commonwealth they were building up." There were numerous scholarly addresses from gentlemen of the highest eminence. The poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes was one of his finest efforts. The President of the nation addressed the vast assemblage, saying: "The splendid destiny which awaits a patriotic effort in behalf of our country will be sooner reached, if the best of our thinkers and educated men shall deem it a solemn duty to citizenship to actively and practically engage in political affairs, and if the force and power of their thought and learning shall be, willingly or unwillingly, acknowledged in party management. If I am to speak of the President of the United States, I desire to mention as the most pleasant and characteristic feature of our system of government, the nearness of the people to their President and other high officials. A close view afforded our citizens of the acts and conduct of those to whom they have intrusted their interests, serves as a regulator and check upon temptation and pressure in office, and is a constant reminder that diligence and faithfulness are the measure of public duty; and such a relation between President and people ought to leave but little room in popular judgment and conscience for unjust and false accusations, and for malicious slanders invented for the purpose of undermining the people's trust and confidence in the administration of their government. No public officer should desire to check the utmost freedom of criticism as to all official acts, but every right-thinking man must concede that the President of the United States should not be put beyond the protection which American love of fair play and decency accords to every American citizen. This trait of our national character would not encourage, if their extent and tendency were fully appreciated, the silly, mean and cowardly lies that every day are found in the columns of certain newspapers, which violate every instinct of American manliness, and in ghoulish glee desecrate every sacred relation of private life. There is nothing in the highest office that the American people can confer which necessarily makes their President altogether selfish, scheming, and untrustworthy. On the contrary, the solemn duties which confront him tend to a sober sense of responsibility. The trust of the American people, and an appreciation of their mission among the nations of the earth, should make him a patriotic man, and the tales of distress which reach him from the humble and lowly and needy and afflicted in every corner of the land cannot fail to quicken within him every kind impulse and tender sensibility."

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

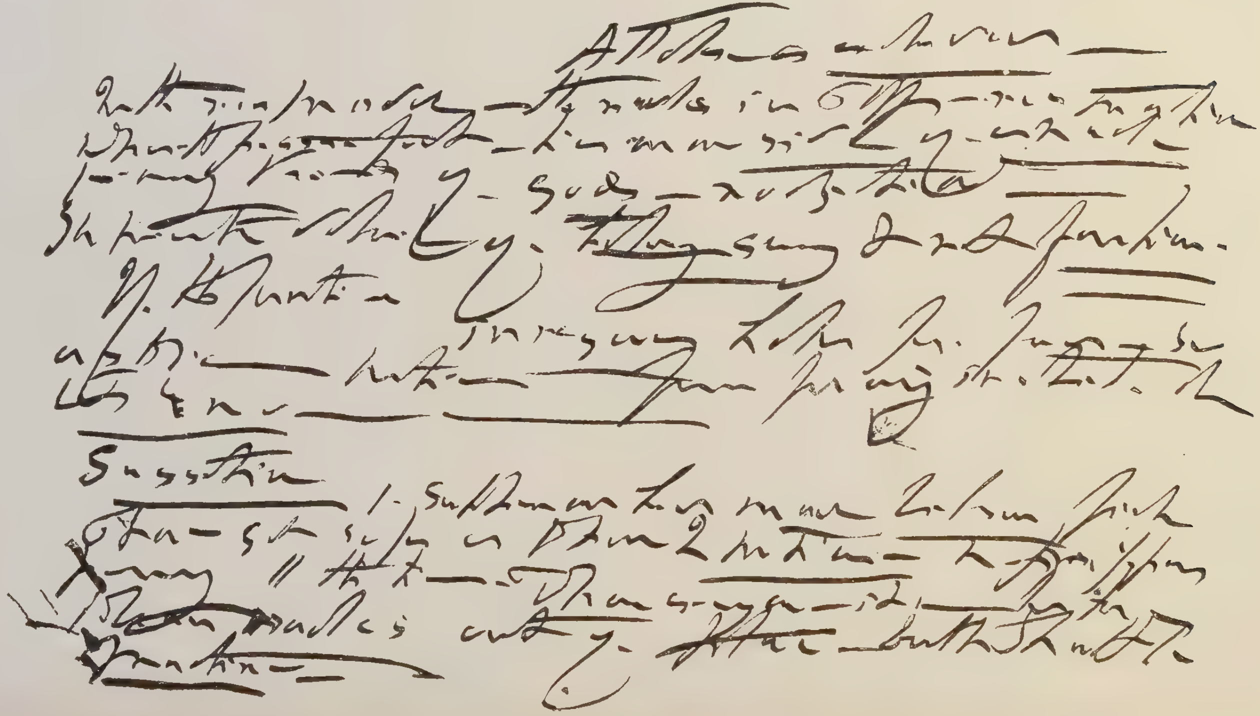
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE BY RUFUS CHOATE

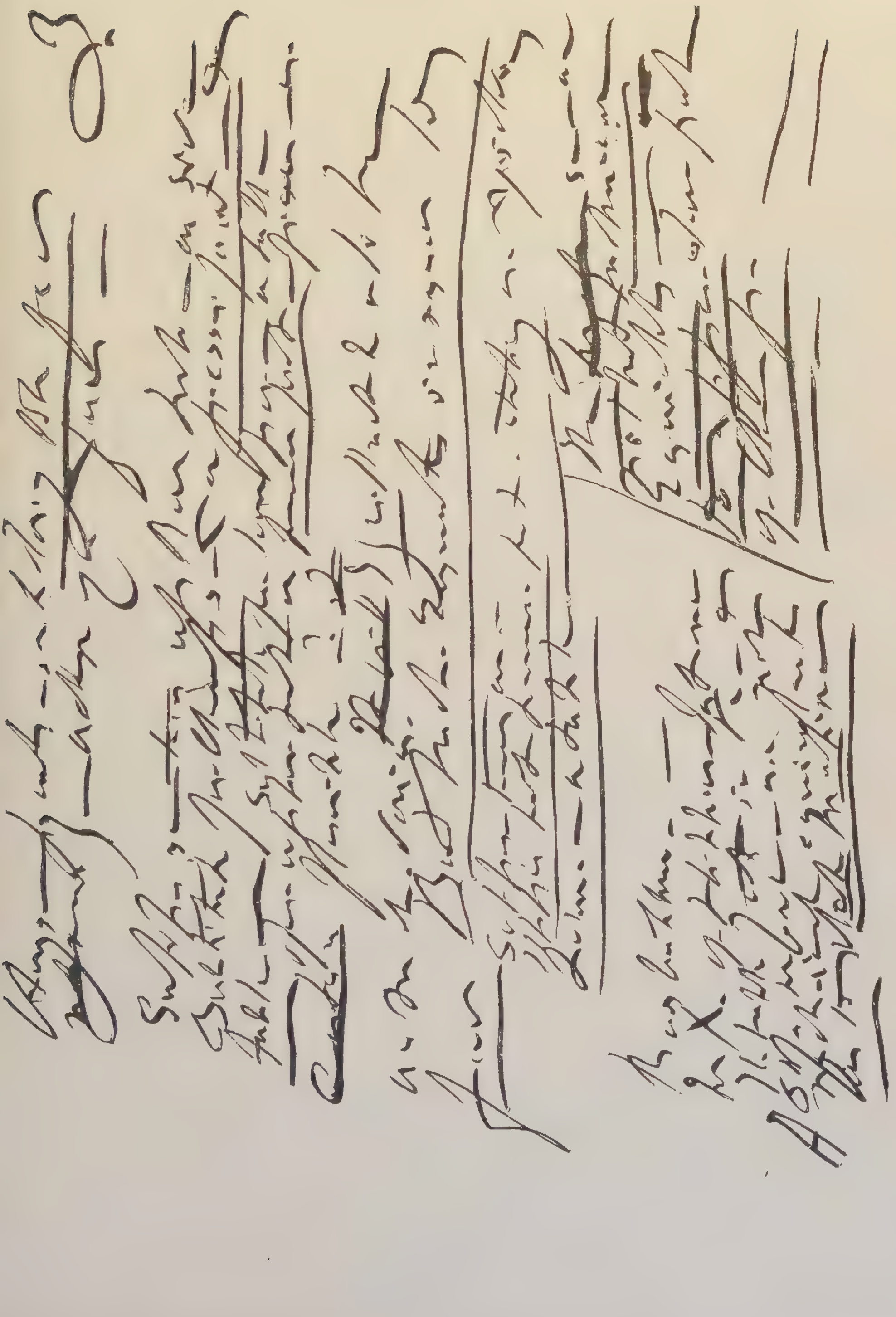
EDITOR MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY:

In connection with the item which appeared in your December issue [xvi. 588], regarding Rufus Choate's handwriting, I take the liberty to inclose to you a sheet of his "minutes of evidence" in probably the last trial in which Mr. Choate ever appeared; it was presented to me many years ago by his office clerk. It may be worth engraving as a curiosity, as scarcely a single word can be deciphered by ordinary readers of manuscript.

FERGUSON HAINES

BIDDEFORD, MAINE, *December* 3





An unofficial letter from Ex-Postmaster General Cave Johnson to Postmaster General Horatio King, in 1861.

Private. Clarksville, 16th Feb'y, 1861.

Horatio King, Esq.
P. M. Genl.
Dear Sir,

It is understood that the P. O. at Nashville will be vacated before the incoming of the new Admn and that an effort will be made to have some one appointed of our political opponents by way of forestalling others who might be willing to take it and prevent or control to some extent the choice of the incoming administration and very possibly put it in the hands of a disunionist. I am sorry to inform you that our present P. M. belongs to that class and it is rumored will resign. If it becomes necessary for the present Admn to act, I hope you will guard agt the appointment of *a secessionist.*—I have written a letter to-day in behalf of Jas Nichol, which will be forwarded to you and which you will of course lay before the Pres. if he shall act before his time is out, or before your successor, should the incoming Admn be unwise enough to remove you.*

I remain truly
Your friend,
C. Johnson.

[* Mr. King resigned with the other members of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet.—EDITOR.]

NOTES

THE TOWN OF POWNALL, VERMONT—*Editor Magazine of American History:* The sketch of Governor Pownall, in your November number, is one of thrilling interest upon a somewhat dark period of American history. It may be worthy of note that in Pownall, the south-west town of Vermont, the only *town* that bears that name, two Presidents of the United States, elected upon the same ticket, have been teachers in the public school—James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur. Both were struggling young men, earning money to aid in completing their education; Garfield a student of Williams College, and Arthur of Union. Perhaps this note may add a little interest to the worthy name of Pownall.

G. W. REYNOLDS

CLINTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER—A recent catalogue, issued by Frederick Barker, of London, offers for sale a very interesting autograph letter written by Cooper, the novelist, to Samuel Carter Hall, evidently in response to a request for material for a biographical sketch. The following extract from the manuscript is worthy of preservation for its valuable family history:

"My family settled in America in the year 1679. It came from Buckingham in England, and for a century it dwelt in the county of Bucks in Pennsylvania. It then, or rather my branch of it, became established in the State of New York. My mother was the daughter of Richard Fenimore, of Burlington County, New Jersey. I was born, 1789, at Burlington, on the Delaware, but was carried to Cooperstown, Otsego County, New York. I was sent to various grammar schools, between the ages of six and twelve, and at thirteen I was admitted to Yale College, New Haven; here I remained three years, and then I went to sea. My father died in 1809. I married the second daughter of John Peter De Lancey, of Westchester County, New York. On my marriage I quitted the navy. From this time, until I came to Europe, I resided either at Cooperstown or in Westchester County, or in the city of New York. My first book was published in 1821, since which time a tale has appeared annually. I was appointed Consul at Lyons, but merely to protect my papers, etc., never having visited Lyons. This nominal post I resigned on quitting Switzerland in 1825. In 1826 I came to Europe as a traveler, and with a view of improving my health, which had been much injured by a violent fever in 1824. I am much better, thank God, and begin to think of returning home. Can I say more? I have continued to write and have already printed in London, Paris, Florence, and Dresden. The *Pioneer* contains a pretty faithful description of Cooperstown in its infancy, and as I knew it when a child. It is now much altered, of course. If these little and trifling facts can be of any use to you, I have great pleasure in communicating them; my life cannot have much interest for the public." PETERSFIELD

MOTTO OF NORTH CAROLINA—The following is the purport of a communication received by General C. W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary of the Oneida

Historical Society, from the Secretary of the State of North Carolina, in answer to a letter of inquiry asking why that State had no motto to represent an important idea. Reasons: First, that it is a North Carolina habit to illustrate her ideas by action rather than by words; second, that the use of such mottoes does not accord with her ideas of the purest heraldic taste. UTICA

QUERIES

LOCAL HISTORY—Is there in print any reliable history of the settlement of North Oyster Bay, Long Island?

Was its origin by the coming of the brothers of Roger Williams from Rhode Island: and what date, their names, and were they Baptists?

Who were the parents of Tristram Dodge, of Oyster Bay, Long Island, who died there about 1763?

Is there any history of the Baptist early settlers of Long Island? R. D.

ICE-CREAM—Was ice-cream used in America during the Revolutionary War? MANITOBA

November 25, 1886.

DESCENDANTS OF ANNEKE JANS AND ELIAS DAY—Were Anneke Jans and her uncle, Woolfert Webber, descended from Prince William the Silent, and if so, what are the connecting links?

Can any of the readers of the Magazine put me in the way of getting information concerning the descendants of Elias Day, who was living in New York in 1811? He married a Comingo, or Comingose, and had a son, Henry, who married a daughter of one of the Terhunes of Hackensack, and three other sons, Henry, Abraham, and Jacob, and a daughter, who all married.

N. B. C. COMINGO

141 FLAVEL STREET, E. E., PITTSBURG, PA.

REPLIES

FLORIDA [xvi. 499]—A writer in your Magazine refers to the uncertainty of the name of the day on which Florida was discovered, and from what it took its name. He refers to several English writers who have not been able to agree as to the day. This is easier to decide than the year itself. In an old Spanish book called, *La Florida del Inca. Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Governador, y Capitan General del Reino de la Florida*, published in Madrid in 1723, at page 3, the author speaks of Ponce de Leon as having been the first Spaniard to discover Florida, while he was in search of an island on which he was told there was a spring for making old men young again ("*que remoçaba a los viejos*"). Then he says: "*Por ser dia de Pasqua de Resurrecion quando la vió, la llamó Florida.*" Because it was Easter day ("*pasqua de Resurrecion*"). When he saw it he called it Florida. If it had been *Palm Sunday* he would have said, "*Domingo de Palmas.*" And Palm Sunday being in Lent (*Cuaresma*), he would not have said *Pasqua*, because *pascua*, the modern spelling, means any *festival* of the Church of three days' duration, and in Lent there is no *festival.* They say *pascua de resurreccion* for Easter, *pascua de navidad* for Christmas.

Now comes a fresh disagreement; continuing from Garcilaso de la Vega's *Historia.* He says: "*y fué de mil y quinientos y trece*"—it was the year 1513; "*Que segun los computistes se celebró aquel año á los viente y siete de Marzo.*" That fell on the 27th of March in that year, according to the computers.

Let some of the computers find out now, on what day of what month the full moon fell in 1512 and 1513, and we will know when was Easter day, and the matter will be put at rest once for all.

This Garcilaso de la Vega was born in Peru; his mother was a royal princess of the Incas, his father was a Spaniard; he was proud of his blood, and always writes of himself as the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. His Majesty's Captain, a native of the Grand City of Cozco.

This *History of Florida* was written by the Inca in 1587, and was first printed in Lisbon in 1605. G.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA.

DELAWARE BOUNDARY [xvi. 593]—The charter granted to Penn in March, 1681, gave the southern boundary of his province as "a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from New Castle, northward and westward, to the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude, and thence by a straight line westward." By the sharp practice of Penn this line of forty degrees was located some distance farther south, and the dispute was finally settled [in 1760] between the heirs of Penn and Lord Baltimore, and Delaware was set off from Maryland.

"The eastern boundary was run from a point central between Cape Henlopen and Chesapeake Bay, till it touched the western arc of a circle of twelve miles, radius, whose center was the center of the town of New Castle, and thence due north to a point fifteen miles south of Philadelphia."

Mason and Dixon began to run their famous line in 1763, and by 1767 had reached a point two hundred and forty-four miles from the Delaware River, when they were stopped by Indians.

William Hand Browne's "Maryland," in *American Commonwealths*, from which I have quoted, gives many interesting particulars in reference to this boundary dispute, placing the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania in no very favorable light, as regards honesty and fair dealing. GEO. A. WILLIAMS

HAVANA, N. Y., *December* 6, 1886.

DELAWARE BOUNDARY AND MASON AND DIXON LINE [xvi. 593]—Mason and Dixon run the circular line between Pennsylvania and Delaware, and the tangent line between Maryland and Delaware in 1764. November 9, 1768, the commissioners certified that the line run was marked and perpetuated by stones, etc., and the following year their work was ratified by King George III.

I. C.

BERESFORD [xvi. 593]—Richard Beresford was appointed a member of Congress from South Carolina on the 15th of March, 1783. I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PA., *November* 29, 1886.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The society celebrated its eighty-second anniversary on Tuesday, November 16th, when a large assemblage of members and invited guests filled the society's hall. In accordance with the custom of the society, the proceedings were opened with a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Vermilye, the venerable senior minister of the Dutch Church in this city. The anniversary address, on "The Opening, the Use, and the Future of our Domain on this Continent," was delivered by the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society. After many interesting personal reminiscences of former notable gatherings of the society and of distinguished men present thereat, Dr. Ellis proceeded to review the four centuries of American history, the story of the opening of a new world to human knowledge and use, through its phases of romantic adventure, commercial enterprise and permanent colonization and settlement—the grand and impressive progress of the building of a great empire, with all the prominent nations of the other hemisphere as participants and their diverse characteristics signally illustrated in its methods and results. A masterly view was then taken of the capacities and uses of the nation's spacious domain, as connected with its manifest future. The address throughout was interspersed with delightful allusion, anecdote and comparison, and adorned by the graces of the learned speaker's classic rhetoric. He lucidly contrasted the good and bad in the important lessons to be learned from the country's picturesque past and its marvelously prosperous present, for its guidance in the shadowy but hopeful future, and in conclusion, setting forth the bright alternative, saw religion and science hand in hand averting the omens of the hour, and under their guidance the luckless, unhappy and ill-trained in the community from foreign lands, respecting and upholding the institutions of their adopted home, and cherishing the privileges and blessings of the heritage which others have wrought for them.

The cultivated audience present listened to this admirable and timely discourse with deep interest and gratification. On its conclusion a resolution of thanks, containing a request for a copy for publication, was offered by the Hon. John Jay, who said: "Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, members of the Historical Society—I rise to offer a resolution which I am sure will be cordially responded to by this society, whose eighty-second anniversary has been honored by the admirable discourse of our learned and distinguished friend from Massachusetts.

During his honorable and useful career as historian and divine, Dr. Ellis has done great service to American history by his varied and invaluable contributions on subjects extending from the early colonists to our own times. To-night, after his delightful and graphic reminiscences of scenes in the history of this society and connected with eminent statesmen, which some of us well remember, Dr. Ellis has discussed the opening and use of our national domain, and has closed his review of four hundred years of its past history by glancing at its future. This reminds us that the future of our national domain loomed up in the far distance before the searching and jealous gaze of European statesmen more than a century ago. When the Bourbon courts of Paris and Madrid secretly conspired in the plot so happily discovered and defeated by the American commissioners, and now so fully developed, in the confidential correspondence of the French archives, published by M. de Circourt, the plot to confine our young republic to a narrow strip along the Atlantic, which should never be enlarged except by the joint consent of the powers of Europe; to restrict our western and northern boundaries; to deprive us of the fisheries and the Mississippi, whose importance was alluded to by Dr. Ellis, and which to-day with its affluents give us 35,000 miles of navigation; during the pending of that plot, one of those far-sighted diplomats predicted that the republic, then an infant, would become a giant. To-day the world recognizes the fulfillment of that prediction, and Mr. Gladstone says that we have 'a natural basis for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man.'

Another English author remarks that ten years in the history of America is half a century of European progress. The *London Times* admits that our development in the West is the most important fact in contemporary history, and a striking exhibit of the magnitude and resources of our national domain is given in Dr. Strong's startling work, *Our Country; its possible Future and its present Crisis.* The whole subject and the grave responsibility resting on this generation, to preserve our American institutions and principles against the overwhelming tide of foreign emigration; to teach the new comers, as Dr. Ellis says, to reverence and cherish the institutions by which they are protected, are engaging the grave attention of our thoughtful citizens, and the discourse of this evening, apart from its historical value, is valuable and timely. I have the honor, Mr. President, to move that the thanks of this society be returned to the Rev. Dr. Ellis for his very interesting and learned paper, and that a copy be requested for publication."

The resolution, having been seconded, with remarks, by the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby and General William T. Sherman, was adopted unanimously. A benediction was then pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Robert Collyer, and the society adjourned.

At the stated meeting, December 7th, numerous additions to the society's collections were reported. Several new members were added to the resident list, and a large number proposed for future election. Resolutions were adopted on the death of the society's associates, Erastus Brooks, ex-President Arthur, and Charles Francis Adams. Judge Advocate Asa Bird Gardiner then gratified the society with an able paper on "Our French Allies in the American Revolution, and their Influence in France," containing some of the results of his thorough historical and biographical researches on this interesting subject. The nominating committee reported the following list of officers for election in January: John A. King, President;

Hamilton Fish, First Vice-President; John A. Weekes, Second Vice-President; William M. Evarts, Foreign Corresponding Secretary; Edward F. de Lancey, Domestic Corresponding Secretary; Andrew Warer, Recording Secretary; Robert Schell, Treasurer; Jacob B. Moore, Librarian. The committee embodied in their report an expression of their deep appreciation of the long and faithful services in the offices of treasurer, vice-president, and president, of the present president, Mr. Benjamin H. Field, who on account of his advancing years declines a nomination for another term.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting of this society was held November 16, 1886. Mr. E. B. Washburne presided. The librarian, Albert D. Hager, read his annual report, showing an addition to the library of 2,160 bound volumes, and 4,393 unbound books and pamphlets during the year. These, added to former accessions, make 14,184 bound volumes, and 39,728 unbound books — a total of 54,170 books, exclusive of maps, in the library. The treasurer's report showed that the total receipts for the year, with the balance on hand at the commencement, were $2,670.13. The entire expenditures, including salaries and $535 paid for binding books, were $2,457.54, leaving a balance in the treasury of $212.59. Mr. E. G. Mason, for executive committee, made report of the Jonathan Burr and Lucretia (Pond) funds. The former, $2,000, is safely invested, and has an income of $240 on hand. The Lucretia Pond fund of $13,500 is also safely invested, and from its income, $940.07, have been expended for books during the past year. A balance of $275.89 of the income is on hand. Mr. A. H. Burley, for trustees of the Gilpin fund, reported the assets on hand, as follows: Bonds, $75,400; cash, $71.65. Eleven persons were elected members of the society, and the following were elected officers: E. B. Washburne, President; E. G. Mason and A. C. McClurg, Vice-Presidents; Albert D. Hager, Secretary and Librarian; Henry H. Nash, Treasurer; Henry J. Willing and L. Z. Leiter, members of the Executive Committee, to serve four years. Hon. Grant Goodrich was introduced, and read a biographical memoir of the late Colonel Gurdon S. Hubbard, one of Chicago's earliest settlers and most respected citizens. Mr. Levi Z. Leiter presented an excellent oil portrait of Colonel Hubbard to the society, for which a unanimous vote of thanks was tendered.

A REGULAR meeting of the Oneida Historical Society was held at its rooms in the City Library building, on Monday, the 29th November, at 7.30 P.M. Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, First Vice-President, in the chair. A large number of gifts were presented, including 400 volumes of valuable books, a present from the family of the late Chief Justice Ward Hunt. Alexander Seward read a tribute to the memory of the late Judge M. M. Jones, who, at the time of his decease, was librarian of the society.

On motion of John F. Seymour, a committee was appointed to prepare and present, at an adjourned meeting, suitable resolutions expressive of the sorrow of the society at the decease of Dr. John P. Gray, one of its councilors. The committee named by the chair was J. F. Seymour, A. T. Goodwin, Rev. Dr. Hartley, and Drs. Ford and Hunt. Messrs. W. W. Woollen, of Indiana, and S. N. D. North, of Albany, New York, were elected corresponding members, and Hon. J. T. Spriggs, M. C., resident member. Mr. T. R. Calling then read a translation by him of a portion of thirteen volumes, sent by the Royal Historical Society of Sweden to the Oneida Historical Society. Subject: "Prehistoric man, etc.;" the same being latest archæological investigations made. Prof. Sawyer and Recording Secretary Bagg spoke in complimentary terms of the paper, and congratulated the society for having in its membership, not only a Swedish scholar, but one who had shown himself so well able to place the translation in a most acceptable form.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular quarterly meeting on the evening of the 5th of October, President Gammell in the chair. The paper of the evening was entitled "The Life of Thomas Willett," and was read by Dr. Parsons. Thomas Willett was the first mayor of New York city, and his grave is in East Providence, near the head of Bullock's Cove. This man makes his first appearance in the narrative of Governor William Bradford, of Plymouth Colony, in 1629. He was then about nineteen years old, and was appointed assistant of an agent of some Plymouth traders at their trading post on the Penobscot. He was spoken of as an "honest young man that came from Leyden." He was of English origin, and probably belonged to one of the families that took refuge in Holland from ecclesiastical persecution. Miss Carpenter, in response to an inquiry from Secretary Perry, gave some interesting data concerning the Willett Papers. Mr. Mark H. Wood, town clerk of Barrington, exhibited a deed dated in 1664, from Thomas Chaffee, one of the proprietors of Barrington, to Thomas Willett. Copies of the Indian deed from Wamsutta and others, to Willett and other proprietors of Swansea, in 1653, were also exhibited.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting at its rooms, in Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, Friday, September 10, Hon. E. L. Dana, LL.D., president, in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. A vote of thanks was passed for the many contributions to the library and the cabinet that were received since the last meeting; among which were two hundred and fifty prehistoric stone implements in a fine state of preservation from Mr. H. C. Wilson, of Ohio, and the portraits of John Wilkes and Colonel Isaac Barré, for whom the city of Wilkesbarre is named.

Dr. Charles F. Ingham, curator of mineralogy, read a very scholaly paper on meteors, with special reference to a supposed meteoric stone found in Ross township, and now in the possession of the society. The stone, which is about nine inches diameter, Dr. Ingham pronounced not of meteoric origin, but an *anorthite* brought here in the drift period from the St. Lawrence region.

On the 25th the society met in Luzerne County Court-house, the court having adjourned in honor of the occasion. At 10 A.M., Judge Woodward, who was still on the bench, stated that, in view of the historic event so important to the county history, he had adjourned the court, and ordered the fact to be spread upon the day's minutes. He then delivered a very interesting address on the organization of the county and its early judiciary. He exhibited the first docket or minute book of the county, the commission of the first sheriff, Lord Butler, signed by B. Franklin, and the first capias, dated 1787. After his address the meeting was opened by prayer by Rev. E. Hazard Snowden, the oldest minister in the county. Letters were then read from the governor of the State and other invited guests, one of whom, Mr. Charles J. Hoadley, State Librarian of Connecticut, sent a copy of the commission of Jonathan Fitch, first sheriff of Westmoreland county, dated at Hartford, November 28, 1776. The president read a valuable paper entitled "The Birth of Luzerne County," by Horace Hollister, M.D., of Lackawanna county. Hon. Steuben Jenkins read a paper on "The Government of Wyoming prior to the Erection of Luzerne County," which contained much new matter. General Dana's paper which followed was entitled "The Chevalier de la Luzerne." It was full of unpublished material concerning the distinguished Frenchman from whom the county of Luzerne received its name. Dr. Wm. H. Egle, the historian of Pennsylvania, read a paper rich in historical facts on the part played by the Paxtong boys in the affairs of Wyoming Valley. It was entitled "The 'House of Lancaster' to the Rescue." At noon the society adjourned until 2 P.M., when the president, Judge Dana, read a "Historical Sketch of Abingdon Township," written by Rev. S. S. Kennedy. The several papers read will be published by the society.

THE LINNÆAN SOCIETY (SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL) resumed its meetings, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, after a vacation of three months, in its museum, Saturday afternoon, September 25, at three o'clock, the president, Dr. J. P. Wickersham, in the chair. The donations to the museum consisted of two fine alcoholized specimens of the copperhead snake, donated by John Smith, of York Furnace, York county, Pennsylvania ; specimen of green lizard from South America, from Charles J. Shulmyer ; twelve bottles and boxes containing specimens of insects and insect architecture, also two large cards containing specimens of the leaves, flowers, pods and seeds of the "one-seeded star-cucumber" (*Sicyos angulatus*), and parts of the leaves, with eggs, young larvæ, larvæ skins, pupæ, pupæ skins, and imago, of *Epilachna borealic*, showing the manner in which the larvæ and the mature insects destroy the foliage of the plants they infest, from Dr. S. S. Rathvon. Mrs. S. P. Eby donated four specimens of Lancaster county plants. Various other additions were made to the museum. The donations to the library were also of much value.

BOOK NOTICES

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA. Edited by JUSTIN WINSOR. English Explorations and Settlements in North America, 1497–1689. Vol. III. Royal 8vo, pp. 578. 1886. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

Of the general plan and scope of Mr. Winsor's great historical work, we took occasion to speak on the appearance of Vol. II., the first volume issued. Thus we shall confine our attention at this writing to some of the varied and valuable features of Vol. III., the second in point of issue. It opens with an exhaustive chapter on the "Voyages of the Cabots," by the eminent Vice-President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Charles Deane, LL.D. He also contributes the critical essay on the sources of information, which is of the greatest practical value to such scholars as have made this obscure subject a study, and even more particularly to those who will investigate it for the benefit of the general reader in the future—the wilderness of fragmentary knowledge having been converted into a well-trimmed, clear, and open field. The ninth chapter of the volume, entitled "New England," is by the same author, and is equally important. The wealth of material that has accumulated in this connection, as shown in the critical essay on the sources of information, is something enormous. If other parts of our country had been as diligent in chronicling their affairs, we should, in the abundance of our annals, long since have eclipsed all the older nations of the world. A notable chapter of this vast work is "Sir Walter Raleigh," written by the accomplished William Wirt Henry, Vice-President of the Virginia Historical Society; and we trust it will serve to correct some very glaring errors that have crept into more than one of our school histories, and that are busily misinstructing the young of our generation.

The seventh chapter is by Rev. Geo. E. Ellis, D.D., President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, entitled, "The Religious Element in the Settlement of New England—Puritans and Separatists in England." His critical essay on the sources of information is a clear, forceful directory to the chief authorities. It is followed by Professor Dexter's able disquisition on "The Pilgrim Church and Plymouth Colony." Of the decade beginning with 1630, Professor Dexter says: "The most striking feature of this period was the growth from a single plantation to a province of eight towns, seven of them stretching for fifty miles along the shore of Cape Cod Bay from Scituate to Yarmouth, and Taunton lying twenty-five miles inland—in all containing about twenty-five hundred souls." The eleventh chapter, on "The English in East and West Jersey, 1664–1689," was contributed by the late Hon. William A. Whitehead, of the New Jersey Historical Society, than whom no one in the State was more competent. "The English in Maryland," which forms the concluding chapter, is by William T. Brantley, of Baltimore, and he has treated the subject in a style that is both readable and instructive. The volume contains in all thirteen elaborate essays, with the sources of information critically considered in every instance. Mr. Winsor's scholarly notes are among the very best things in the book. He is always clear, and his observations are admirably condensed. The volume, like its predecessor, is fully illustrated. Rare and antique maps are among its priceless treasures, which will greatly aid the student who scans these pages for the lore which he has hitherto been obliged to seek in countless byways and obscure places, and with an immense amount of labor. It would be difficult to estimate the practical worth of such a mine of exact learning, such a monument of conscientious research. The scheme is a most excellent one, and the thanks of all scholars are due to the learned editor and his associates for the achievement. We do not, however, predict that the co-operative method in book-making is to take precedence of individual production. We think these massive tomes will serve rather to stimulate genius in research through their time and labor-saving aids, and that the individual historian will be in all the future much better able to grasp the salient facts in the great whole, and weave in truthful colors an artistic and readable narrative for the benefit of the general reading public.

THE FAMILY; AN HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL STUDY, by CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING and CARRIE F. BUTLER THWING. 12mo, pp. 213. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1886.

This sightly volume is original at least in one respect, it is published without a preface; and it is somewhat amusing to find the hack reviewers criticising the book on that account. "Perhaps the greatest lack of this book is a preface," says one, "for the merit of a compilation of this sort depends upon the end aimed at and the method followed. These are not revealed to us by the authors, and, unfortunately, the book does not speak clearly for itself."

It is a little singular that a professional reviewer should give away the secrets of his calling with such charming *naiveté*. Evidently his practice is to depend upon the preface for his idea of the book, and, failing to find his usual guide, he is at a loss how to proceed. In point of fact, the purpose of the book is obvious at a glance; namely, to bring together, in an accessible and fairly popular form, the conclusions of all time in regard to the human family. That the task has not been faultlessly done would probably be admitted by the authors themselves; but we do not know where there is to be found within a like space, so complete a bibliography of the subject in hand, or a review so condensed of the matters under consideration. In general terms, the family relation is considered in its probable pre-historic condition, in its state among the Greeks, Romans, Jews, and early Christians, and in its place during the middle ages. Then follows a consideration of the Church's influences upon the family—Catholic and Protestant; a review of its influences as an institution in society, upon the indivdual and upon vested rights in property. The concluding chapter treats of divorce under modern laws in all countries. Upon the whole, the work appears to have been conscientiously and well done, and it is certainly a very satisfactory book of reference for all who care to pursue the subject.

THE LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS. George Washington and Ulysses S. Grant. By WILLIAM O. STODDARD. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 307 and 362. New York: White, Stokes & Allen, 1886.

These two handsomely bound volumes, written by William O. Stoddard, and published by the enterprising house of White, Stokes & Allen, make, in their well-fitting box an exceedingly attractive and healthful Christmas present for an American boy. The story of George Washington's boyhood is always one of captivating interest. He was like other boys, although more active than some, fond of drills, sham-fights, and parades, and a horseman from the day he was first permitted to mount a pony. He turned the boys of the parish school into military cadets, and took command of them, when very young. He excelled in all sorts of athletic exercises, and was a general favorite with his companions; and he seems to have never known an idle hour. The volume devoted to Ulysses S. Grant opens with the picturesque description of our great general at the age of eight years or thereabouts, short, sturdy-looking, rosy-faced, as, perched on the top of a load of cord-wood, he drove a pair of horses from the forest-land, where the choppers were at work, to his father's house a mile distant. There is a peculiar fitness in sending these two volumes out together, for Grant owed in large measure the benefit of being from the first and growing up an American, to the first President, who was born and bred an English subject. We heartily commend these two books to the gift-buyers, and trust that many a boy will be delighted in receiving them during the present holidays.

KATY OF CATOCTIN; or, The Chain-Breakers. A National Romance, by GEORGE ALFRED TOWNSEND ("Gath"). 12mo, pp. 567. New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1886.

The author confesses that from the hour when he stood beside the murdered body of Abraham Lincoln, in the Executive Mansion in Washington, he cherished the idea of writing a romance with the conspiracy of Wilkes Booth as its chief motive. The present work is the realization of this scheme, but as the years have rolled by the plan of the story has broadened out till it includes the John Brown raid, and many of the romantic episodes of the thrilling years that followed. The scene is laid in Western Maryland, and the social conditions, as painted by the author, are the result of intimate personal knowledge. The simplicity, superstitions, and customs that then prevailed have largely passed away with the changed conditions since the abolition of negro slavery; but the period is unique in our history, and affords admirable material for a true historian's novel. Most of the names introduced are familiar, and even where names are disguised, characters of any prominence may frequently be recognized. In most cases, however, the author has not sought to veil his meaning, but has used actual names of persons and places. Katy of Catoctin of course fills the rôle, necessary even in "a national romance," of feminine loveliness, albeit the type is very uncultured and rustic. Mr. Townsend's powers as a descriptive writer are well known, and he appears at his best in many of the exciting episodes of this book. The fight at Harper's Ferry, the execution of John Brown, the dramatic assassination of Lincoln, and the pursuit and capture of Booth are presented with a vividness that rivets the attention, at least of those whose memory goes back to those exciting days, and should prove at least as entertaining to a younger generation as the wholly fictitious creations of the sensational novel-writer.

A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. BY H. MORSE STEPHENS. Baliol College, Oxford. Vol. I., 16mo, pp. 533. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886.

When such students as Carlyle, Taine, Michelet, Charles Vatel, Louis Blanc, Edgar Quinet, and a dozen others have written accounts of this fascinating period in the story of France, the question naturally arises "Why write a new one?"

A sufficient answer is perhaps found in the fact, that while the list of such histories is a long one, and includes among its authors many names famous in the world of letters, there are very few English writers among them. All, or nearly all the French histories have been translated into English, but very few English and American readers look with entire confidence upon French history as written by Frenchmen. The admission is humiliating perhaps, for the philosophical mind should be able to accept good work at its full value, no matter whence it comes; but the fact remains that it is only the elect few who are really cosmopolitan, who in their innermost hearts are able to disabuse their minds of national, or perhaps we should say of lingual prejudice. To make our meaning a little plainer —a five-pound note of the Bank of England is identical in value with twenty-five dollars in United States treasury notes, yet it requires a mental effort on the part of the average American so to accept it, and a still greater effort is necessary in the case of a note of the Bank of France. In the process of years Carlyle's *French Revolution* has fallen under the hands of the critics, and, upon the whole, it was time that a new English history of the revolution should be written.

The events considered are so intimately connected with our own history—in fact, inseparable from it—that to intelligent Americans the revolutionary period of France must always possess a vital interest. It may be said, indeed, that the revolutions in America and in France, were the two events most far-reaching in their consequences of any that occurred during the eighteenth century. The establishment of a republic in the Western hemisphere, largely through the influence and aid of the French Monarchy, no doubt hastened the crisis of 1792. The officers, many of them young French nobles, who served in America with Washington and his associates, went home with a lofty idea of the character and aims of republicans, and it was largely due to their influence that the French Monarchy was overthrown. Such was Lafayette, the Viscomte de Noaille, the Comte de Montmorency, the Prince de Broglie, and others. For the horrors of the Commune which ensued they were not responsible, but of the Declaration of Liberty they were the original sponsors.

To a genuine enthusiasm for his subject, Mr. Stephens adds an easy and graceful literary style, which often reminds the reader of Macaulay at his best. The present volume concludes with the year 1790, and the effect of the revolution in the province and in the colonies. It is understood that the two remaining volumes will be published early as practicable in the new year. Judging from the first, the complete history will be a standard authority as regards the period under consideration.

RECOLLECTIONS OF EMINENT MEN, with other papers. By EDWIN PERCY WHIPPLE. With introduction by the Rev. C. A. BARTOL, D.D. 12mo, pp. 397. 1887. Boston, Ticknor & Co.

Mr. Whipple is best known to the world of letters as a critic of high order, yet "no one has done more in our generation," says Dr. Bartol, "to keep the genius and virtue of others fresh in our recollection and bright before our eyes." Mr. Whipple was not only a critic, but he was happy in characterization, and wrote delightfully of the personal traits of those eminent persons whom he met from day to day. His recollections of Rufus Choate, Agassiz, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Motley, Charles Sumner, George Ticknor, Matthew Arnold, Barry Cornwall, and George Eliot form this interesting volume. In writing of Barry Cornwall, many of his contemporaries are introduced. As Proctor was born in 1787 and died in 1874, his life included three generations of poets. He was on friendly terms with all the men of letters of his time; but his sympathies were specially attracted to that circle of writers which included Lamb, Hunt, and Hazlitt. The sketch includes much gossippy information about these and other notable authors, and carries the reader through a general consideration of Proctor's works.

There is no more interesting chapter in the book, however, than the sketch of George Ticknor. His travels in Europe, and how he made his way into the most exclusive society everywhere, his association with men and women of rank, fashion, and genius, and his ample means, elegant home, and assured position in Boston, after his return, are presented with much spirit by Mr. Whipple. No book, as yet issued this season, is more charmingly readable than this, and it will find a host of admirers.

AMONG THE LAW-MAKERS. By EDMUND ALTON. Square 8vo, pp. 308. 1886. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is an ingenious method of interesting the boys of the land in legislative affairs at Washington. The author was four years a page in the Senate chamber, and has seized upon certain events conspicuous in his experience, and used them to illustrate certain phases of Congressional life. His observations are enlivened with anecdotes of public men and humorous and exciting episodes and incidents. Pictures of the government buildings, Halls of Congress, Supreme Court of the United States, view downward from the Rotunda, pages at mischief, etc., etc., are very cleverly executed and add greatly to the interest and attractions of the volume. The larger part of the contents of this book appeared originally as a serial in *St. Nicholas.* In its present form, however, it will reach an audience of older readers, and being written in a graphic and captivating style, will be warmly welcomed.

NATURE'S HALLELUJAH. From original designs by IRENE E. JEROME. 9½ by 14 inches. Elegantly bound. 1886. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham.

This beautiful work comprises some fifty full-page illustrations, pictures from nature of rare beauty. Miss Jerome is a young artist of decided individuality, and her studies have evidently been made out of doors in wild and picturesque places, furnishing vigorous representations of American landscapes, blossoms, and buds. She is the author and artist of *One Year's Sketch Book* and the *Message of the Blue-Bird*, both of which in decorative illustration it would be difficult to surpass.

LITTLE MISS WEEZY. By PENN SHIRLEY. 16mo, square, pp. 141. 1886. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham.

This is one of the most captivating stories for the little folks in the household that can well be found. The same enterprising publishers have issued five little booklets in leather-like paper covers, containing respectively the hymns, "Abide with Me," "Nearer, My God, to Thee," "Curfew must not Ring To-night," "Rock of Ages," and "My Faith Looks up to Thee," each daintily illustrated, the designers being Miss Humphrey, Lisbeth B. Comins, and Sarah Flower Adams.

APPLETON'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON and JOHN FISKE. Vol. I., A–C. 8vo, pp. 768. 1886. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

When the first volume of Mr. Leslie Stephen's great English Dictionary of National Biography made its appearance, some two years ago, our attention was called to the omission of all American names. Many of our great men were born British subjects, thus it was difficult to reconcile the broad title of the work with its peculiar limits. But the reason was soon explained; the line must be drawn somewhere, for the material had already swollen to fifty volumes. In our reference to the matter, our readers will remember that we asked: "Have we not sufficient ability and enterprise on this side of the Atlantic to take up the thread, join it where it belongs, and produce an elaborate Dictionary of National Biography strictly American?"

The response has come in the initial volume of a biographical Cyclopædia, alive with signs of promise of the most satisfactory character. It is to occupy six octavo volumes, which will be published at intervals of from four to six months—possibly more rapidly, if found consistent with editorial and mechanical accuracy. Each volume is to be illustrated to some extent with portraits, autographs, birth-places, residences, monuments, etc. Portraits on steel of John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Chester A. Arthur, George Bancroft, Thomas H. Benton, William Cullen Bryant, James Buchanan, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Grover Cleveland, and James Fennimore Cooper grace the present volume. The biographical sketches, so far as issued, are well written, the Adamses naturally commanding a liberal amount of space. The editors are thoroughly equipped for this work, patient and painstaking, and they have secured the assistance of many of the brightest and most competent writers in the country. The aim and scope of the work, so far as announced, is to include biographies of our Presidents, Vice-Presidents, the various candidates for those offices, members of the Cabinets, senators, speakers of the House, members of the Supreme Court, the most prominent governors of the States and Territories, the most eminent divines, jurists, naval officers and military generals, and persons of distinction in literature, art, science, and invention. In short, the work is expected to embrace all noteworthy Americans.

Right here we would call the attention of both editors and publishers to a line of fresh investigation, which would add greatly to the value of their work. No biographical dictionary yet published in America has done justice to those strong, fearless men, who formed the old Continental Congress. They were the best of the race to be found in that remote period in their respective communities, and their nerve and judgment had much to do with our present prosperity as a nation. Their names, gathered from the records of that old Congress, are accessible in our own city, and even if knowledge of these men has become scattered and dim, the bare mention of their names and years of service would be a gracious and a profitable thing to do.

The greater part of the biographies are necessarily short, but they are admirably condensed in matter. The work will become a necessity for all scholars, in whatever country they may reside, and we have such faith in its projectors that we believe every possible care will be given to its perfection in fullness and accuracy.

The Right Hon.ble WILLIAM PITT Earl of Chatham.

Viscount Pitt of Burton Pynsent; Lord Privy Seal One of the Lords of His Majesty's most Hon.ble

PRIVY COUNCIL, F.R.S.

Printed for CARINGTON BOWLES, No. 69 in St. Pauls church Yard.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Vol. XVII FEBRUARY, 1887 No. 2

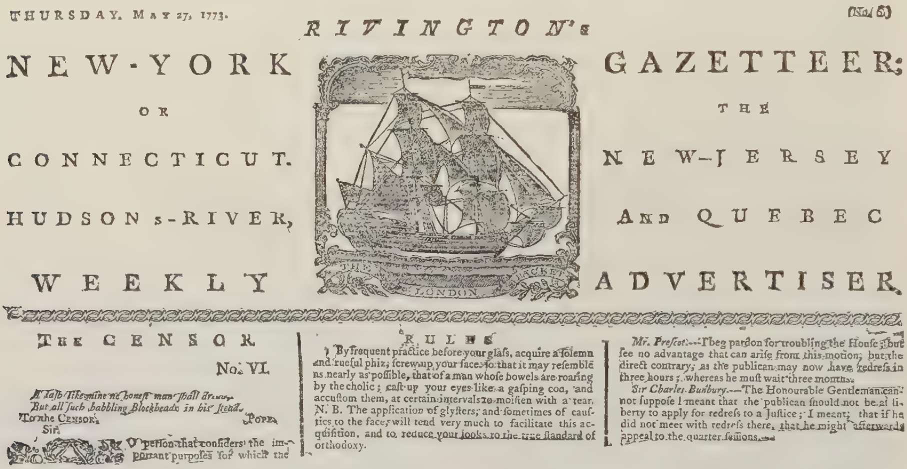
NOTABLE EDITORS BETWEEN 1776 AND 1800

INFLUENCE OF THE EARLY AMERICAN PRESS

DURING the period that Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was assailing the colonial policy of the British government with immortal eloquence, Junius, in the columns of the *Public Advertiser* of London, was demonstrating not only the terrific energy of his invectives, but also the possibilities of influence and power of which the press is capable. Similar force was soon to be exhibited in the press of the united colonies, when the successful termination of the Revolution discovered the fact that the solution of the great question for which they had been fighting only led to the discussion of problems scarcely less grave, and requiring not less skill and determination than the one just settled by the appeal to arms. But while there was, perhaps, displayed talent of a higher order and strength more thoroughly organized in the post-Revolutionary press than in the colonial, we are not prepared to agree with a very able historian, Mr. McMaster, regarding the inefficiency or unavailability of the newspapers which had contributed to bring the fight for liberty to a successful issue. The fact that their utterances had aroused so much attention, whether for or against the Revolution, and that so many cases against editors had been carried before legislatures and courts, was a very strong evidence of the power of the press, and the dread in which it was held. Such an effect could not have been produced without an adequate cause.

We find that as men of many nations fought side by side in the field to build this great nation, so Englishmen, Germans, and Irish were united with the native-born colonists in issuing the periodicals whose trumpet blasts rang the cry of freedom or sounded the tocsin of alarm ; even those who on American soil raised opposing voices, like Rivington and Gaine, may be said to have contributed to the general result by producing a stimulating irritation which added fuel to the fervor of patriots. Opposition seems to be one of the methods by which progress is attained. Foreign blood continued to be infused into the American press from time to time, as in the case of Matthew Carey, who, escaping from Ireland burning with hate to England, at once entered here into the editorial ranks.

During the Revolution, James Rivington continued to publish his paper entitled the *New York Gazetteer ; or the Connecticut*, *New Jersey*, *Hudson's River*, *and Quebec Weekly Advertiser.* There is something quite touching in the paternal feeling exhibited towards Connecticut and New Jersey in thus including their newspaporial needs under those of New York. As regards the former, the necessity is less evident because several papers had been already established in that State ; although it is probable that there was some close kinship between Connecticut and New York at that time from the tradition still held that the nutmeg State is a suburb of New York.


THE
PACKET
LONDON

THURSDAY, MAY 27, 1773. (No. 6)

RIVINGTON'S
NEW-YORK GAZETTEER;
OR THE
CONNECTICUT, NEW-JERSEY
HUDSON's-RIVER, AND QUEBEC
WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

THE CENSOR
No. VI.

A laſh like mine no honeſt man ſhall dread,
But all ſuch babbling Blockheads in his ſtead.
POPE.

To the CENSOR,
Sir,

NO perſon that conſiders the important purpoſes for which the

RULES

By frequent practice before your glaſs, acquire a ſolemn and rueful phiz; ſcrew up your face ſo that it may reſemble as nearly as poſſible, that of a man whoſe bowels are roaring by the cholic; caſt up your eyes like a gaſping cod, and accuſtom them, at certain intervals to moiſten with a tear. N. B. The application of glyſters; and ſometimes of cauſtics to the face, will tend very much to facilitate this acquiſition, and to reduce your looks to the true ſtandard of orthodoxy.

Mr. Preſcot.—I beg pardon for troubling the Houſe ; but ſee no advantage that can ariſe from this motion; but the direct contrary; as the publican may now have redreſs in three hours ; whereas he muſt wait three months.

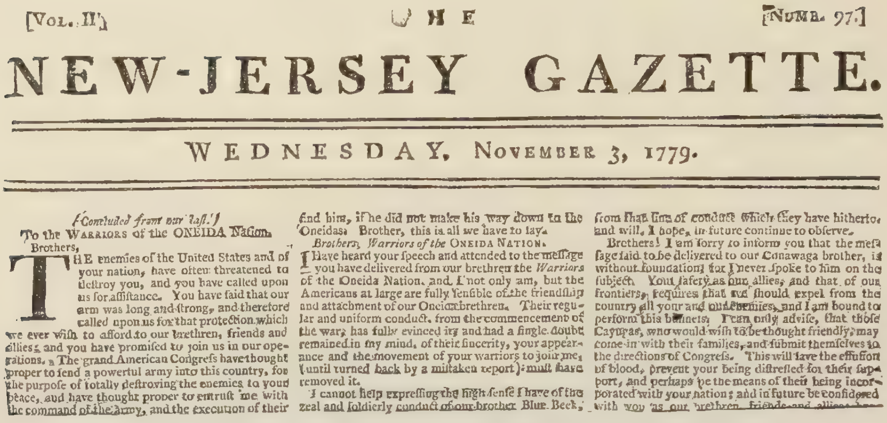
Sir Charles Bunbury.—The Honourable Gentleman cannot ſuppoſe I meant that the publican ſhould not be at liberty to apply for redreſs to a Juſtice ; I meant; that if he did not meet with redreſs there, that he might afterwards appeal to the quarter ſeſſions.—

[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

But New Jersey was in real need of editorial courtesies, for the *New Jersey Gazette*, the first paper issued in that commonwealth, was not started until December 3, 1777, and its life was short ; its editor was Isaac Collins, a worthy Quaker. In the subsequent year, David Franks established the *New Jersey Journal* at Camden, New Jersey, but it was discontinued about 1782, although revived some years later. New Jersey depended for its news and political influence on the press of New York and Philadelphia, thus early acknowledging that its geographical position gave those cities a *quasi* lien upon its territory. Many observers, who, in their transit between the two cities, have hastily concluded that the flat lands of New Jersey were created from the silt washed down from the mountains to afford a clear space for the advertising of nostrums and ready-made clothing, or a pasturage for crows, are obliged by the logic of events to re-

MATTHEW CAREY.

[*From a rare print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]



[Vol. II.] THE [Numb. 97.]

NEW-JERSEY GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, November 3, 1779.

(Concluded from our last.)

To the Warriors of the ONEIDA Nation.

Brothers,

THE enemies of the United States and of your nation, have often threatened to deſtroy you, and you have called upon us for aſſiſtance. You have ſaid that our arm was long and ſtrong, and therefore called upon us for that protection which we ever wiſh to afford to our brethren, friends and allies; and you have promiſed to join us in our operations. The grand American Congreſs have thought proper to ſend a powerful army into this country, for the purpoſe of totally deſtroying the enemies to your peace, and have thought proper to entruſt me with the command of the army, and the execution of their

end him, if he did not make his way down to the Oneidas. Brother, this is all we have to ſay.

Brothers, Warriors of the ONEIDA NATION.

I Have heard your ſpeech and attended to the meſſage you have delivered from our brethren the *Warriors* of the Oneida Nation, and I not only am, but the Americans at large are fully ſenſible of the friendſhip and attachment of our Oneida brethren. Their regular and uniform conduct, from the commencement of the war, has fully evinced it; and had a ſingle doubt remained in my mind, of their ſincerity, your appearance and the movement of your warriors to join me, (until turned back by a miſtaken report) muſt have removed it.

I cannot help expreſſing the high ſenſe I have of the zeal and ſoldierly conduct of our brother Blue-Beck,

from that line of conduct which they have hitherto, and will, I hope, in future continue to obſerve.

Brothers! I am ſorry to inform you that the meſſage ſaid to be delivered to our Conawaga brother, is without foundation; for I never ſpoke to him on the ſubject. Your ſafety as our allies, and that of our frontiers, requires that we ſhould expel from the country all your and our enemies, and I am bound to perform this buſineſs. I can only adviſe, that thoſe Cayugas, who would wiſh to be thought friendly, may come in with their families, and ſubmit themſelves to the directions of Congreſs. This will ſave the effuſion of blood, prevent your being diſtreſſed for their ſupport, and perhaps be the means of their being incorporated with your nation; and in future be conſidered with you as our brethren, friends and allies

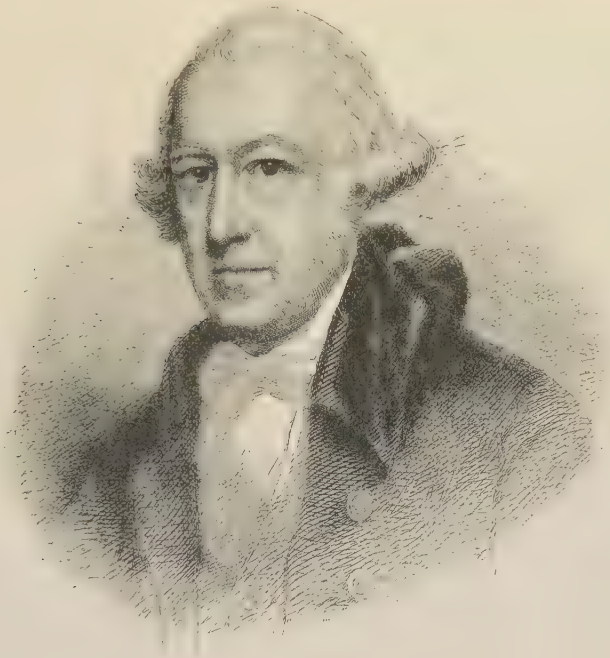
[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

vise this conclusion. New Jersey was formed in order to offer an easy means for the British army to pass from Philadelphia to its embarkation at New York, and in later ages to prove an efficient causeway for the railways between Philadelphia and New York.

Rivington offended even his own party by the gross fabrications which appeared in his columns, and was repeatedly obliged to apologize. The paper went by the name of the "*Lying Gazette.*" Freneau made Rivington the subject of his caustic muse. In his rhymed epitaph on Rivington, the poet says:

> "I know there are some (that would fain be thought wise)
> Who say my *Gazette* is a record of lies;
> In answer to this I shall only reply—
> All the choice that I had was to starve or to die."

It was in Rivington's *Gazette* that Major Andre's satirical poem called "The Cow Chase," was first published on the very day of his capture. In November, 1775, a mob of armed men from Connecticut rode into the city and destroyed the press of the *Gazette*, and melted the types into bullets. Rivington procured a new press from England, and was appointed printer to the king for New York. But, when peace was at hand, the wily publisher issued the following notice: "*To the Public.*—The publisher of this paper, sensible that his zeal for the success of his Majesty's arms, his sanguine wishes for the good of his country, and his friendship for individuals, have at times, led him to credit and circulate paragraphs, without investigating the facts so closely as his duty to the Public demanded; trusting to their feelings, and depending on their generosity, he begs them to look

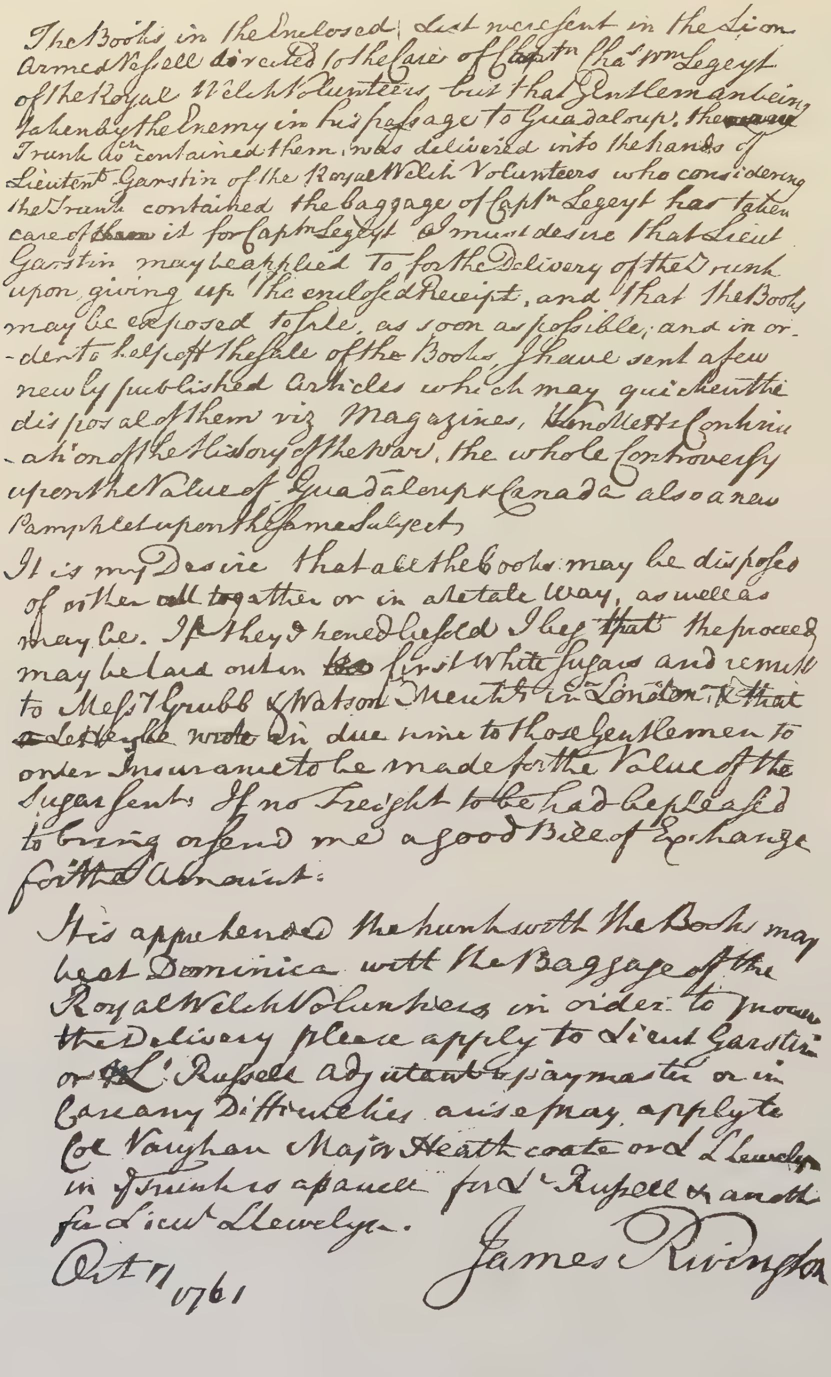


JAMES RIVINGTON

Jas Rivington

over past errors and depend on future correctness. From henceforth he will neither expect nor solicit their favors longer than his endeavors shall stamp the same degree of authenticity and credit on the *Royal Gazette* (of New York) as all Europe allow to the *Royal Gazette* of London." This singular announcement naturally had but little effect, and Rivington was obliged to close his editorial labors in 1783.

Although the first regular daily paper in America was not started until later, yet, during the Revolution, a distinct attempt was made to issue what was virtually a daily sheet, by the joint action of Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, Gaine's *Gazette or Mercury*, Robertson's *Royal American Gazette*, and Lewis's *New York Mercury and General Advertiser*, all royalist papers. It



The Books in the Inclosed List were sent in the Lion
Armed Veſsell directed to the Care of Captn Chas Wm Legeyt
of the Royal Welch Volunteers but that Gentleman being
taken by the Enemy in his paſsage to Guadaloup, the ~~[illegible]~~
Trunk wch contained them was delivered into the hands of
Lieutent Garstin of the Royal Welch Volunteers who considering
the Trunk contained the baggage of Captn Legeyt has taken
care of ~~them~~ it for Captn Legeyt I must desire that Lieut
Garstin may be applied To for the Delivery of the Trunk
upon giving up The enclosed Receipt, and that the Books
may be exposed to sale, as soon as poſsible; and in or-
-der to help off the sale of the Books, I have sent a few
newly published Articles which may quicken the
disposal of them viz Magazines, Smolletts Continu-
-ation of the History of the War, the whole Controversy
upon the Value of Guadaloup & Canada also a new
Pamphlet upon the same Subject,

It is my Desire that all the Books may be disposed
of either ~~all~~ together or in a Retale Way, as well as
may be. If they should be sold I beg ~~that~~ the proceeds
may be laid out in ~~the~~ first White Sugars and remitt
to Meſsrs Grubb & Watson Merchts in London, & that
a Letter be wrote in due time to those Gentlemen to
order Insurance to be made for the Value of the
Sugar sent: If no Freight to be had be pleased
to bring or send me a good Bill of Exchange
for the Amount:

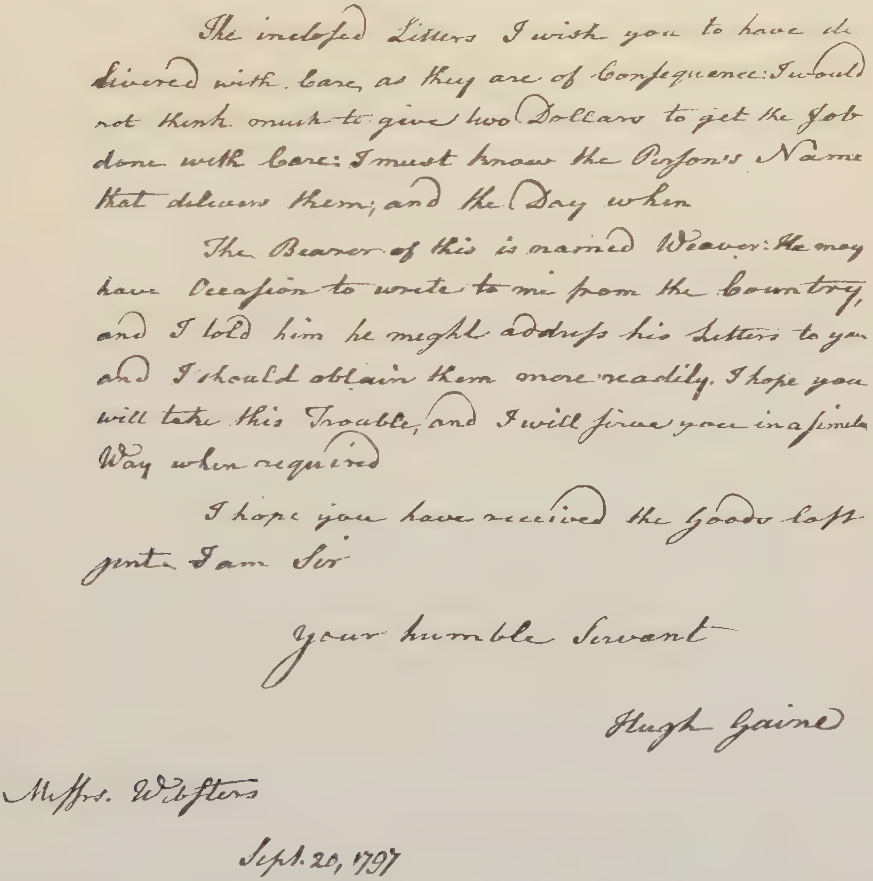
It is apprehended the Trunks with the Books may
be at Dominica with the Baggage of the
Royal Welch Volunteers in order to procure
the Delivery please apply to Lieut Garstin
or Lt Russell Adjutant & paymaster or in
Case any Difficulties arise may apply to
Col Vaughan Major Heathcoate or Lt Llewelyn
in Trunks a parcell for Lt Russell & another
for Lieut Llewelyn.

Oct 11 1761

James Rivington

was arranged that the days of publication should be such that the public might have a fresh paper every day of the week except Sunday.

Hugh Gaine was another editor and publisher of New York who found his occupation gone with the conclusion of peace, and whose attempts to steer a middle course offer one of the humorous incidents of that period.



The incloſed Letters I wish you to have delivered with Care, as they are of Conſequence: I would not think much to give two Dollars to get the Job done with Care: I must know the Perſon's Name that delivers them; and the Day when

The Bearer of this is named Weaver: He may have Occaſion to write to me from the Country, and I told him he might addreſs his Letters to you and I should obtain them more readily. I hope you will take this Trouble, and I will ſerve you in a ſimilar Way when required

I hope you have received the Goods laſt ſent I am Sir

Your humble Servant

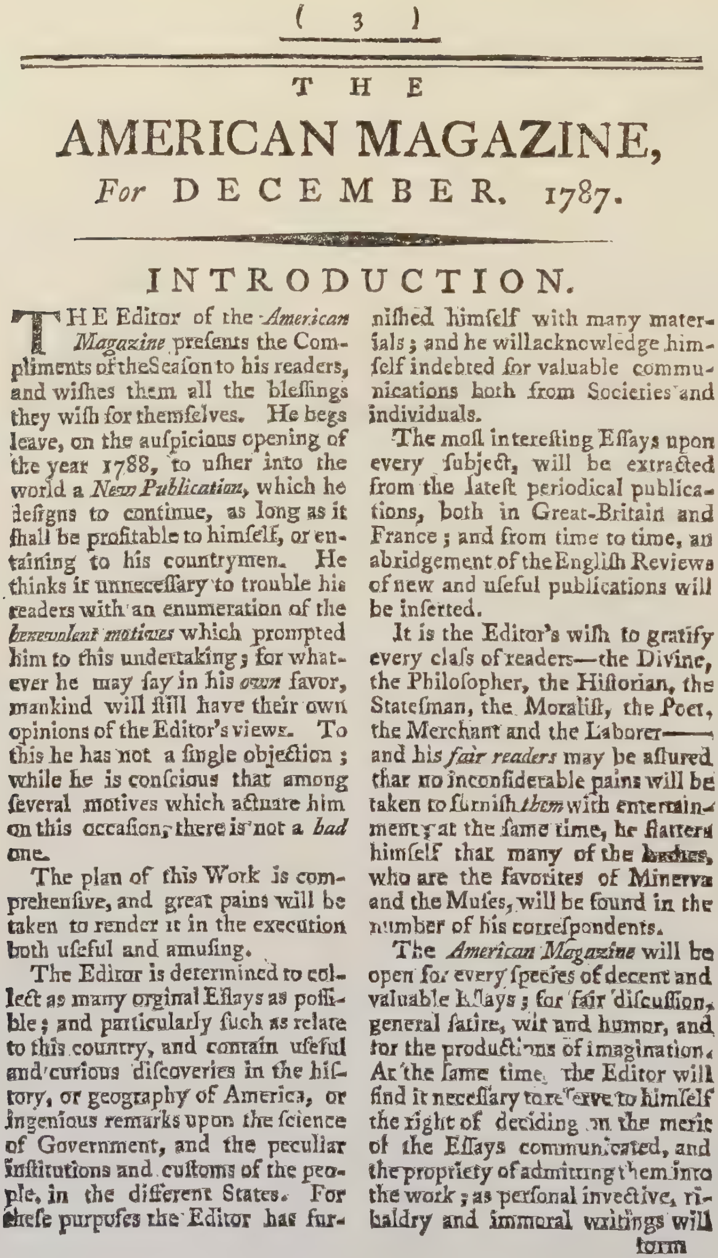
Hugh Gaine

Meſſrs. Webſters

Sept. 20, 1797

[*The autograph letters of James Rivington and Hugh Gaine are engraved from originals through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

Gaine was a native of Ireland, and established the *New York Mercury* in 1752, his place of publication being at the "Bible and Crown," in Hanover Square. In the following year he inadvertently made an incorrect report of certain official proceedings and documents, and enjoyed the distinction of being summoned before the bar of the House, where, after a



(3)

THE

AMERICAN MAGAZINE,

For DECEMBER, 1787.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Editor of the *American Magazine* preſents the Compliments of the Seaſon to his readers, and wiſhes them all the bleſſings they wiſh for themſelves. He begs leave, on the auſpicious opening of the year 1788, to uſher into the world a *New Publication*, which he deſigns to continue, as long as it ſhall be profitable to himſelf, or entaining to his countrymen. He thinks it unneceſſary to trouble his readers with an enumeration of the *benevolent motives* which prompted him to this undertaking; for whatever he may ſay in his *own* favor, mankind will ſtill have their own opinions of the Editor's views. To this he has not a ſingle objection; while he is conſcious that among ſeveral motives which actuate him on this occaſion, there is not a *bad* one.

The plan of this Work is comprehenſive, and great pains will be taken to render it in the execution both uſeful and amuſing.

The Editor is determined to collect as many original Eſſays as poſſible; and particularly ſuch as relate to this country, and contain uſeful and curious diſcoveries in the hiſtory, or geography of America, or ingenious remarks upon the ſcience of Government, and the peculiar inſtitutions and cuſtoms of the people, in the different States. For theſe purpoſes the Editor has furniſhed himſelf with many materials; and he will acknowledge himſelf indebted for valuable communications both from Societies and individuals.

The moſt intereſting Eſſays upon every ſubject, will be extracted from the lateſt periodical publications, both in Great-Britain and France; and from time to time, an abridgement of the Engliſh Reviews of new and uſeful publications will be inſerted.

It is the Editor's wiſh to gratify every claſs of readers—the Divine, the Philoſopher, the Hiſtorian, the Stateſman, the Moraliſt, the Poet, the Merchant and the Laborer—— and his *fair readers* may be aſſured that no inconſiderable pains will be taken to furniſh *them* with entertainment; at the ſame time, he flatters himſelf that many of the ladies, who are the favorites of Minerva and the Muſes, will be found in the number of his correſpondents.

The *American Magazine* will be open for every ſpecies of decent and valuable Eſſays; for fair diſcuſſion, general ſatire, wit and humor, and for the productions of imagination. At the ſame time, the Editor will find it neceſſary to reſerve to himſelf the right of deciding on the merit of the Eſſays communicated, and the propriety of admitting them into the work; as perſonal invective, ribaldry and immoral writings will

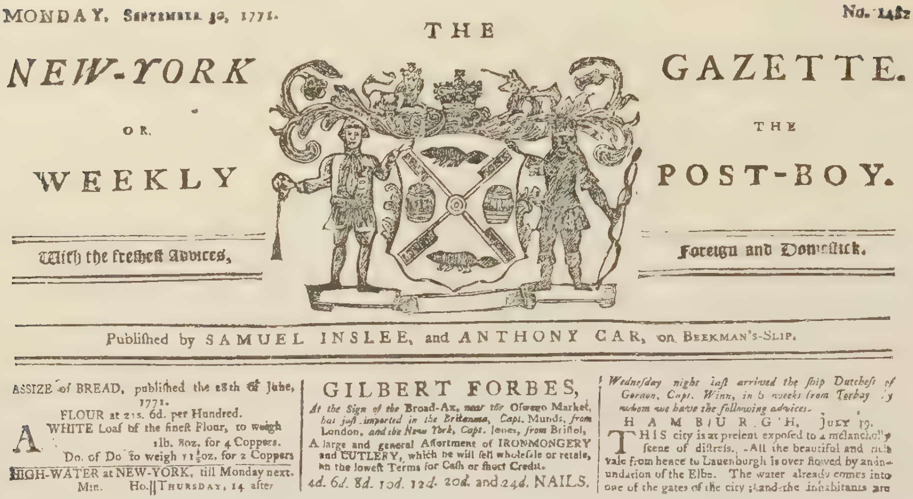
form

[*Engraved from the original copy of the first number of this magazine, in possession of the author.*

humble apology, he was reprimanded and dismissed. As Isaiah Thomas pithily observes: "Gaine's political creed, it seems, was to join the strongest party." When the British approached New York, in 1776, he removed his press to Newark. But when he judged that the colonial cause was waning, he returned to New York, and his paper sided with the Royalists. On the close of the war, Gaine felt that, with many other Tories, he might be made to suffer, and petitioned the Assembly that he might be allowed to remain. The petition was granted, but the *Mercury* was thereafter discontinued. Freneau composed a versified satire out of Gaine's petition, of which we give a characteristic extract:

> "To the Senate of New York, with all due submission,
> Of honest Hugh Gaine, the humble petition;
> An account of his life he will also prefix,
> At least what was previous to seventy-six;
> He hopes that your honours will take no offence,
> If he sends you some groans of contrition from hence;
> And further to prove that he's truly sincere,
> *He wishes you all a Happy New Year.*
> And first he informs, in his representation,
> That he once was a printer of some reputation,
> And dwelt in the street called Hanover Square
> (You'll know where it is if you ever was there),
> Next door to the shop of Doctor Brown—John,
> (Who now to the dog-house of Pluto is gone);
> But what do I talk—whoe'er came to town,
> And knew not Hugh Gaine at the Bible and Crown?
> Now, if I ever were so given to lie,
> My dear native country I wouldn't deny;
> (I know you love Teagues) and I shall not conceal,
> That I came from the kingdom where Phelim O'Neall
> And other brave worthies ate butter and cheese,
> And walked in the cloverfields up to their knees."

Another Irishman, whose course was diametrically opposite to that of Hugh Gaine, was Samuel Loudon, who was a ship chandler in New York before the Revolution. In 1775 he opened a printing office in Water Street, New York, between the Coffee House and the Old Slip. He was an unmistakable Whig, and there was no uncertainty to the ring of the articles that appeared in his paper called the *New York Packet*, which he removed to Fishkill in 1776, and continued to publish in that place until the close of hostilities, when he returned to New York; soon after its last removal the *Packet* was changed to a daily. At a later period Loudon



MONDAY, September 30, 1771. No. 1482

THE NEW-YORK GAZETTE. OR, THE WEEKLY POST-BOY.

With the freſheſt Advices, Foreign and Domeſtick.

Publiſhed by SAMUEL INSLEE, and ANTHONY CAR, on BEEKMAN'S-SLIP.

ASSIZE of BREAD, publiſhed the 28th of June, 1771.

FLOUR at 21s. 6d. per Hundred.

A WHITE Loaf of the fineſt Flour, to weigh 1lb. 8oz. for 4 Coppers.
Do. of Do to weigh 11½oz. for 2 Coppers

HIGH-WATER at NEW-YORK, till Monday next.
Min. Ho.|| THURSDAY, 14 after

GILBERT FORBES,

At the Sign of the Broad-Ax, *near the* Oſwego Market, *has juſt imported in the Britannia,* Capt. Munds, *from* London, *and the New York, Capt.* Jones, *from* Briſtol,

A large and general Aſſortment of IRONMONGERY and CUTLERY, which he will ſell wholeſale or retale, on the loweſt Terms for Caſh or ſhort Credit.

4d. 6d. 8d. 10d. 12d. 20d. and 24d. NAILS.

Wedneſday night laſt arrived the ſhip Dutcheſs of Gordon, Capt. Winn, in 6 weeks from Torbay by whom we have the following advices.

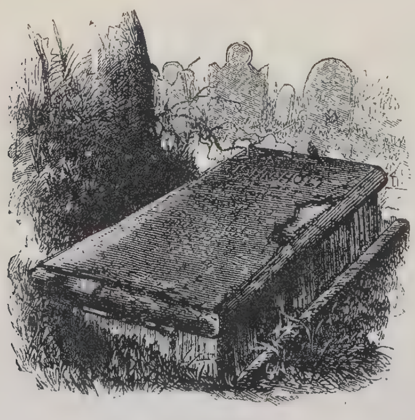
HAMBURGH, JULY 19.

THIS city is at preſent expoſed to a melancholy ſcene of diſtreſs. All the beautiful and rich vale from hence to Lauenburgh is over flowed by an inundation of the Elbe. The water already comes into one of the gates of the city; and the inhabitants are

[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

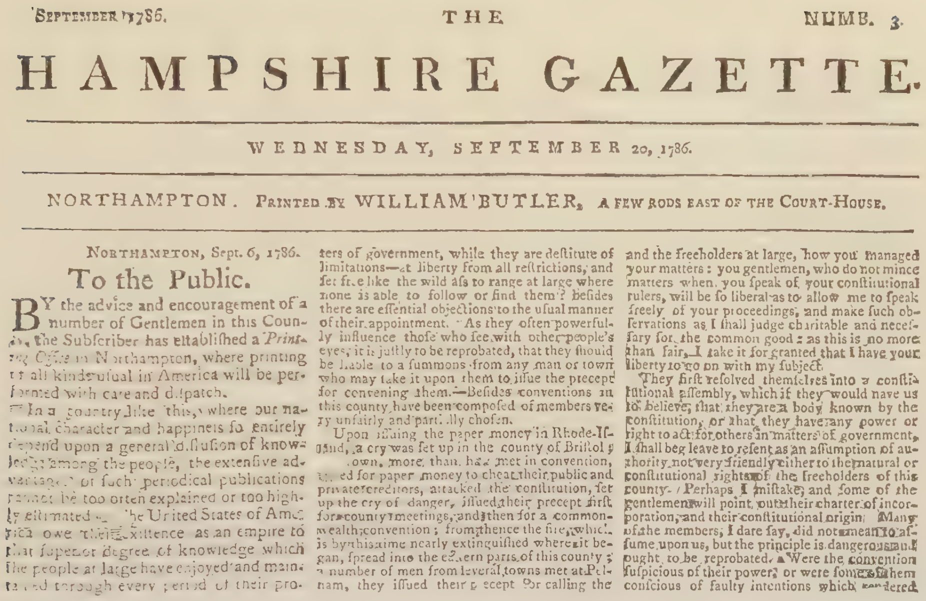
was also the publisher of the *American Magazine*, a monthly periodical devoted to elegant extracts or scientific and literary information, together with illustrations on copper, a not unworthy precursor of the sumptuous monthlies which now distinguish the press of the United States.

John Holt



TOMB OF JOHN HOLT, IN OLD TRINITY CHURCHYARD.

A vigorous figure in the period we are now considering was John Holt, a strong, brusque, fearless character, who first appeared in New York in 1759. He was born and reared in Virginia; after failing as a merchant, and serving as mayor of Williamsburg, he entered into partnership with James Parker, and established the *New York Gazette and Postboy*, when he was thirty-eight years of age. In 1766 he started the *New York Journal*, "containing freshest advices, Foreign and Domestick." The heading was ornamented with the arms of the king, which were discarded in 1774 for the famous device of a snake cut into parts, with "Unite or die" for a motto. The following year the snake



September 1786. THE NUMB. 3.

HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1786.

NORTHAMPTON. Printed by WILLIAM BUTLER, a few rods east of the Court-House.

Northampton, Sept. 6, 1786.

To the Public.

BY the advice and encouragement of a number of Gentlemen in this County, the Subſcriber has eſtabliſhed a *Printing Office* in Northampton, where printing in all kinds uſual in America will be performed with care and diſpatch.

In a country like this, where our national character and happineſs ſo entirely depend upon a general diffuſion of knowledge among the people, the extenſive advantages of ſuch periodical publications cannot be too often explained or too highly eſtimated — The United States of America owe their exiſtence as an empire to that ſuperior degree of knowledge which the people at large have enjoyed and maintained through every period of their pro-

ters of government, while they are deſtitute of limitations—at liberty from all reſtrictions, and ſet free like the wild aſs to range at large where none is able to follow or find them? Beſides there are eſſential objections to the uſual manner of their appointment. As they often powerfully influence thoſe who ſee with other people's eyes, it is juſtly to be reprobated, that they ſhould be liable to a ſummons from any man or town who may take it upon them to iſſue the precept for convening them.—Beſides conventions in this county have been compoſed of members very unfairly and partially choſen.

Upon iſſuing the paper money in Rhode-Iſland, a cry was ſet up in the county of Briſtol; town, more than half met in convention, voted for paper money to cheat their public and private creditors, attacked the conſtitution, ſet up the cry of danger, iſſued their precept firſt for county meetings, and then for a commonwealth convention; from thence the fire, which is by this time nearly extinguiſhed where it began, ſpread into the eaſtern parts of this county; a number of men from ſeveral towns met at Pelham, they iſſued their precept for calling the

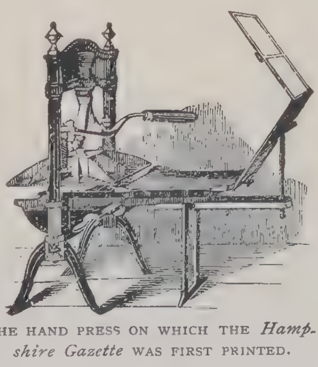
and the freeholders at large, how you managed your matters: you gentlemen, who do not mince matters when you ſpeak of your conſtitutional rulers, will be ſo liberal as to allow me to ſpeak freely of your proceedings, and make ſuch obſervations as I ſhall judge charitable and neceſſary for the common good: as this is no more than fair, I take it for granted that I have your liberty to go on with my ſubject.

They firſt reſolved themſelves into a conſtitutional aſſembly, which if they would have us to believe, that they are a body known by the conſtitution, or that they have any power or right to act for others in matters of government, I ſhall beg leave to reſent as an aſſumption of authority not very friendly either to the natural or conſtitutional rights of the freeholders of this county. Perhaps I miſtake, and ſome of the gentlemen will point out their charter of incorporation, and their conſtitutional origin. Many of the members, I dare ſay, did not mean to aſſume upon us, but the principle is dangerous and ought to be reprobated. Were the convention ſuſpicious of their power, or were ſome of them conſcious of faulty intentions which rendered

[*Engraved from a fac-simile of the original in possession of the editor.*]

was joined and coiled, with the tail in his mouth, forming a double ring; within the coil was a pillar standing on Magna Charta, surmounted with the cap of Liberty. An editor who dared defy the royal authority in a manner so bold, was, of course, obliged to fly from New York when the British army entered. But taking his little press with him to Fishkill, Esopus, Hudson, and other retired points along the Hudson, Holt continued to issue his paper until the conclusion of peace. He then returned to New York, and published his paper under a new title, *The Independent Gazette, or New York Journal.* He did not long survive after this, but died in 1784, and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard, where his tomb may still be seen. Thomas says of him, "Holt was a man of ardent feelings, and a high churchman, but a firm Whig; a good writer, and a warm advocate for the cause of his country."

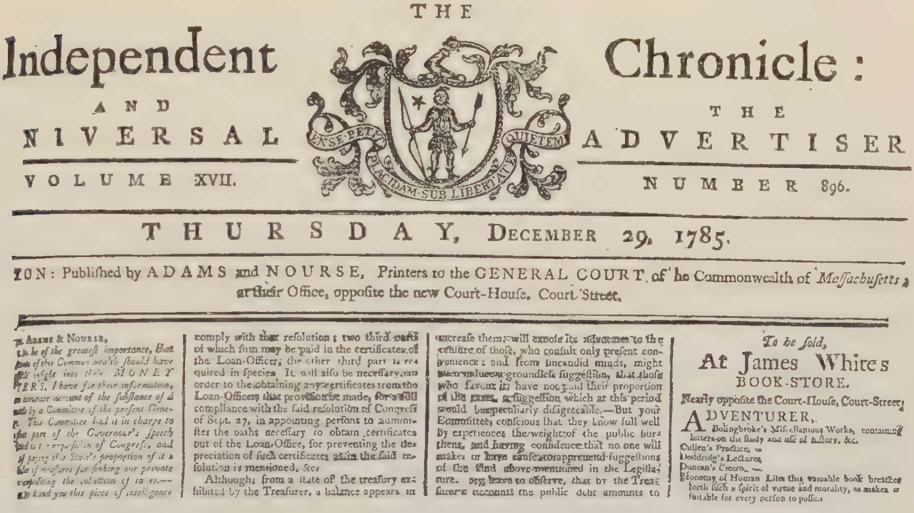
With the close of the war new issues appeared for settlement, and new periodicals were started for the distinct purpose of discussing those great questions in which the very existence of the young republic was involved at its



THE HAND PRESS ON WHICH THE *Hampshire Gazette* WAS FIRST PRINTED.

very birth. One of these papers was the *Hampshire Gazette*, founded with the especial object of enforcing on the popular mind the importance of preserving law and order at the time when Shays, with his associates, Parsons and Day, were resisting the authority of the courts of justice in Massachusetts. The *Hampshire Gazette*, after the *Worcester Spy* and perhaps the *Salem Gazette*, the oldest paper in New England having celebrated its centennial last year, was established in the autumn of 1786 in Northampton, one of the most beautiful towns on the Connecticut River, by William Butler, who was at that time an energetic young man of twenty-two, and a practical printer. The paper was issued weekly, on Wednesday mornings, and was circulated through the country by post-riders. The nearest post-office was then at Springfield, to which place a journey was made on horseback once a week for exchange papers. The *Gazette* was printed at first on a hand press in the back part of a dwelling house. It contained very little local news, no marriage announcements for several years, and few death notices—its special feature, after the settlement of the disturbances in New England, being foreign news. It contained no stories, few jokes, no slang, and no nonsense—altogether a thoroughly respectable sheet. It aimed high and pledged itself to be substantial and sensible. Articles of political tone and patriotic character were frequently contributed by such scholars as Caleb Strong and Major Joseph Hawley, for Northampton was at that period the residence of numerous cultivated men. The *Gazette*, as it grew in importance, had much to do with educating and refining the farming community of that region. Its history is indeed unique, its success never being due to sensational manœuvres or frantic appeals to the public, or special canvassing in its own behalf. It has lived and thrived through sheer merit, and is now not only one of the oldest but one of the best family papers in the United States.

The importance of the great question which immediately presented itself after the close of the war, the exact form of confederation to be adopted by the thirteen colonies, and the intensity of the popular sentiment on the subject were vividly illustrated by the acrimonious war carried on by two Boston newspapers, a feud continued by them long after the main point at issue had been settled. We refer to the *Independent Chronicle* and the *Centinel*. In 1775, Samuel Hall, proprietor of the *Essex Gazette*, by the advice of members of the General Court, moved his paper to Cambridge from Salem, and changed the title to the *New England Chronicle, or the Weekly Gazette*—it was the fashion at that period to change the names of newspapers. In the summer of 1776 this paper was purchased by Powers and Willis, who in the following November changed the title to that of *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, and affixed to the title a plate representing a man holding in his right hand a naked sword and in his left a scroll bearing the word "Independence;" over the figure was the legend "Appeal to Heaven." It is more than likely that this design was engraved by Paul Revere, then the chief engraver of the colony, and one of the solitary four artists who, however rudely, followed the art of engraving in North America at that period. Originally a goldsmith, Revere taught himself the art of copperplate engraving, and after serving as lieutenant-colonel during the Revolution, carried his interest in copper still further by establishing a foundry in the suburbs of Boston.*


ENSE PETIT
PLACIDAM SUB LIBERTATE
QUIETEM

THE
Independent Chronicle:
AND
NIVERSAL
THE
ADVERTISER
VOLUME XVII.
NUMBER 896.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1785.

ION: Publiſhed by ADAMS and NOURSE, Printers to the GENERAL COURT of the Commonwealth of *Maſſachuſetts*, at their Office, oppoſite the new Court-Houſe, Court-Street.

Adams & Nourse,

be of the greateſt importance, that of this Commonwealth ſhould have inſight into their MONEY TERS, I have for their information, accurate account of the ſubſtance of a by a Committee of the preſent Gene- The Committee had it in charge to part of the Governour's ſpeech requiſition of Congreſs, and paying this State's proportion of it of meaſures for ſinking our private expediting the collection of its ex— hand you this piece of intelligence

comply with that reſolution; two third parts of which ſum may be paid in the certificates of the Loan-Officer; the other third part is required in ſpecies. It will alſo be neceſſary, in order to the obtaining any certificates from the Loan-Officers that proviſion be made, for a full compliance with the ſaid reſolution of Congreſs of Sept. 27, in appointing perſons to adminiſter the oaths neceſſary to obtain certificates out of the Loan-Office, for preventing the depreciation of ſuch certificates as in the ſaid reſolution is mentioned, &c.

Although, from a ſtate of the treaſury exhibited by the Treaſurer, a balance appears in increaſe them; will expoſe its advocates to the cenſure of thoſe, who conſult only preſent convenience: and from uncandid minds, might then produce a groundleſs ſuggeſtion, that thoſe who favour it have not paid their proportion of the taxes, a ſuggeſtion which at this period would be peculiarly diſagreeable.—But your Committee, conſcious that they know full well by experience the weight of the public burthens, and having confidence that no one will make or have cauſe to apprehend ſuggeſtions of the kind above-mentioned in the Legiſlature, beg leave to obſerve, that by the Treaſurer's accounts the public debt amounts to

To be ſold,
At James Whites
BOOK-STORE.
Nearly oppoſite the Court-Houſe, Court-Street;
ADVENTURER,
Bolingbroke's Miſcellaneous Works, containing letters on the ſtudy and uſe of hiſtory, &c.
Cullen's Practice,
Doddridg's Lectures,
Duncan's Cicero,
Economy of Human Life: this valuable book breathes forth ſuch a ſpirit of virtue and morality, as makes it ſuitable for every perſon to poſſeſs.

[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

The Willis mentioned above was Nathaniel Willis, senior, father of the founder of the *Boston Recorder*, the first distinctively religious newspaper in America, and grandfather of the poet and founder of the *Home Journal*, Nathaniel P. Willis,—altogether a notable family in the history of American periodical literature.

In 1788 the *Chronicle* was purchased by Adams and Nourse, who solicited, in their prospectus, a continuance "of such speculations as shall be adapted to promote the liberty of our country, and the general welfare of mankind." They began the new *regime* by violently opposing the proposed

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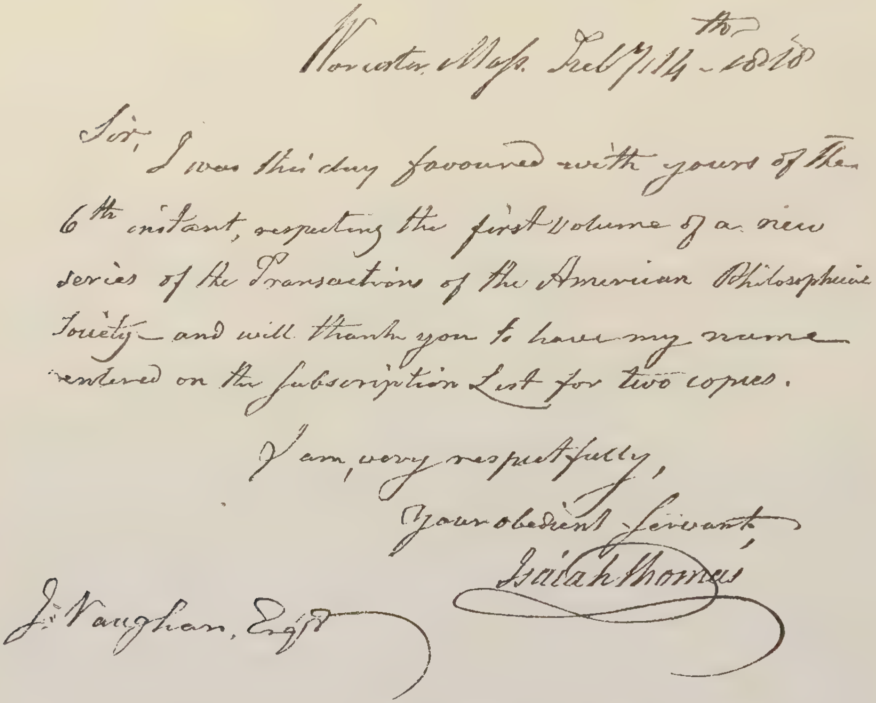
* This Magazine, in January, 1886 [xv. i. 10], published a portrait, and autograph letter of Paul Revere.

Society of the Cincinnati, which was creating much ill-feeling on the part of many who imagined that Washington and his immediate associates were bent on a monarchical government, and that an exclusive organization of this sort would be an opening wedge to the establishment of a hereditary aristocracy. We can now afford to smile at those fears, but cannot but respect, if we cannot accept, the apprehensions of those patriots who, in that stormy time, regarded with keen jealousy and dread any influence that might prevent a complete separation from the effete political systems of the old world.



Worcester, Mass. Feby 14th - 1818

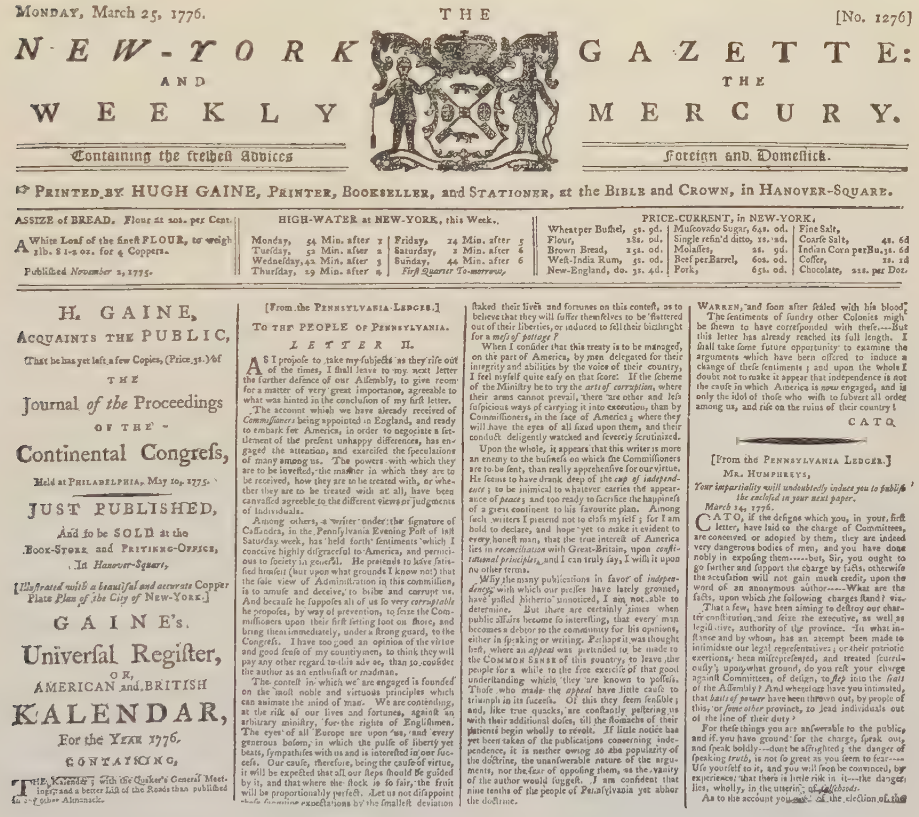
Sir, I was this day favoured with yours of the 6th instant, respecting the first Volume of a new series of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society — and will thank you to have my name entered on the ſubscription List for two copies.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient ſervant,
Isaiah Thomas

J. Vaughan, Esqr

COPY OF ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPH LETTER IN POSSESSION OF DR. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.
[*This magazine published the portrait of Isaiah Thomas* [xvii. 14] *in January*, 1887.]

The *Independent Chronicle* was naturally attached, from the first, to the Republican or anti-Federalist party, and one of its strongest writers was Benjamin Austin, Jr., who wrote for it daily, for upwards of twenty years, over the name of "Honestus," and, sometimes, of "Old South." During the agitation of 1798, Mr. Austin was especially subject to attack on account of his defense of the policy of the President regarding a war with France. The *Mercury* was among his fiercest Federalist enemies. One of its attacks began with the following lines: "HONESTUS—a hungry, lean-faced fellow, a mere anatomy, a rope-maker, an envious, hollow-eyed, sharp-looking wretch; this living dead man, this incessant scribe, forsooth took on him as a chronicler." At another time the *Mercury* called him, "this abominable booby." But Austin had a more formidable foe than this to contend with in his editorial career—Benjamin Russell, founder and editor of the *Centinel.**



MONDAY, March 25, 1776. THE [No. 1276]

NEW-YORK GAZETTE: AND THE WEEKLY MERCURY.

Containing the freſheſt Advices Foreign and Domeſtick.

☞ PRINTED BY HUGH GAINE, PRINTER, BOOKSELLER, and STATIONER, at the BIBLE and CROWN, in HANOVER-SQUARE.

ASSIZE of BREAD. Flour at 20s. per Cent.

A White Loaf of the fineſt FLOUR, to weigh 2lb. 8 1-2 oz. for 4 Coppers.

Publiſhed *November* 2, 1775.

HIGH-WATER at NEW-YORK, this Week.

Monday,	54 Min. after 1	Friday,	24 Min. after 5
Tueſday,	52 Min. after 2	Saturday,	1 Min. after 6
Wedneſday,	42 Min. after 3	Sunday,	44 Min. after 6
Thurſday,	29 Min. after 4	*Firſt Quarter To-morrow,*	

PRICE-CURRENT, in NEW-YORK.

Wheat per Buſhel,	5s. 9d.	Muſcovado Sugar,	64s. 0d.	Fine Salt,	
Flour,	18s. 0d.	Single refin'd ditto,	1s. 2d.	Coarſe Salt,	4s. 6d
Brown Bread,	15s. 0d.	Molaſſes,	2s. 9d.	Indian Corn per Bu.	3s. 6d
Weſt-India Rum,	5s. 0d.	Beef per Barrel,	60s. 0d.	Coffee,	1s. 1d
New-England, do.	3s. 4d.	Pork,	65s. 0d.	Chocolate,	22s. per Doz.

H. GAINE,
ACQUAINTS THE PUBLIC,
That he has yet left a few Copies, (Price 3s.) of
THE
Journal *of the* Proceedings
OF THE
Continental Congreſs,
Held at PHILADELPHIA, May 10, 1775.

JUST PUBLISHED,
And to be SOLD at the
BOOK-STORE and PRINTING-OFFICE,
In *Hanover-Square*,
[*Illuſtrated with a beautiful and accurate* Copper Plate *Plan of the City of* NEW-YORK.]
GAINE's
Univerſal Regiſter,
OR,
AMERICAN and BRITISH
KALENDAR,
For the YEAR 1776,
CONTAINING,

THE Kalendar; with the Quaker's General Meetings, and a better Liſt of the Roads than publiſhed in any other Almanack.

[From the PENNSYLVANIA LEDGER.]

TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

LETTER II.

AS I propoſe to take my ſubjects as they riſe out of the times, I ſhall leave to my next letter the further defence of our Aſſembly, to give room for a matter of very great importance, agreeable to what was hinted in the concluſion of my firſt letter.

The account which we have already received of *Commiſſioners* being appointed in England, and ready to embark for America, in order to negociate a ſettlement of the preſent unhappy differences, has engaged the attention, and exerciſed the ſpeculations of many among us. The powers with which they are to be inveſted, the manner in which they are to be received, how they are to be treated with, or whether they are to be treated with at all, have been canvaſſed agreeble to the different views or judgments of individuals.

Among others, a writer under the ſignature of Caſſandra, in the Pennſylvania Evening Poſt of laſt Saturday week, has held forth ſentiments which I conceive highly diſgraceful to America, and pernicious to ſociety in general. He pretends to have ſatisfied himſelf (but upon what grounds I know not) that the ſole view of Adminiſtration in this commiſſion, is to amuſe and deceive, to bribe and corrupt us. And becauſe he ſuppoſes all of us ſo very *corruptable* he propoſes, by way of prevention, to ſeize the Commiſſioners upon their firſt ſetting foot on ſhore, and bring them immediately, under a ſtrong guard, to the Congreſs. I have too good an opinion of the virtue and good ſenſe of my countrymen, to think they will pay any other regard to this advice, than to conſider the author as an enthuſiaſt or madman.

The conteſt in which we are engaged is founded on the moſt noble and virtuous principles which can animate the mind of man. We are contending, at the riſk of our lives and fortunes, againſt an arbitrary miniſtry, for the rights of Engliſhmen. The eyes of all Europe are upon us, and every generous boſom, in which the pulſe of liberty yet beats, ſympathiſes with us and is intereſted in our ſucceſs. Our cauſe, therefore, being the cauſe of virtue, it will be expected that all our ſteps ſhould be guided by it, and that where the ſtock is ſo fair, the fruit will be proportionably perfect. Let us not diſappoint theſe ſanguine expectations by the ſmalleſt deviation

ſtaked their lives and fortunes on this conteſt, as to believe that they will ſuffer themſelves to be flattered out of their liberties, or induced to ſell their birthright for a *meſs of pottage*?

When I conſider that this treaty is to be managed, on the part of America, by men delegated for their integrity and abilities by the voice of their country, I feel myſelf quite eaſy on that ſcore. If the ſcheme of the Miniſtry be to try the *arts of corruption*, where their arms cannot prevail, there are other and leſs ſuſpicious ways of carrying it into execution, than by Commiſſioners, in the face of America; where they will have the eyes of all fixed upon them, and their conduct deligently watched and ſeverely ſcrutinized.

Upon the whole, it appears that this writer is more an enemy to the buſineſs on which the Commiſſioners are to be ſent, than really apprehenſive for our virtue. He ſeems to have drank deep of the *cup of independence*; to be inimical to whatever carries the appearance of *peace*; and too ready to ſacrifice the happineſs of a great continent to his favourite plan. Among ſuch writers I pretend not to claſs myſelf; for I am bold to declare, and hope yet to make it evident to every honeſt man, that the true intereſt of America lies in *reconciliation* with Great-Britain, upon *conſtitutional principles*, and I can truly ſay, I wiſh it upon no other terms.

Why the many publications in favor of *independency*, with which our preſſes have lately groaned, have paſſed hitherto unnoticed, I am not able to determine. But there are certainly times when public affairs become ſo intereſting, that every man becomes a debtor to the community for his opinions, either in ſpeaking or writing. Perhaps it was thought beſt, where an *appeal* was pretended to be made to the COMMON SENSE of this country, to leave the people for a while to the free exerciſe of that good underſtanding which they are known to poſſeſs. Thoſe who made the *appeal* have little cauſe to triumph in its ſucceſs. Of this they ſeem ſenſible; and, like true quacks, are conſtantly peſtering us with their additional doſes, till the ſtomachs of their patients begin wholly to revolt. If little notice has yet been taken of the publications concerning independence, it is neither owing to the popularity of the doctrine, the unanſwerable nature of the arguments, nor the fear of oppoſing them, as the vanity of the author would ſuggeſt. I am confident that nine tenths of the people of Pennſylvania yet abhor the doctrine.

WARREN, and ſoon after ſealed with his blood.

The ſentiments of ſundry other Colonies might be ſhewn to have correſponded with theſe.---But this letter has already reached its full length. I ſhall take ſome future opportunity to examine the arguments which have been offered to induce a change of theſe ſentiments; and upon the whole I doubt not to make it appear that independence is not the cauſe in which America is *now* engaged, and is only the idol of thoſe who wiſh to ſubvert all order among us, and riſe on the ruins of their country!

CATO.

[From the PENNSYLVANIA LEDGER.]

MR. HUMPHREYS,

Your impartiality will undoubtedly induce you to publiſh the encloſed in your next paper.

March 14, 1776.

CATO, if the deſigns which you, in your firſt letter, have laid to the charge of Committees, are conceived or adopted by them, they are indeed very dangerous bodies of men, and you have done nobly in expoſing them-----but, Sir, you ought to go further and ſupport the charge by facts, otherwiſe the accuſation will not gain much credit, upon the word of an anonymous author-----What are the facts, upon which the following charges ſtand? viz.

That a few, have been aiming to deſtroy our charter conſtitution, and ſeize the executive, as well as legiſlative, authority of the province. In what inſtance and by whom, has an attempt been made to intimidate our legal repreſentatives; or their patriotic exertions, been miſrepreſented, and treated ſcurriloully; upon what ground, do you reſt your charge againſt Committees, of deſign, to *ſtep* into the *ſeats* of the Aſſembly? And wherefore have you intimated, that *baits of power* have been thrown out, by people of this, or *ſome other* province, to lead individuals out of the line of their duty?

For theſe things you are anſwerable to the public, and if you have ground for the charge, ſpeak out, and ſpeak boldly---dont be affrighted; the danger of ſpeaking *truth*, is not ſo great as you ſeem to fear---- Uſe yourſelf to it, and you will ſoon be convinced, by experience, that there is little riſk in it---the danger lies, wholly, in the uttering of *falſehoods*.

As to the account you give of the election of the

[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

The *Centinel* was established the twenty-fourth of March, 1784. In 1790 the name was changed to *Columbian Centinel.* From the outset there was no uncertain ring to its tone. Never has a newspaper been published in the United States more bold, vigorous and incisive, for there was a power

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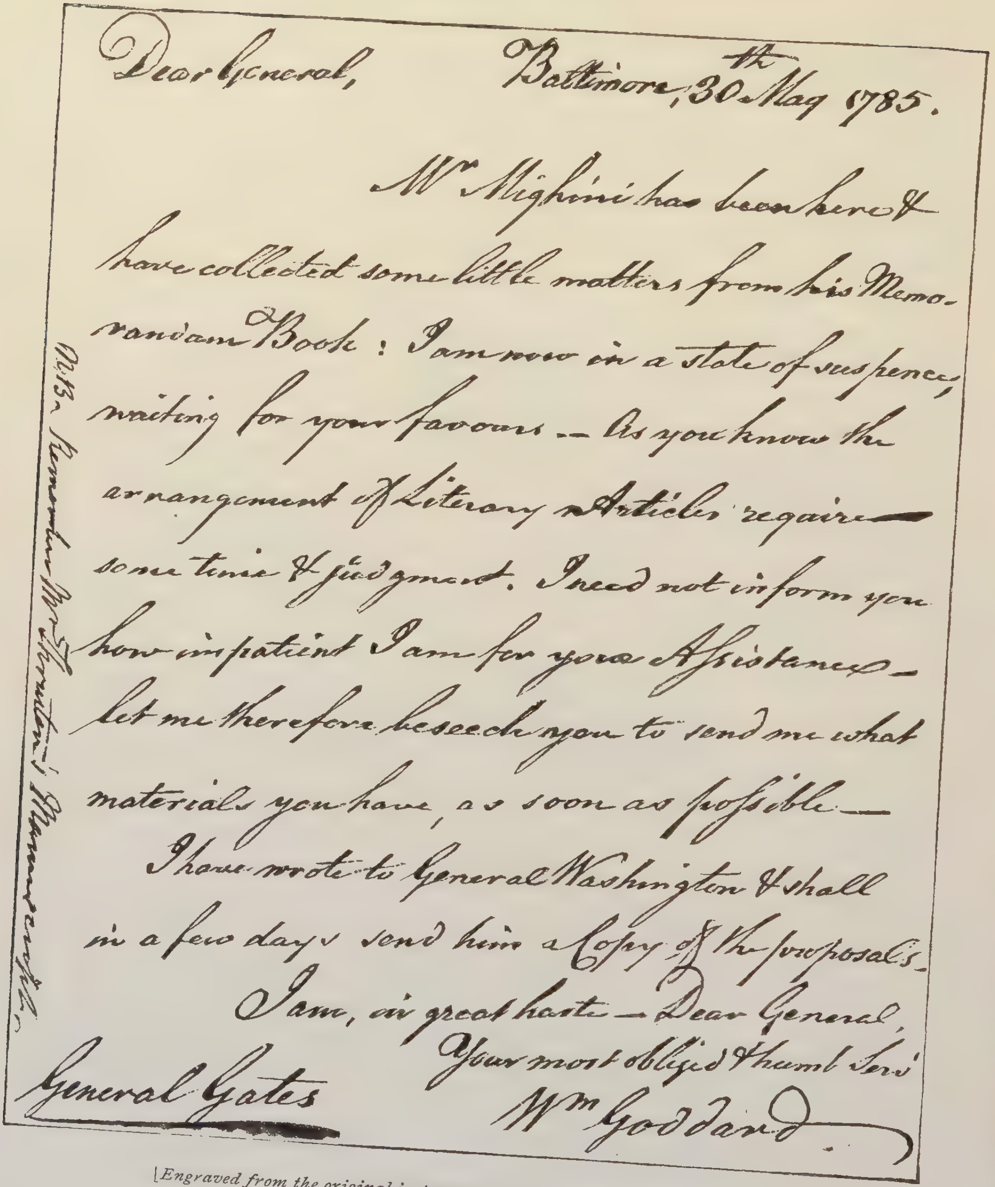
* This Magazine published the portrait of Benjamin Russell [xvii. 21] in January, 1887.



Dear General, Baltimore, 30th May 1785.

Mr Mighini has been here & have collected some little matters from his Memorandum Book: I am now in a state of suspence, waiting for your favours — As you know the arrangement of Literary Articles require some time & judgment. I need not inform you how impatient I am for your Assistance — let me therefore beseech you to send me what materials you have, as soon as possible —

I have wrote to General Washington & shall in a few days send him a Copy of the proposals.

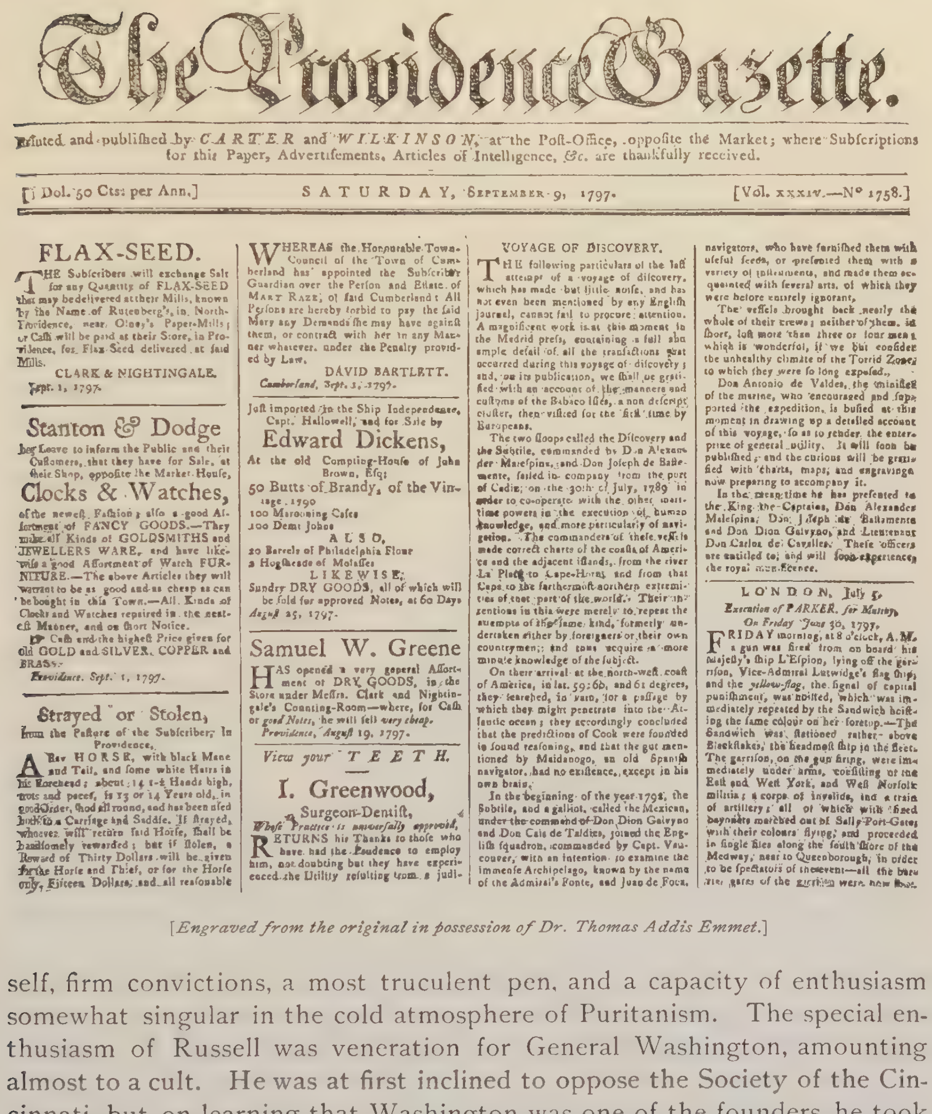
I am, in great haste — Dear General,
Your most obliged & humb Servt
Wm Goddard.

General Gates

N.B. Remember Mr Thornton's Manuscripts.

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

behind it of extraordinary nerve and ability—Russell, its editor. In a previous article we have already alluded to the early career of this original character. He was a man of sturdy determination, a strong belief in him-



The Providence Gazette.

Printed and published by *CARTER* and *WILKINSON*, at the Poſt-Office, oppoſite the Market; where Subſcriptions for this Paper, Advertiſements, Articles of Intelligence, *&c.* are thankfully received.

[1 Dol. 50 Cts. per Ann.] SATURDAY, September 9, 1797. [Vol. xxxiv.—N° 1758.]

FLAX-SEED.

THE Subſcribers will exchange Salt for any Quantity of FLAX-SEED that may be delivered at their Mills, known by the Name of Rutenberg's, in North-Providence, near Olney's Paper-Mills; or Caſh will be paid at their Store, in Providence, for Flax-Seed delivered at ſaid Mills.

CLARK & NIGHTINGALE.

Sept. 1, 1797.

Stanton & Dodge

beg Leave to inform the Public and their Cuſtomers, that they have for Sale, at their Shop, oppoſite the Market-Houſe,

Clocks & Watches,

of the neweſt Faſhion; alſo a good Aſſortment of FANCY GOODS.—They make all Kinds of GOLDSMITHS and JEWELLERS WARE, and have likewiſe a good Aſſortment of Watch FURNITURE.—The above Articles they will warrant to be as good and as cheap as can be bought in this Town.—All Kinds of Clocks and Watches repaired in the neateſt Manner, and on ſhort Notice.

☞ Caſh and the higheſt Price given for old GOLD and SILVER, COPPER and BRASS.

Providence, Sept. 1, 1797.

Strayed or Stolen,

from the Paſture of the Subſcriber, in Providence,

A Bay HORSE, with black Mane and Tail, and ſome white Hairs in his Forehead; about 14 1-2 Hands high, trots and paces, is 13 or 14 Years old, in good Order, ſhod all round, and has been uſed both to a Carriage and Saddle. If ſtrayed, whoever will return ſaid Horſe, ſhall be handſomely rewarded; but if ſtolen, a Reward of Thirty Dollars will be given for the Horſe and Thief, or for the Horſe only, Fifteen Dollars, and all reaſonable

WHEREAS the Honourable Town-Council of the Town of Cumberland has appointed the Subſcriber Guardian over the Perſon and Eſtate of MARY RAZE, of ſaid Cumberland: All Perſons are hereby forbid to pay the ſaid Mary any Demands ſhe may have againſt them, or contract with her in any Manner whatever, under the Penalty provided by Law.

DAVID BARTLETT.

Cumberland, Sept. 1, 1797.

Juſt imported in the Ship Independence, Capt. Hallowell, and for Sale by

Edward Dickens,

At the old Compting-Houſe of John Brown, Eſq;

50 Butts of Brandy, of the Vintage 1790
100 Marooning Caſes
100 Demi Johns

ALSO,

20 Barrels of Philadelphia Flour
2 Hogſheads of Molaſſes

LIKEWISE,

Sundry DRY GOODS, all of which will be ſold for approved Notes, at 60 Days

Auguſt 25, 1797.

Samuel W. Greene

HAS opened a very general Aſſortment of DRY GOODS, in the Store under Meſſrs. Clark and Nightingale's Counting-Room—where, for Caſh or *good Notes*, he will ſell *very cheap*.

Providence, Auguſt 19, 1797.

View your TEETH.

I. Greenwood,

Surgeon-Dentiſt,

Whoſe Practice is univerſally approved,

RETURNS his Thanks to thoſe who have had the Prudence to employ him, not doubting but they have experienced the Utility reſulting from a judi-

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.

THE following particulars of the laſt attempt of a voyage of diſcovery, which has made but little noiſe, and has not even been mentioned by any Engliſh journal, cannot fail to procure attention. A magnificent work is at this moment in the Madrid preſs, containing a full and ample detail of all the tranſactions that occurred during this voyage of diſcovery; and, on its publication, we ſhall be gratified with an account of the manners and cuſtoms of the Babaco Iſles, a non deſcript cluſter, then viſited for the firſt time by Europeans.

The two ſloops called the Diſcovery and the Subtile, commanded by Don Alexander Maleſpina, and Don Joſeph de Baſtemente, ſailed in company from the port of Cadiz, on the 30th of July, 1789 in order to co-operate with the other maritime powers in the execution of human knowledge, and more particularly of navigation. The commanders of theſe veſſels made correct charts of the coaſts of America and the adjacent iſlands, from the river La Plata to Cape-Horn, and from that Cape to the farthermoſt northern extremities of that part of the world. Their intentions in this were merely to repeat the attempts of the ſame kind, formerly undertaken either by foreigners or their own countrymen; and thus acquire a more minute knowledge of the ſubject.

On their arrival at the north-weſt coaſt of America, in lat. 59, 60, and 61 degrees, they ſearched, in vain, for a paſſage by which they might penetrate into the Atlantic ocean; they accordingly concluded that the predictions of Cook were founded in ſound reaſoning, and that the gut mentioned by Maidanogo, an old Spaniſh navigator, had no exiſtence, except in his own brain.

In the beginning of the year 1792, the Subtile, and a galliot, called the Mexican, under the command of Don Dion Galvyno and Don Cais de Taldies, joined the Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by Capt. Vancouver, with an intention to examine the immenſe Archipelago, known by the name of the Admiral's Fonte, and Juan de Foca, navigators, who have furniſhed them with uſeful ſeeds, or preſented them with a variety of inſtruments, and made them acquainted with ſeveral arts, of which they were before entirely ignorant.

The veſſels brought back nearly the whole of their crews; neither of them, in ſhort, loſt more than three or four men; which is wonderful, if we but conſider the unhealthy climate of the Torrid Zone, to which they were ſo long expoſed.

Don Antonio de Valdes, the miniſter of the marine, who encouraged and ſupported the expedition, is buſied at this moment in drawing up a detailed account of this voyage, ſo as to render the enterprize of general utility. It will ſoon be publiſhed; and the curious will be gratified with charts, maps, and engravings now preparing to accompany it.

In the mean time he has preſented to the King the Captains, Don Alexander Maleſpina, Don Joſeph de Baſtamente and Don Dion Galvyno, and Lieutenant Don Carlos de Cavalles. Theſe officers are entitled to, and will ſoon experience, the royal munificence.

LONDON, July 5.

Execution of PARKER, *for Mutiny,*

On Friday June 30, 1797.

FRIDAY morning, at 8 o'clock, A.M. a gun was fired from on board his Majeſty's ſhip L'Eſpion, lying off the garriſon, Vice-Admiral Lutwidge's flag ſhip, and the *yellow-flag*, the ſignal of capital puniſhment, was hoiſted, which was immediately repeated by the Sandwich hoiſting the ſame colour on her foretop.—The Sandwich was ſtationed rather above Blackſtakes, the headmoſt ſhip in the fleet. The garriſon, on the gun firing, were immediately under arms, conſiſting of the Eaſt and Weſt York, and Weſt Norfolk militia; a corps of invalids, and a train of artillery; all of which with fixed bayonets marched out of Sally-Port-Gate, with their colours flying, and proceeded in ſingle files along the ſouth ſhore of the Medway, near to Queenborough, in order to be ſpectators of the event—all the barrier gates of the garriſon were now ſhut.

[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

self, firm convictions, a most truculent pen, and a capacity of enthusiasm somewhat singular in the cold atmosphere of Puritanism. The special enthusiasm of Russell was veneration for General Washington, amounting almost to a cult. He was at first inclined to oppose the Society of the Cincinnati, but, on learning that Washington was one of the founders, he took back all he had written against it, and became one of its strongest advocates. Such was the patriotic as well as party fervor of Russell, that on the opening of the first session of Congress he wrote to the government, then practically bankrupt, and proposed to publish the laws and other official documents gratuitously. The offer was accepted, and Russell thus acted as government printer for several years. But when, at a later period, his bill was demanded, he made it out and returned it receipted, in compliance with his offer. Washington, however, maintained that it was a debt of honor, and insisted that it be paid. The transaction was creditable to both parties.

With two such champions as Austin and Russell, the battle between the Federalists and Republicans in New England was not likely to flag for lack of interest or display of energy. In time, the rivalry degenerated into a personal feud, in which others also became involved. The son of Austin was murdered by one of his enemies, and Austin himself on a public occasion grossly insulted Russell, who the following day spat in his face. Trials succeeded in both cases; in neither did Austin gain satisfaction, for the juries acquitted the murderer, and practically acquitted Russell by mulcting him in the nominal sum of twenty shillings. In this connection it is worthy of notice that in the newspaper history of New England, we nowhere find any record of such disgraceful duels as have occurred elsewhere in the United States, including New York and Philadelphia. In all such cases the law was appealed to. If it be said in reply that Austin did not find much relief from the laws, we may answer that it would have been as little satisfaction to himself and family if he had foolishly sacrificed his life in vindicating his rights, while his conscience told him that by following the course he did, he aided to uphold the system of law and order on which alone a state can be firmly founded. As in most quarrels, he was not wholly without blame himself for the difficulties in which he became involved.

Besides its vigorous methods on national questions, the *Centinel* also established a wide reputation for the accuracy and breadth of its general intelligence, in which respect, it probably surpassed every other American newspaper of that decade.

During this heated period, when two great parties were actively agitating the best method of raising the superstructure of the Republic on the foundation laid by the Revolution, one of the best Federalist newspapers of New England was the *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, which had been started in 1762, by William Goddard, to whom we adverted in a previous article. John Carter succeeded William and Sarah Goddard in the management of the *Gazette*, and with the aid of cultivated writers was able to make it an influential organ of the Federalists.

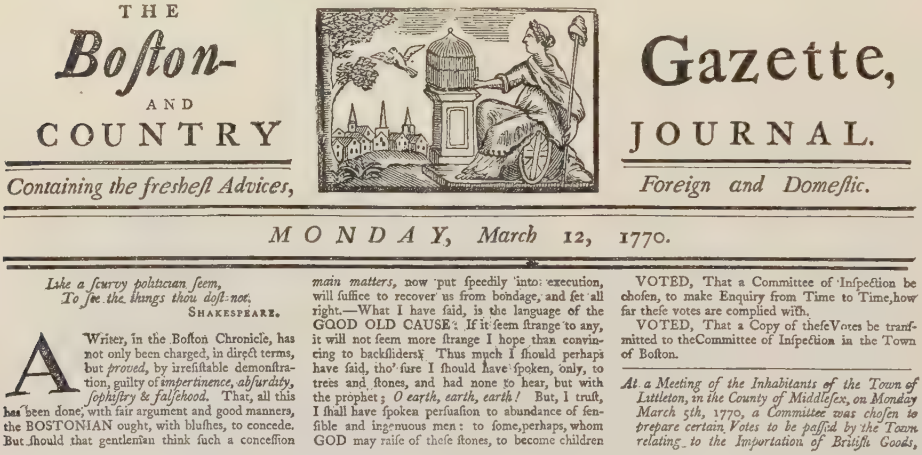
The Republican party, led by Jefferson, received, on the other hand, efficient assistance from the pen of Rev. William Bentley, of Salem, Massachusetts. Mr. Bentley is one of the most remarkable characters who figured on this continent during the period under consideration. He was born in Boston, June 22, 1759, and became pastor of the East Church in Salem, in 1783, an office he held until his death, December 29, 1819. His erudition was enormous, and his capacity for work reminds one of some of the German scholars, who seem chained to the desk, apparently neither eating nor sleeping. Besides discharging his ministerial duties with acceptance, including two written sermons a week, to the number of three thousand three hundred sermons, he found time to prepare sixty works, including observations on theology, astronomy, geology, and other natural sciences, and to perfect himself in a knowledge of twenty-one languages, besides acquiring great antiquarian knowledge; as an Oriental scholar, he had not his equal in America. In addition to all this, Mr. Bentley found leisure to correspond with scholars abroad, including those of Barbary and Syria, and to write regularly for the *Essex Gazette* and for twenty years for the *Salem Register*, a weekly review of current events the world over, besides numerous editorial paragraphs on political questions. His system of a weekly *resumé* of news was afterwards copied by several papers, notably the *Boston Traveller*, which established wide repute for the brilliant and often humorous reviews by one of its late editors, Mr. Hazewell. While the *Essex Gazette* remained neutral, Mr. Bentley wrote for its columns, but when it went over " horse and foot " to the Federalist party, Mr. Bentley gave in his adhesion to the *Register*, founded by Mr. Warwick Palfray, Jr., an uncompromising partisan of the Republican or then Jeffersonian party, and did yeoman's service for the cause of " Jeffer-

REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY.

[*Engraved from a photograph of painting.*]

sonian simplicity" and all that the term implies. President Jefferson offered Mr. Bentley an important position in reward for his services, but he declined it, his labors being for love, and not for profit. Indeed, he was so well contented with his quiet life-work in Salem, that he never was out of Massachusetts, except three times, once to Maine and twice to New Hampshire.

Mr. Bentley was a man of short stature and of rotund figure, and, as with most original characters, became the subject of many quaint anecdotes, which are still current in that vicinity. At the time the frigate *Constitution* was driven into Marblehead harbor by a British fleet, Mr. Bentley was conducting services in the pulpit. Word being brought into church that the ship was in danger, he announced that they could worship God at all times, but could save the *Constitution* only at this juncture; suiting the action to the word he dismissed the congregation, hurried to Marblehead and requested to be placed in command of one of the guns of Fort Sewall. When the danger was past he hastened back to Salem in season for the afternoon service, and preached an extempore sermon from the text, "There go the ships."



THE
Boſton-
AND
COUNTRY
Containing the freſheſt Advices,

Gazette,
JOURNAL.
Foreign and Domeſtic.

MONDAY, March 12, 1770.

Like a ſcurvy politician ſeem,
To ſee the things thou doſt not.
SHAKESPEARE.

A Writer, in the Boſton Chronicle, has not only been charged, in direct terms, but *proved*, by irreſiſtable demonſtration, guilty of *impertinence, abſurdity, ſophiſtry* & *falſehood.* That, all this has been done, with fair argument and good manners, the BOSTONIAN ought, with bluſhes, to concede. But ſhould that gentleman think ſuch a conceſſion

main matters, now put ſpeedily into execution, will ſuffice to recover us from bondage, and ſet all right.—What I have ſaid, is the language of the GOOD OLD CAUSE: If it ſeem ſtrange to any, it will not ſeem more ſtrange I hope than convincing to backſliders. Thus much I ſhould perhaps have ſaid, tho' ſure I ſhould have ſpoken, only, to trees and ſtones, and had none to hear, but with the prophet; *O earth, earth, earth!* But, I truſt, I ſhall have ſpoken perſuaſion to abundance of ſenſible and ingenuous men: to ſome, perhaps, whom GOD may raiſe of theſe ſtones, to become children

VOTED, That a Committee of Inſpection be choſen, to make Enquiry from Time to Time, how far theſe votes are complied with.

VOTED, That a Copy of theſe Votes be tranſmitted to the Committee of Inſpection in the Town of Boſton.

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Littleton, in the County of Middleſex, on Monday March 5th, 1770, a Committee was choſen to prepare certain Votes to be paſſed by the Town relating to the Importation of Britiſh Goods,

HEADING TO THE *Boston Gazette*, IN 1770.

[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

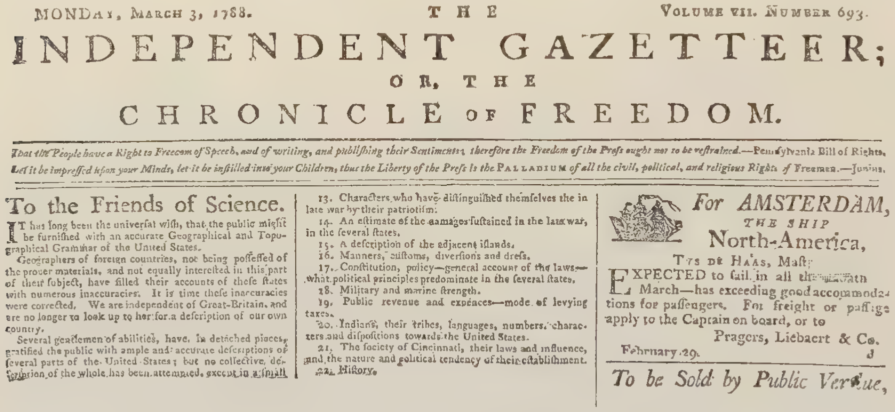
It is said that when riding in an old-fashioned sulky to Marblehead one Sunday morning to preach, he was hailed by a squad of the famous Marblehead boys, noted for their audacity and impudence, who cried, "Stranger, give us a ride! Stranger, give us a ride!" Absorbed in thought, the old gentleman paid no attention to the boys, who thereupon proceeded to climb on the back poles of the sulky in such numbers that the leverage lifted the horse on the edge of his hoofs and stopped his progress. Whether true or apocryphal, we can say of this story, "*se non e vero, e ben trovato.*"

A character quite the opposite to "Parson Bentley," who figured widely on the New England newspaper press about the same time, was Joseph Dennie, the famous author of the series called *Lay Sermons*, and editor of the *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, which was founded at Walpole, New Hampshire, in April, 1793. Although styling himself a lay preacher, Dennie was anything but clerical in his life and deportment, having, it is said, hastened his death in 1812 by convivial habits. He seems, however, under all circumstances, to have been scrupulously neat, not to say finical, in his person—one of his sermons in fact related to the subject of cleanliness. Mr. Buckingham, one of the pleasantest annalists of the New England press, thus describes Mr. Dennie: "I have a vivid recollection of Dennie's personal appearance, in 1796, when I began my apprenticeship in the printing office of David Carlisle. In person, he was rather below than above the middling height, and was of a slender frame. He was particularly attentive to his dress, which, when he appeared in the street, on a pleasant day, approached the highest notch of the fashion. I remember, one delightful morning in May, he came into the office dressed in a pea-green coat, white vest, nankeen small clothes, white silk stockings and shoes, or *pumps*, fastened with silver buckles, which covered at least half the foot from the instep to the toe. His small clothes were tied at the knees, with riband of the same color, in double bows, the ends reaching down to the ankles. He had just emerged from the barber's shop. His hair, *in front*, was well loaded with pomatum, frizzled, or *craped*, and powdered; the *ear-locks* had undergone the same process; *behind*, his natural hair was augmented by the addition of a large *queue* (called, vulgarly, the *false* tail), which, enrolled in some yards of black ribband, reached half way down his back. . . . Among his familiar acquaintances, and in the company of literary men, Dennie must have been a delightful and fascinating companion."

JOSEPH DENNIE.

[*Engraved through the courtesy of Dr. Emmet.*]

The *Farmer's Weekly Museum* was first called the *New Hampshire Journal*, a name which it eventually changed in order to meet the localities where it found its chief circulation to the cumbrous title of *The New Hampshire and Vermont Journal, or Farmer's Weekly Museum.* The publication of the series called the *Lay Preacher* was a stroke of genius on the part of Joseph Dennie. Nothing of the sort had yet appeared on this side of the Atlantic; the style was fluent, graceful, and spicy, and the subjects selected for these sermons were such as went right to the heart of the people. They were copied far and wide in almost every newspaper of the land, and for the time procured for the talented author a reputation similar to that of Addison in England.



MONDAY, March 3, 1788. THE VOLUME VII. NUMBER 693.

INDEPENDENT GAZETTEER;

OR, THE

CHRONICLE OF FREEDOM.

That the People have a Right to Freedom of Speech, and of writing, and publiſhing their Sentiments; therefore the Freedom of the Preſs ought not to be reſtrained.—Pennſylvania Bill of Rights.

Let it be impreſſed upon your Minds, let it be inſtilled into your Children, that the Liberty of the Preſs is the PALLADIUM *of all the civil, political, and religious Rights of Freemen.*—Junius.

To the Friends of Science.

IT has long been the univerſal wiſh, that the public might be furniſhed with an accurate Geographical and Topographical Grammar of the United States.

Geographers of foreign countries, not being poſſeſſed of the proper materials, and not equally intereſted in this part of their ſubject, have filled their accounts of theſe ſtates with numerous inaccuracies. It is time theſe inaccuracies were corrected. We are independent of Great-Britain, and are no longer to look up to her for a deſcription of our own country.

Several gentlemen of abilities, have, in detached pieces, gratified the public with ample and accurate deſcriptions of ſeveral parts of the United States; but no collective deſcription of the whole has been attempted, except in a ſmall

13. Characters who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves the in late war by their patriotiſm.
14. An eſtimate of the damages ſuſtained in the late war, in the ſeveral ſtates.
15. A deſcription of the adjacent iſlands.
16. Manners, cuſtoms, diverſions and dreſs.
17. Conſtitution, policy—general account of the laws—what political principles predominate in the ſeveral ſtates.
18. Military and marine ſtrength.
19. Public revenue and expences—mode of levying taxes.
20. Indians, their tribes, languages, numbers, characters and diſpoſitions towards the United States.
21. The ſociety of Cincinnati, their laws and influence, and the nature and political tendency of their eſtabliſhment.
22. Hiſtory.

For AMSTERDAM,

THE SHIP

North-America,

Tys de Haas, Maſter,

EXPECTED to ſail in all the [illegible] March—has exceeding good accommodations for paſſengers. For freight or paſſage apply to the Captain on board, or to

Pragers, Liebaert & Co.

February 29.

To be Sold by Public Vendue,

[*Engraved from a very rare original in possession of Dr. Emmet.*]

In 1797, the title of the paper was again changed to *The Farmer's Weekly Museum*, and its circulation extended from Maine to Georgia. In 1799, Dennie was invited to take the editorship of the *United States Gazette* in Philadelphia, an arrangement of short duration, for we find that in 1800 he associated himself with Asbury Dickinson to establish the *Portfolio*, a periodical more to his taste, as being literary rather than political in character. Dennie continued on the *Portfolio* until his premature death in 1812. He composed with great ease, and many of his *Lay Sermons* were written at the village tavern during intervals of card playing.

One of Dennie's contemporaries in Philadelphia was Matthew Carey, a very considerable character in Philadelphia, and prominent in connection with the newspaper history of the period. Carey was born in Dublin in 1760. He was a printer when only fifteen years of age, and at eighteen was prosecuted for printing a libel, and again in 1784, for another against the Lord Mayor, and was imprisoned during the session of Parliament. He escaped on board a ship in woman's dress, and arrived in Philadelphia, being at this time in his twenty-fifth year. Lafayette, then on a visit to the United States, heard his story, and not only procured influence for him, but advanced $400 to Carey, who immediately started the *Pennsylvania Herald.* The young printer, publisher and editor attracted immediate attention and patronage by giving the best reports of the Assembly yet published. But the spirited temper of the enterprising young Irishman aroused collisions, one of which, with Colonel Oswald, had serious results. Eleazer Oswald had been a colonel during the war, in which he appears to have served with credit; he was a kinsman of Elizabeth Holt, wife of John Holt, and aided her in conducting the *Journal* after the death of her husband, in 1785 and 1786. They sold the *Journal* in 1787 to Thomas Greenleaf.

Col. Eleazer Oswald.

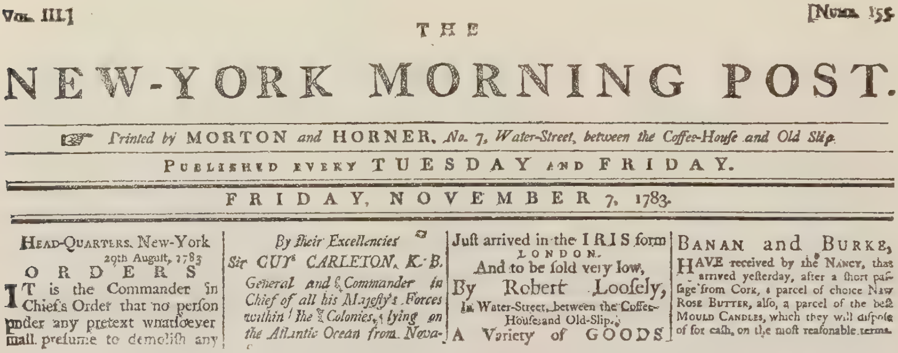
E Oswald

[*From rare copy in possession of Dr. Emmet.*]

John Parke, a poet of the Revolution, addressed, in 1778, one of his paraphrases of the odes of Horace to Colonel Oswald, because, as he says in his preface, of . . . "his many eminent virtues as a brave soldier and citizen. The hardships he has suffered, the toils he has endured, and the many trying vicissitudes he has experienced in the defence of his country, entitle him to the esteem of every patriotic American."

Oswald had an "unpleasantness" with Childs, of the *New York Advertiser*, and subsequently a political dispute with Matthew Carey. This quarrel terminated in a duel, in which Carey was shot above the knee, a wound that confined him to the house for nearly fifteen months.

During this interval, Carey seems to have been able to continue his editorial labors, and in 1786, with several partners, he started the *Columbian Magazine*, but withdrew from this enterprise the following December, and founded the *American Museum*, a monthly eclectic magazine, which he edited with marked ability for six years. After abandoning the *Museum* Carey entered into business as a bookseller and publisher, and among other works issued a quarto edition of the Bible, called the standing edition—as it was kept in type. Carey also established the Hibernian Society, and undertook with Hugh Gaine a system of annual book fairs, resembling the present trade sales. During his busy life he also wrote several controversial pamphlets; of these the one entitled *The Olive Branch, or Faults on Both Sides*, was designed to harmonize political factions; such was its popularity that it ran through ten editions. Carey acquired social position and means, dying in 1839. His son, Henry Carey, is well known for his robust works on political economy.



VOL. III.] [NUMB. 155

THE

NEW-YORK MORNING POST.

Printed by MORTON and HORNER, No. 7, Water-Street, between the Coffee-Houſe and Old Slip.

PUBLISHED EVERY TUESDAY AND FRIDAY.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1783.

HEAD-QUARTERS, New-York
29th Auguſt, 1783

ORDERS

IT is the Commander in Chief's Order that no perſon under any pretext whatſoever ſhall preſume to demoliſh any

By their Excellencies
Sir GUY CARLETON, K. B.
General and Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's Forces within the Colonies, lying on the Atlantic Ocean from Nova-

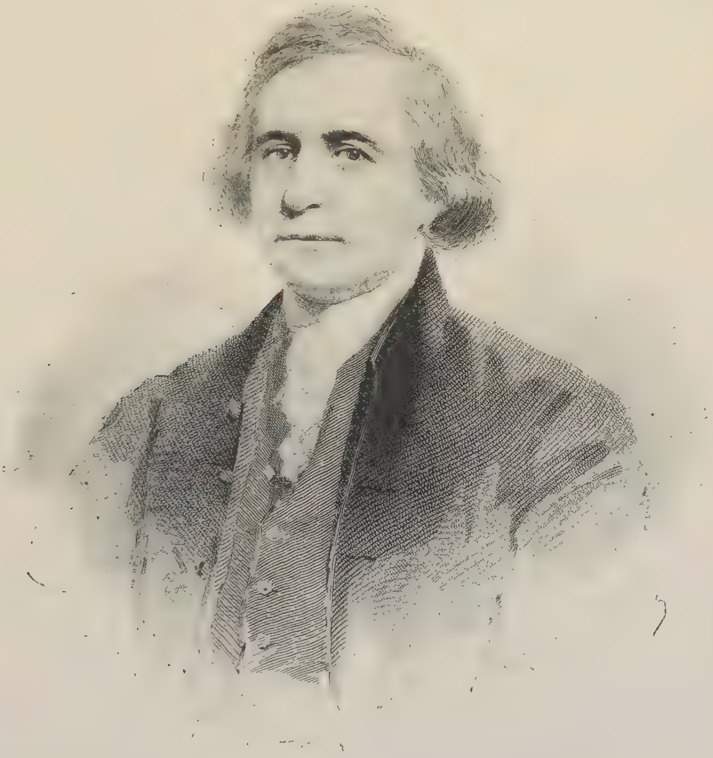
Juſt arrived in the IRIS form
LONDON.
And to be ſold very low,
By Robert Looſely,
In Water-Street, between the Coffee-Houſe and Old-Slip,
A Variety of GOODS

BANAN and BURKE,
HAVE received by the NANCY, that arrived yeſterday, after a ſhort paſſage from CORK, a parcel of choice NEW ROSE BUTTER, alſo, a parcel of the beſt MOULD CANDLES, which they will diſpoſe of for caſh, on the moſt reaſonable terms.

[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

Amid the general activity exhibited by the press on the burning questions of the time, the form of the Federal Constitution, the Society of the Cincinnati, the removal of the capital, or of war with France, another point came up which moved the heart of every printer and editor in the land. This was the question of newspaper postage. It was, indeed, a very serious matter when subscriptions and advertisements were comparatively few, as they were. In 1792, the postage on newspapers was one cent for the first hundred miles, and half a cent in addition for each hundred miles beyond. Much vigor of argument was indulged on the subject. To a writer who declared that it would cost more to send a paper from New York to Savannah than across the ocean, Pickering, the Postmaster-General, replied in print that "the critic was a liar, who lied because it was natural to him, and because he could not help it." Such language officially emanating from the head of a department at Washington to-day would produce something more than a mild sensation.

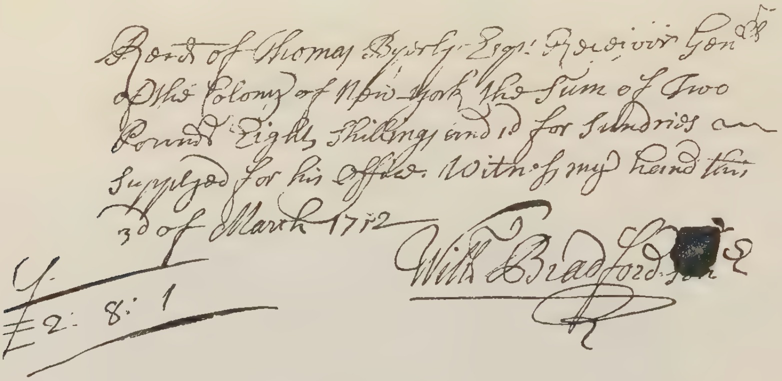
The question of postage was of additional importance, owing to the fact that the daily papers began to be issued soon after the close of the Revolution. The first daily newspaper published in the United States was established in Philadelphia, in 1784. Its name was the *American Daily Advertiser*, and its editor and proprietor was Benjamin Franklin Bache, afterward editor of the famous *Aurora*. It was strongly Jeffersonian in tone from the outset, and vigorously opposed the administration of Washington. The New York *Daily Advertiser*, the second American daily



Philip Freneau

[*From a valuable print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

paper, was founded March 1, 1785, by Francis Child & Co. We note in passing that in 1795, the first newspaper published in Maine was started, the *Falmouth Gazette;* two years earlier, in 1793, the *Centinel of the Northwestern Territory* was founded in Cincinnati, by William Maxwell, this being the first newspaper north of the Ohio River. The first paper west of the Alleghanies, *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, was already established—in 1785. The New York *Daily Advertiser* had among its editorial writers the well-known John Pintard. The *Advertiser* was strongly anti-Federalist, while he was a vigorous Federalist. The anomaly is in part explained by the fact that Philip Freneau, the editor, and Pintard were friends. The question of the new constitution was now shaking the republic to its foundations. The excitement ran so high that, as Jefferson wrote: "Men who have been intimate all their lives cross the street to avoid meeting." The publication of the papers called the "Federalist" in the *Independent Journal* of New York, in 1787, may be said to have carried the matter to a climax. One incidental result of the publication of these productions of Hamilton, Madison and Jay was to show the tremendous power of the press. It was through the medium of the newspapers that the "Federalist" reached the people, and the date of its first issue may justly be considered as a decisive event, the opening of a new era, in the history of the newspaper press of this continent.



Recd of Thomas Byerly Esqr: Receiver Genl
of the Colony of New York the Sum of Two
Pounds Eight Shillings and 1d for Sundries an
Supplyed for his Office. Witness my hand this
3d of March 1712

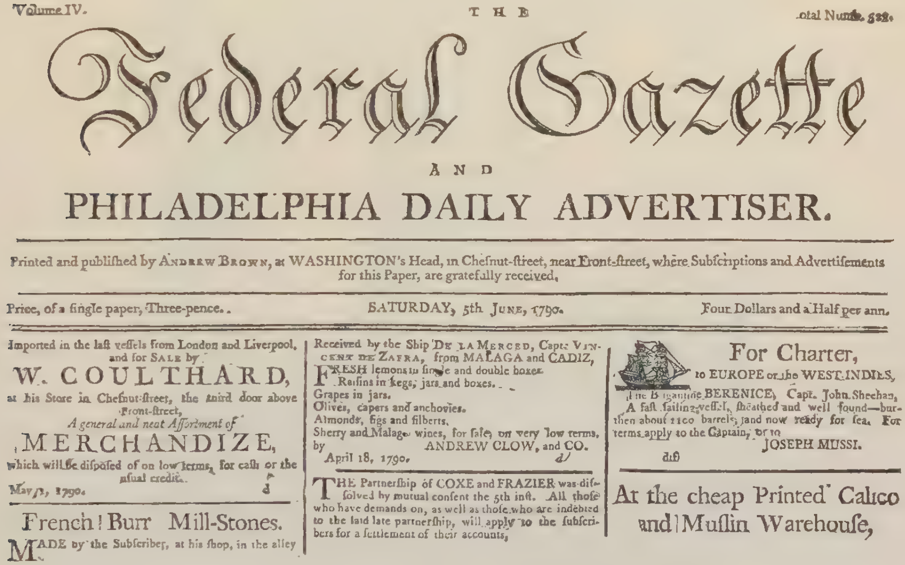
Will. Bradford Sen

£2: 8: 1

[*Engraved from the rare original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

Amid all the excitement and warfare of words which attended the adoption of the new constitution, we observe one figure who, next to Washington, Jefferson and Hamilton, appears to assume a prominence superior to that of all others engaged in the political contest, not so much perhaps by the weight of his intellect, as by his versatility and vivacity, and the readiness and keeness of the weapons he brought to the contest. We refer to Philip Freneau; what Tyrtæas was to the Spartans was Freneau to the Republicans or Anti-Federalists.

It is a singular coincidence that on the celebrated 24th of April, 1789, when Washington was escorted across the Bay of New York by a flotilla to enter on his new duties as President, the schooner *Columbia*, commanded by Captain Philip Freneau, the enemy who aroused in him the strongest expressions of wrath of which we have any record in his career, should have entered the port from a foreign voyage, and joined in escorting the new President to the seat of Government. From the deck of his ship, Freneau stepped to the editorial chair of the *New York Daily Advertiser*, and dictated the editorials which carried fury to every Federalist bosom, and aroused the rage of the great Washington himself.



Volume IV. THE otal Numb. 828.

Federal Gazette

AND

PHILADELPHIA DAILY ADVERTISER.

Printed and publiſhed by Andrew Brown, at WASHINGTON's Head, in Cheſnut-ſtreet, near Front-ſtreet, where Subſcriptions and Advertiſements for this Paper, are gratefully received.

Price, of a ſingle paper, Three-pence. SATURDAY, 5th June, 1790. Four Dollars and a Half per ann.

Imported in the laſt veſſels from London and Liverpool,
and for Sale by
W. COULTHARD,
at his Store in Cheſnut-ſtreet, the third door above
Front-ſtreet,
A general and neat Aſſortment of
MERCHANDIZE,
which will be diſpoſed of on low terms, for caſh or the
uſual credit.
May 31, 1790. d

French Burr Mill-Stones.
MADE by the Subſcriber, at his ſhop, in the alley

Received by the Ship De la Merced, Capt. Vincent de Zafra, from MALAGA and CADIZ,
FRESH lemons in ſingle and double boxes.
Raiſins in kegs, jars and boxes.
Grapes in jars.
Olives, capers and anchovies.
Almonds, figs and filberts.
Sherry and Malaga wines, for ſale, on very low terms,
by ANDREW CLOW, and CO.
April 18, 1790. d

THE Partnerſhip of COXE and FRAZIER was diſſolved by mutual conſent the 5th inſt. All thoſe who have demands on, as well as thoſe who are indebted to the ſaid late partnerſhip, will apply to the ſubſcribers for a ſettlement of their accounts,

For Charter,
to EUROPE or the WEST-INDIES,
The Brigantine BERENICE, Capt. John Sheehan,
A faſt ſailing veſſel, ſheathed and well found—burthen about 1100 barrels, and now ready for ſea. For terms apply to the Captain, or to
JOSEPH MUSSI.
diſt

At the cheap Printed Calico
and Muſlin Warehouſe,

[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

In all the history of American letters or of the United States press, there is no figure more interesting or remarkable, no career more versatile and varied, than that of Philip Freneau.

Freneau was of Huguenot extraction on his father's side. He was born in New York, January 13, 1752. He entered Nassau Hall or Princeton College, where James Madison was his room-mate. During his college course, he composed the long poem entitled *History of the Prophet Jonah*. On

The Indian Chief who, famed of yore,
Saw Europe's sons adventuring here,
Looked, sorrowing, to the crowded shore,
And sighing dropt a tear!

Prophecy of King Tammany Page 269.

Philad. Pub. by Lydia R. Bailey

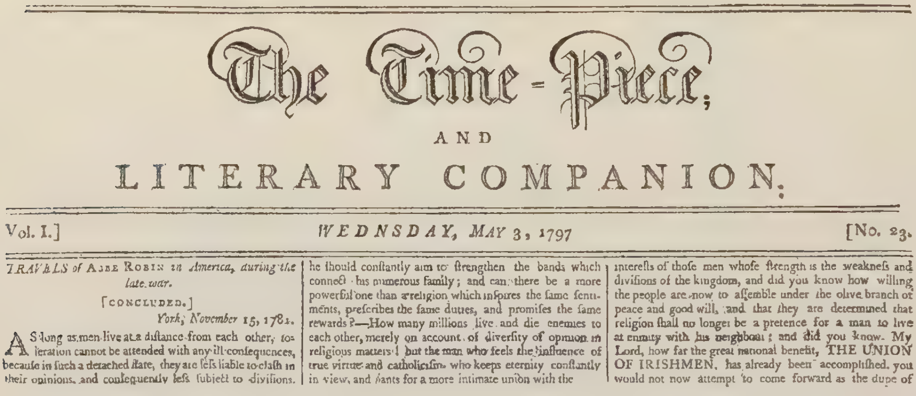
FAC-SIMILE OF FRONTISPIECE TO THE VOLUME OF FRENEAU'S POEMS, 1809:
AN EXAMPLE OF NATIVE ART AT THAT PERIOD.

graduating, in his twentieth year, he began the study of law, then for a time edited the *Freeman's Journal*, which he finally abandoned for a seafaring life, for which he appears to have had a natural predilection. He entered before the mast, and worked his way up to the command of a ship. During these voyages the poet-captain wrote verses, including the poem entitled *Beauties of Santa Cruz*, one of his best productions. In 1780, he was captured by an English frigate in the West Indies, and taken to New York, where in sight of his native city he was confined in the dreadful prison ship appropriately called the *Scorpion*. During his confinement he wrote the stirring lines entitled the *British Prison Ship*. He finally escaped from this floating dungeon, but in what manner there is no record. Undaunted by such a rigorous experience, he once more took charge of a ship and after several successful voyages arrived in New York in season to aid in the Republican or Democratic campaign against Washington and the Federalists.

Throughout his active life as sea captain, this American Falconer never relinquished the pursuit of letters, or his interest in home politics, composing in turn verses or humorous satires, which kept his name before the public. He edited the *New York Daily Advertiser* until the government removed to Philadelphia, when he also proceeded thither, became French translator to Jefferson, and established the *National Gazette*. The course of this paper was to attack Washington, Adams, Hamilton, every one attached or supposed to be inclined to the Federal party. The editorials against Washington were so bitter as repeatedly to force him to give vehement expression to his righteous indignation. Jefferson records that on one occasion, in a cabinet meeting, Washington exclaimed, that "'That rascal Freneau sent him three copies of his paper every day, as if he supposed he (Washington) would become the distributor of them; that he could see in this nothing but an impudent design to insult him'; he ended in a high tone."

At the present time, we can afford to regard with leniency those who opposed the Federalists through fear of monarchical tendencies, an apprehension honestly held, we are ready to admit, by most of the anti-Federalists, excepting Thomas Jefferson himself, whose sincerity in this matter was doubtless in inverse ratio to his ambition. He knew better than to expect such aims from President Washington; nor can we award even this meed of charity to those partisans who gave in their adhesion to the French Republic during the Reign of Terror. A people who had conducted a war of seven years with the humanity and magnanimity exhibited by the American colonies, had nothing in common with the ruffians who, under the cloak of law, perpetrated the most diabolical horrors in history. Thomas Jefferson knew better than to sympathize in his heart with the Sansculottes of '93. Nor can we respect either Jefferson or Freneau for lowering themselves as they did—the one, while he was in the cabinet, secretly instigating the attacks on his chief, and sometimes indicting them himself, and the other, his subordinate, perjuring himself by solemnly swearing that Jefferson had nothing to do with this dirty business—an oath he in later years retracted. The entire transaction is a stain on the fair fame of both these distinguished men.

We turn with pleasure from this episode to the time when the *National Gazette*, having served its purpose and expired, Freneau established *The Time-Piece* in March, 1797. But again, in 1798, he decided to forsake the noisome sewers of political corruption to breathe once more the pure air of the wide blue seas from the deck of his own ship. We picture him a wild, soaring, adventurous nature, more at home giving orders on his quarter deck amid rattling blocks, flapping sails, and shrieking gales, than as a landsman engaged in other vocations. He evidently loved the sea, although at times undoubtedly feeling that his active brain was too spacious to find sufficient scope with one pursuit alone. This is doubtless the secret of the restless fickleness he so often displayed in his long life of eighty years. On finally quitting the sea, he continued his literary pursuits, including poetical commemorations of the naval victories of the war of 1812. A collection of his poems was published in 1809 in two volumes; the frontispiece of the first is reproduced here as an example of the native art of the time. The dramatic career of Philip Freneau ended in a manner corresponding to his life. He perished in a snow storm in 1832, near Freehold, New Jersey, in his eightieth year.



The Time-Piece,
AND
LITERARY COMPANION.

Vol. I.] *WEDNSDAY, MAY* 3, 1797 [No. 23.

TRAVELS of Abbe Robin *in America, during the late war.*

[CONCLUDED.]

York, November 15, 1781.

AS long as men live at a diſtance from each other, toleration cannot be attended with any ill conſequences, becauſe in ſuch a detached ſtate, they are leſs liable to claſh in their opinions, and conſequently leſs ſubject to diviſions.

he ſhould conſtantly aim to ſtrengthen the bands which connect his numerous family; and can there be a more powerful one than a religion which inſpires the ſame ſentiments, preſcribes the ſame duties, and promiſes the ſame rewards?—How many millions live and die enemies to each other, merely on account of diverſity of opinion in religious matters! but the man who feels the influence of true virtue and catholiciſm, who keeps eternity conſtantly in view, and pants for a more intimate union with the

intereſts of thoſe men whoſe ſtrength is the weakneſs and diviſions of the kingdom, and did you know how willing the people are now to aſſemble under the olive branch of peace and good will, and that they are determined that religion ſhall no longer be a pretence for a man to live at enmity with his neighbour; and did you know, My Lord, how far the great national benefit, THE UNION OF IRISHMEN, has already been accompliſhed, you would not now attempt to come forward as the dupe of

[*Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

In person Freneau was slight, somewhat under medium height, but muscular; his eyes were dark gray. There must have been something very engaging in his manner and conversation, for he had many sincere friends, including such men as Prevoost, the first American bishop of the Episcopal Church in New York State, and the late Dr. John W. Francis. He seems even to have been respected by some of the victims of his satirical muse. It is related that Hugh Gaine, on meeting him after the severe lashing he received, said: "You are a clever fellow. Let me have the pleasure of taking you by the hand. Will you walk around the corner and join me in our parlor? We will take a glass of wine together. You, sir, have given me and my paper a wide reputation."

This is not the place to enter into a criticism of the poetry of Freneau. But we may say that it contained many verses which indicated genuine and original talent; there is no question that Campbell and Scott condescended to borrow ideas from him, even whole lines. With better advantages he might have reached a higher pinnacle. In any event, his name will live in our literature when some of the finished and brilliant writers of our time, who are more concerned about how to say a thing than about what they say, are forgotten; for he wrote with earnestness, and was not ashamed to throw his whole soul into whatever he did. After all has been said, enthusiasm remains the great factor in the world's progress.

Many other prominent characters might properly be mentioned in the history of the newspaper press of the United States at this period, including Joel Barlow, author of the "Hasty Pudding," who established the *Hartford Mercury* in 1783, and continued to edit it for two years with ability; but our purpose has been rather, in this particular paper, to give a rapid sketch of a few of the more prominent editors who through the press influenced the destinies of the republic until the final removal of the seat of government, in the year 1800, to Washington.

S. G. W. Benjamin

AN INTERESTING HISTORICAL LETTER

COMMANDER ALEXANDER SLIDELL MACKENZIE TO HONORABLE OGDEN HOFFMAN, 1843

Twelve or fifteen years ago, when my brothers and myself had grown up, and chosen professions for ourselves, and my father, Admiral R. W. Shufeldt, United States Navy, now retired, was obliged to break up our old home, we were given each one according to his right, a number of the relics that had accumulated during former years in the household. Quite a budget of old and in several instances valuable letters fell to my share, among which I discovered the original document written by Commander Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, United States Navy, addressed to the Recorder of his Court of Inquiry, in defense of his act in hanging young Spencer, aboard the United States brig *Somers*, for mutiny. It will be remembered that Midshipman Spencer's father was Secretary of the Navy at the time, and the affair has passed down into the history of this country as one of its most notable events.

This letter is written on both sides of unruled foolscap paper, now brittle and stained with age. The whole is enclosed in a wrapper of the same kind of paper, upon which other matters are written, and is addressed to "Hon. Ogden Hoffman," "Warren Street near Chapel on the South Side." This part of the letter is very much mutilated and time-worn, but I have endeavored to decipher the words upon it with care.

So far as I can learn this document has never appeared in type, and as such data in these days is being extensively collected and published, I deem it worthy of similar preservation. It reads as follows:

May it please the Court

Although it has been determined by the Court that a written defence of my Conduct, founded on the examination of the evidence that has been adduced is unnecessary, and under the circumstances, unadmissible, I trust that the Court will not refuse to receive from me a brief statement of the reasons that produced the conviction in my mind on which I acted, that the execution of the three ringleaders of the intended mutiny on board the *Somers* was necessary to the preservation of the vessel. It is true that these reasons may be collected from my report to the Secretary of the Navy which has been read before the Court; but they are no where stated in connection, nor with that distinctness and brevity that are necessary to impress their force on the mind of others. My report to the

Secretary was intended to be a full history of all the proceedings on board the *Somers*, for his information alone, and was very far from being framed with any direct view to my own vindication.

I proceed then, under permission of the Court, to submit the following facts and considerations as the reasons that chiefly determined my conduct. How far their reality or sufficiency is established by the evidence are questions that, without a single remark, I shall leave to the judgment of the Court.

First: I was influenced by my deep conviction of the reality of the plot disclosed by Mr. Spencer to Mr. Wales. Although I received the first communication with incredulity, yet when I reflected upon the earnestness and solemn manner in which the disclosure was made, and the strong impression of the reality and imminence of the danger made upon the mind of Mr. Wales himself my doubts vanished, and my mind was filled with the most earnest solicitude to discover and adopt the proper means for arresting the horrors which were meditated. I at once determined to adopt no measure but after mature deliberation, to shrink from none that the preservation of the lives of those entrusted to my care, the honour of my country, and my sense of duty should demand. Whether the influence of this determination is not apparent in all my subsequent acts I submit to the judgment of the Court: I believed then in the existence of a plot in which, by the declaration of Mr. Spencer, at least twenty of the crew were concerned, and which in my own opinion the majority of the crew were willing to be accomplices.

The nature of this plot, involving the murder of the officers and a large portion of the crew, and the commission of almost every crime, convinced me that those who had joined in it were capable of carrying it into execution and committing any atrocity. This opinion was further confirmed by my previous knowledge of the depraved character of the crew, and by the fact that many of them although men in [the word "size" erased] strength and size, were still boys in age, and consequently would be little likely to resist temptation, and more easily allured by the pleasures held out to them as accompanying the life of a pirate. Having stated the reasons which produced the conviction in my mind of the existence of the plot, it only remains for me to state those which induced me to change my original determination to bring the prisoners to the United States for trial, and to deem their immediate execution necessary.

I was influenced in this change of determination: First by the insubordination of the crew, manifested after we had left the Coast of Africa, and very much increased after the arrest of the prisoners; their gloomy and angry looks; their secret conferences, broken off when an officer approached; their increased reluctance in the performance of their duty; the actual disobedience of some; the attempts of several to communicate with the prisoners; by the confident and even insolent air of the prisoners themselves, though confined for a crime which rendered them liable should they be taken home to the punishment of death, clearly showing that they expected and had prepared a rescue; by the [words erased here] hardihood ["of" erased] which had been [the last three words written over the erased "of"] evinced in carrying away the main top-gallant-mast with the certain expectation of knocking Gazely overboard and thus creating dismay and confusion on board, an act committed moreover in fair weather and broad day, too surely evincing what they were capable of in tempestuous weather and in darkness. All these circumstances convinced me that there was danger of a rescue, and that this scheme was in constant agitation.

Secondly: by the uncertainty under which we laboured as to the extent of the mutiny, and the inutility and danger of attempting to ascertain, by an examination of the crew, how many were to be relied on. Let it be supposed that the whole crew had been examined, and all had protested their innocence and ignorance. Could we have believed and trusted them? Would the uncertainty have been removed or diminished? On the contrary, must not the universal denial and profession of total ignorance [last five words written over the line] have increased and justified our suspicions of universal guilt? We must still have believed that many were guilty and could not have known that any were innocent. If the examination had resulted in the discovery of the certain guilt of many of the suspected, our difficulties would have been still greater. To confine and guard them was impossible. To leave them at large, with a knowledge that their guilt was known, and that, if they arrived in safety, death might be their doom, was to render them desperate and an outbreak inevitable.

Thirdly: by the exhaustion of the officers, and by the impossibility that they could much longer sustain the fatigue to which they were subjected, and by the fact that from loss of rest and continual exertion we were daily losing strength, whilst that of the mutineers, from increasing numbers, was daily becoming greater.

Fourthly: by the conviction that, even if it were possible for the officers to defend themselves and their vessel in fair weather, if a storm should arise, calling the attention of the officers and petty officers from the prisoners [two words scratched out] and [a word scratched out] mutineers still at large, to the necessary duties of taking care of the vessel, it would have been easy for a few resolute men to have released the prisoners and taken possession of the vessel.

Fifthly: by the size of the vessel, which rendered it impossible to confine more prisoners, and prevent those already confined from communicating with each other, and with those of the crew at large.

Finally: by the conviction that [a word scratched out] the execution of the three ringleaders, would not only relieve the minds of the rest of the mutineers from apprehension occasioned by the consciousness that the ringleaders possessed secrets that might be fatal to many whose guilty participation in the plot might otherwise remain uncertain, but deprive them of the power of navigating the vessel, as none of the survivors would be capable of taking charge of her, and that this was the only effectual method of bringing them back to their allegiance, and preserving the vessel committed to my charge.

Having thus briefly stated the motives which produced the belief in my mind that the immediate execution of the three principal ringleaders was necessary, I will only add that the sacrifice of life was limited, not only by the obvious guilt, the courage or the hardihood of the conspirators, but by [word scratched out] necessity alone, and kept at some remaining risk within its bounds; that in adopting [last word written over the line] the alternative thus forced upon me [two words scratched out] a solemnity and calmness of deliberation was observed: That in executing the law of [last word written over the line] which the ringleaders had incurred the penalty, I observed as many of the forms as were within my reach; and that those forms which would have been perfect had I been a flag officer, and those composing the council of officers, been, as three of them actually were, commissioned instead of warrant officers.

Had any doubts as to the necessity of the course to be pursued existed in my mind, they would have been removed by the unanimous opinion of the commissioned, warrant and petty officers, whose means of judging the temper of the crew were better than my own, that such a course was necessary and inevitable. Their opinion, concurring with my own, left me no room to doubt that in pursuing that course I was doing my duty faithfully to my God and to my country.

I have the honour to be very respectfully
Your most obedient
Alex. Slidell Mackenzie
Commander U. S. N.

U. S. S. North Carolina, January 18. 1843.
To the Court of Inquiry.

As already stated, the wrapper to this letter is very much mutilated, it originally having been a sheet of paper like that upon which the letter is written, and sealed with red sealing-wax.

Commander Mackenzie has written across the face of this wrapper some important lines to the court, but the paper is so much torn that it is now impossible to decipher all that he intended to convey, though enough remains for us to know that another statement to the court originally existed, but it was "rewritten" and the above letter "substituted" for it. This postscript is signed with his full name and rank, apparently written at Tarrytown, and dated 19 Jan'y 1843. and addressed to Hon. Ogden Hoffman as "Judge Advocate" of the Court. Below it, on the same side of the wrapper, are four memoranda lines, unsigned, in Commander Mackenzie's handwriting, wherein he says: "My wife has made a fair copy and sent it to Mr. Claxton to save him trouble in case the court assents. We have waited 2 hours on the dock to complete this task before going to our children, and hope that it may not have been in vain."

During our late civil war I was aboard of a United States gunboat at the time several hundred Confederate prisoners mutinied and were with difficulty suppressed; thus I can fully appreciate, not only the unusually trying position in which Captain Mackenzie found himself, but the forcible picture he presents in his statement of defense before the Court of Inquiry.

R. W. Shufeldt

FORT WINGATE, NEW MEXICO.

SENATOR JOHN A. LOGAN

Readers of the *Magazine of American History* will turn with sorrowful interest to the exceptionally fine portrait of the late Senator John A. Logan, with which, only a twelve-month ago, this publication opened its New Year's volume for 1886. The able contribution of the distinguished soldier and statesman to that same mumber of the Magazine—January, 1886—on "*Slavery in America ; Its Origin and Consequences*," will now be re-read and studied with renewed earnestness and appreciation. John A. Logan's name must ever hold a conspicuous place in American history. He died on the 26th of December, and was consigned to his resting-place in the tomb on the 31st—the last day of the eventful year, 1886. The whole country mourns the loss of the patriot and statesman, whose long public career has been full of usefulness and honor, and whose personal integrity is without a stain. Even his bitterest political enemies have ever respected his perfect simplicity and honesty of character. Ex-postmaster General Hatton says of him, "Since Grant died there has been no man so close to those who served in the army, and I do not think any man has been so regarded by old soldiers as their especial friend. In political life he was as aggressive as he was in military life. His political victories were all won by hard fighting and against great odds. No one ever accused him of having a dollar of unearned public money, and his political contests were made without the aid of money." The Hon. Chauncey M. Depew says, "General Logan was a strong and picturesque figure. He may have been hewn out of rough material, but the mold of the man was almost heroic. He had little sentiment, yet he won a sentimental popularity that made his name a household word. It is the crisis in a country's history that brings the men of force and originality to the front, and in the civil war Logan found his first fame, and the country found Logan. As a volunteer soldier he was unapproached by any man who became distinguished without the West Point influence and training. The conflict stamped him as a genius in handling battalions. West Pointers concede his greatness in the field. Before 1861, he was an aggressive and venomous pro-slavery man. He went into the war doubted and aspersed by thousands, and came out of it a hero. His new faith flamed up into a patriotic zeal that made him a tower of strength. No other soldier had so much impetuous valor combined with such a cool and comprehensive judgment."

MONUMENT TO GWINNETT, HALL AND WALTON

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In front of the City Hall, in Augusta, Georgia, may be seen a shapely granite obelisk, twelve feet square at the base, and tapering to a height of fifty feet. Surrounded by a substantial iron railing, this simple, solemn, enduring structure—with a marble slab inserted in its southern face, whereon are engraved in *alto relievo* the coat of arms of Georgia and the names, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, and George Walton—rises in honor of the three signers from Georgia of the Declaration of Independence. It was the intention of the public-spirited citizens who builded it to commit to final repose beneath the foundation stones of this monument the remains of the distinguished patriots whose joint memories it was designed to perpetuate. With this end in view a committee was appointed to open the graves and superintend the removal and the reinhumation of the bones of these worthies.

In the case of Lyman Hall no difficulty was encountered in carrying this purpose into effect. The tomb upon his plantation in Burke County, in which he was buried, was well marked, and all that remained of his honored dust was capable of easy identification. The committee experienced some trouble in locating the grave of George Walton. Although the place of his sepulture was remembered by some of the aged inhabitants, no stone marked the precise spot in the family burying ground at Rosney, some nine miles from Augusta. A careful search, however, eventuated in undoubted success. The right femur still gave evidence of the wound which Colonel Walton had received in December, 1778, when, during Colonel Campbell's assault upon and capture of Savannah, shot through the thigh, he fell from his horse and was captured by the enemy. Thus recognized beyond peradventure, the remains of Hall and Walton were, nearly thirty-six years ago, removed from their respective graves and recommitted to the earth beneath the monument in Greene Street.

It was found impossible to ascertain the last resting place of Button Gwinnett. He had died in Savannah of a mortal wound inflicted by General Lachlan McIntosh, when those gentlemen, in 1777, settled their disagreements with pistols at the short distance of four paces. While it was generally believed that Gwinnett had been interred within the old cemetery on South Broad Street in that city, no stone inscribed to his memory could be discovered, and there was no one in life to point out his unmarked grave. Consequently the desire of the citizens of Augusta to confide to the protection of this monument the dust of all three of the signers from Georgia of the Declaration of Independence was not wholly consummated.

When completed, the obelisk was dedicated with impressive formalities. Judge William T. Gould pronounced the oration, and the Masonic ceremonies were conducted by the Honorable William C. Dawson.

Gwinnett was an Englishman: Hall was a native of Connecticut: and Walton was a Virginian. Georgia, however, proudly claims them as her adopted sons, and the city of Augusta by this memorial testifies, in enduring form, her grateful appreciation of their services in the cause of freedom.

Charles. C. Jones. Jr.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, *December* 18, 1886.

WHEN DID OHIO BECOME A STATE?

The seventeenth State in age, and third in rank, has entered upon the eighty-fourth year of its existence with a dispute unsettled concerning the date of its admission into the Union. It would seem well, that having outgrown all save two of the older States and all of the new, it should be no longer vexed with doubts respecting its natal day.

No less than seven dates have been given in various published works for the admission of Ohio into the Union. These are: April 28, April 30, June 30, and November 29, 1802, and February 19, March 1, and March 3, 1803; two of which may be dismissed without consideration, as they rest on no known fact or event—April 28, and June 30, 1802. Of the five remaining dates, April 30, 1802, is the first, chronologically, to be considered. A note in the United States Statutes at large is the chief authority sustaining it. It must be borne in mind that from April 7, 1788, the time of the first settlement at Marietta, the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the Ohio River lived under the celebrated Ordinance of July 13, 1787, as their constitution or fundamental law. Through its operation, the first local laws suited to the condition of affairs were adopted and published in the district by the governor, and three judges appointed by Congress. This government continued until 1799, when, the district having five thousand free male inhabitants, the governor and legislature made and executed the laws under the "Ordinance." A territorial government existed from the autumn of 1799 until the spring of 1803. Early in 1802, the unpopularity of Governor Arthur St. Clair increasing through his frequent exercise of the veto power, and the population approaching the required number, an enabling act was secured from Congress, authorizing the people of the Territory to take the first step toward its admission as a State into the Union. As by no known process of reasoning can the first step be construed as the last, in legally transforming a Territory into a State, the date of the enabling act, April 30, 1802, which authorized the election of persons to frame a constitution, cannot be accepted as the date when Ohio entered the Union. The first constitutional convention that assembled in Ohio pursuant to the act of Congress completed its labors, and adjourned November 29, 1802. The constitution that was framed provided for the election of a governor and legislature for the new

State on the second Tuesday in January, 1803. It also ruled, in Article II., Section 13, that, "No member of Congress or person holding any office under the United States or this State shall execute the office of governor." But General St. Clair continued to exercise the functions of territorial governor until December 14, 1802, when he received a letter from President Jefferson removing him from the office, and appointing in his stead, Charles W. Byrd, as acting territorial governor, who discharged the duties of that office until the promulgation of the act of February 19, 1803, recognizing Ohio as a State.

Now, if Ohio became a State on November 29, 1802, through a self-executing, self-enforcing constitution, without a State executive, a State judge, or other State officer elected until the following year, why were not Governor St. Clair and Governor Byrd impeached for exercising executive functions without an election? And if Ohio was a State in the Union on December 14, 1802, why was not President Jefferson impeached for removing one governor of a "sovereign and independent State" and appointing another? The most eminent exponent of the doctrine of "State sovereignty" has certainly done nothing so abhorrent to all conceptions of that "sacred entity," called a State, as to appoint an elective governor of one. But the men who made this Ohio constitution did not suppose that it lifted the State and themselves into the Union when they signed it, for Dr. Edward Tiffin, president of the convention, and Thomas Worthington, a leading member, straightway proceeded to Washington to *apply* for the admission of Ohio into the Union. They obtained a hearing on December 23. The *House Journal* reads: "The speaker laid before the House letters from Edward Tiffin and Thomas Worthington, inclosing a copy of the Constitution, and an ordinance containing certain propositions for the consideration of Congress, and an address from the convention that framed the Constitution of Ohio; all of which papers were read and referred to a committee, composed of Messrs. Randolph, Elemndorf, Goddard, Henderson, and Archer, with instructions to examine the matter and report the same, with their opinion thereon, to the House." We first hear from the work of these Ohio agents in the Senate on January 5, 1803, when the *Senate Journal* informs us that upon motion, it was ordered "That a committee be appointed to bring in a bill for giving effect to the laws of the United States within the State of Ohio." Without following this bill through its different stages it is sufficient for our purpose to say that on January 19, the proper committee of the Senate reported that it found the constitution and government of Ohio republican in form, and that it was necessary to establish a district court to carry into complete effect in said State the laws of the United States. The bill thus bringing Ohio under the authority of the laws and the Constitution of the United States, passed the Senate February 7, the House February 12, and was signed by the President February 19, 1803. This being the first act of Congress recognizing the existence of Ohio as a State, it must be taken as the virtual act of admission of the State into the Union. The two constitutional duties imposed upon Congress, under Article IV., Sections 3 and 4, of admitting new States, and of guaranteeing to them a republican form of government, were thus entered upon and performed. In the *Executive Journal* of the United States Senate for the year 1803, page 433, is this record:

> I nominate Joseph Wood, of the North Western Territory, to be Register of the Land Office at Marietta in said Territory, *Vice* Peregrine Foster, resigned: and Griffith Green, of the North Western Territory to be Collector for the District of Marietta, in the North Western Territory, and Inspector of the Revenue for the same.
>
> January 11, 1803. TH JEFFERSON.

It is safe to say that Thomas Jefferson knew enough of the geography of his country to properly locate Marietta. The President of the United States, if any one, might be presumed to know how many States comprised the Union, and whether Ohio was then one of the number. Yet in his annual message of December 15, 1802, he makes no allusion to the admission of Ohio, and as late as January 11, 1803, he is still unaware that any such State exists. But twenty days later the President's knowledge is in conformity with the facts, for he nominates Charles Willing Byrd of Ohio, to be judge of the district of Ohio; Michael Baldwin of Ohio, to be attorney for the United States in the district of Ohio, and David Zeigler to be United States marshal. These nominations were sent to the Senate, March 1, 1803. From the collection of *Charters and Constitutions* printed by the government in 1877, it appears that the Senate had the same understanding as President Jefferson as to the date of Ohio's admission, for the act of February 19, 1803, occupies the same place filled by the formal acts admitting into the Union all other States. With such decisive proofs, it seems superfluous to argue further; and we trust this long historical controversy as to the true date of Ohio's birth as a State will be settled for all future generations.

James Q. Howard

MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID HUNTER

[PROMINENT MEN OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD]

Those who have been familiar, for many years past, with the faces and persons to be met or seen on Pennsylvania Avenue and other principal streets and walks in Washington, can hardly fail to have noted, since early in 1886, the absence from those scenes of one striking and interesting figure. The erect form, the quick, alert step, the bright black eye, and the eager interest taken as he passed in all the surroundings, of a gentleman of more than fourscore years, whose flowing, snow-white locks were almost his only mark of great age, were sure to command general observation. And thus the citizen, whose pleasure it was to know to whom these personal characteristics belonged, followed with interested and admiring regard, and pointed out to others who had not acquaintance with him, our venerated countryman, David Hunter, major-general of the United States Army, on the retired list. General Hunter died suddenly, February 2, 1886. Up to the last hour of his life on that day he had been abroad, taking his accustomed morning exercise, engaged in affairs, and attending to social duties. It is a comfort to the friends who survive him to remember that he thus passed away, and went without suffering to his rest at the end of a long life of usefulness and brave devotion to duty.

General Hunter was born in New Jersey, July 20, 1802, his father being a Virginian of well-known family, a chaplain in the United States Army. Of his childhood and youth there is little record remaining. The lessons of his life are to be found in his later years, and should not lightly be allowed to pass unnoticed, because it is to be hoped that always some benefit may come to his country and to the world from the example of a good, gallant, loyal, earnest man. The writer of this article enjoyed General Hunter's intimate and valued friendship only during the years since the close of the civil war; but had many opportunities for becoming familiar with his career previous to the time when his public services were a part of the history of our country.

Graduating from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1822, young Hunter was assigned to the Fifth Regiment of the United States Infantry. This regiment was sent to the Western frontier, Hunter's post, with part of the regiment, being at the Falls of St. Anthony, on the upper Mississippi, then quite beyond the limit of civilization. The traveler who now visits the populous State of Minnesota, or the beautiful and stately cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, teeming with their scores of thousands of inhabitants, and marvelous for their enterprise, wealth, and great industries, finds it difficult to realize how remote and wild a region it was in Lieutenant Hunter's youth ; to reach it, he was compelled, in a journey which lasted three months, to traverse a wilderness beset with difficulties and dangers, suffering often from exposure, and glad to have occasional relief from fatigue by transportation in a small river-boat, or on a sledge over the snow.

In this frontier service our young officer continued eleven years ; years of activity and of hardship—of marches, of Indian fighting, and of wild adventures. But they were years which helped to develop and fix the character of the man. Such was his excellence and repute as an officer and soldier that when the first regiment of United State Dragoons was organized he was selected and commissioned as a captain in that body. It was only, however, to go into still more active and arduous service, as he and his company were called on to make long raids and expeditions into and through the Indian country, often carrying war for the protection of the advancing settlements of white men to the homes of the hostile savages. After three years of cavalry service, having in the interval married and found it necessary to give to his private and personal interests more of the care and attention which they required, and more of his time than could be consistently spared from the absorbing duties of his profession, he resigned his captaincy, in 1836, and devoted himself for six years to business engagements in civil life.

But the military habit, and the military spirit, were still in the ascendant. The sword might be turned into the plowshare, or the spear into a pruning hook, but the trained and educated soldier could not be easily tamed down into the quiet civilian. Having left the line of the regular army Hunter could not recover his place in that organization, but, his tastes and desires still turning naturally and strongly to the companionship and adventures of arms, he applied for and obtained a commission on the staff. He was restored to the army in 1842, by appointment to the office of paymaster, with the rank of major. He never quitted the service again. In this branch of the service, he proved himself in various fields a most energetic and efficient officer. He was stationed, or rather traveled, in the line of his new duty, actively, from post to post where troops were to be paid, in Arkansas and Florida, encountering often again in these regions the adventures and hardships of life in the rough to which he had been so inured in his earlier career. But the war with Mexico came in 1846, and gave him a new experience. On the staff of General Zachary Taylor, he was selected for, and intrusted with, the very responsible position of Chief Paymaster of the Army of Occupation. Throughout the war, and in its brief but brilliant and successful campaigns, he acquitted himself with an intelligence and capacity which sustained the reputation he had acquired, and it was well understood in army circles that it was at Hunter's suggestion the ground was selected on which the battle of Buena Vista was fought. After the Mexican war he was engaged in a round of successive duties at various posts in the West, and on the frontier, until the whole country was startled and shocked by the distracting and ominous approach of our civil war. Then it was that men's very souls were tried, and that new, crucial, and most searching tests of courage and patriotism were needed, and had to be applied. Major Hunter was then on duty at Fort Leavenworth. The intenseness of his loyalty, his devotion to the Union, and his abhorrence of every treasonable purpose and project for the overthrow of constitutional government were well known. But it was, alas! a time when, even among officers of the army, allegiance to the flag was in many instances undermined and wavering. He had, however, no sentiment for nor sympathy with secession. After the election of Mr. Lincoln the temper of those who were infected by the growing spirit of disloyalty began to manifest itself more openly. Many proofs were given of an existing design to conspire against and prevent a peaceful inauguration of the incoming President. Conspirators in the interest of a mad and excited South were known to be contemplating an obstruction of the journey of Mr. Lincoln to the capital; and angry threats were made, that if, to that end, assassination by the way were necessary, he should not reach Washington alive. Major Hunter was alive to the danger indicated by these revelations. He communicated his knowledge of these evil intentions to the President elect; and steps were taken to guard his passage on the road from his home in Illinois to the seat of government, and to secure his safe and orderly induction into the high office for which he had been constitutionally chosen by the people.

Major Hunter was invited by Mr. Lincoln to accompany him to Washington. After the inauguration he was assigned, by order of General Scott, to the charge and protection of the President's house and person. During a period of six weeks, at this exciting and critical time, he remained day and night at his post in the discharge of this delicate and responsible duty, having under his command to aid him a body composed of a hundred gentlemen from various States of the Union, who enrolled themselves as volunteers for this patriotic service. But then, with the cloud of civil war bursting into active hostilities, came the need of call to every patriot and to every man who looked with veneration up to the old flag, to take the place for which he might be in any degree qualified, and in which he might best prove his devotion to the Union. Hunter was appointed on the 14th of May, 1861, colonel of the Sixth Cavalry, a newly organized regiment of the regular army. Soon after, as volunteer troops in answer to the call of the President began to arrive at Washington, he was assigned to the command of a brigade stationed on the Virginia side of the Potomac. Relieved from this command, in which he was succeeded by Colonel (now General) W. T. Sherman, he was placed at the head of the right division of the army assembling under General McDowell, to advance southward against the Confederate enemy gathered in force in the direction of Manassas. Early in the battle of Bull Run, while encouraging and leading in person the advance of his division, in the heat of the fight, he was severely wounded in the neck and compelled to quit the field, the command of the division thereupon devolving on Colonel Andrew Porter, of his first brigade. The gallantry and energy of Hunter displayed at Bull Run, and his proven and acknowledged military merit and capacity led to speedy promotion. He was appointed successively brigadier-general of volunteers, to take rank from May 17, 1861, and a major-general of volunteers, to date from August 13, 1861.

As soon as he had so far recovered from his wounds as to be fit for duty he was ordered to report to General Fremont, then commanding the Western Military Department, with headquarters at St. Louis, and was assigned to the command of the First Division of Fremont's army, moved with it in the advance on Springfield, Missouri, and at that point, on the 2d of November, 1861, by direction and under instruction of the President, relieved General Fremont, and assumed the command of that department and army. It was at this juncture that General Hunter received, direct from the President himself, one of those autograph letters of advice which Mr. Lincoln was accustomed to send to his generals in the field—letters which, while they evince the watchful care and observation with which he followed every movement of the Union forces at the front, at the same time, in their clear, terse, unpretending and often quaint style, were wonderful models alike of his modesty and his sagacity. An old officer, who was himself of marked professional education and experience, once was led to remark that a most interesting and valuable collection of these letters, with proper annotation, might be made and published under the title of "Lincoln as a Military Man." In a report of his services furnished by General Hunter shortly before his death, in answer to a call from the War Department, is found a full copy of this letter, as follows:

Washington, Oct. 24, 1861.

Sir: The command of the Department of the West having devolved upon you, I propose to offer you a few suggestions, knowing how hazardous it is to bind down a distant commander in the field to specific lines and operations, as so much always depends on a knowledge of localities and passing events. It is intended, therefore, to leave a considerable margin for the exercise of your judgment and discretion.

The main rebel army (Price's) west of the Mississippi is believed to have passed Dade County, in full retreat upon Northwestern Arkansas, leaving Missouri almost freed from the enemy, excepting in the southeast of the State. Assuming this basis of facts, it seems desirable, as you are not likely to overtake Price, and are in danger of making too long a line from your own base of supplies and reinforcements, that you should give up the pursuit, halt your marching army, divide it into two corps of observation, one occupying Sedalia, and the other Rolla, the present termini of railroads; then recruit the condition of both corps by re-establishing and improving their discipline and instruction, perfecting their clothing and equipments, and providing less uncomfortable quarters. Of course, both railroads must be guarded and kept open, judiciously employing just as much force as is necessary for this. From these two points, Sedalia and Rolla, and especially in judicious co-operation with Lane on the Kansas border, it would be so easy to concentrate and repel any army of the enemy returning on Missouri from the Southwest, that it is not probable any such attempt to return will be made before or during the approaching cold weather. Before Spring, the people of Missouri will be in no favorable mood to renew, for the next year, the troubles which have so much afflicted and impoverished them during this.

If you adopt this line of policy, and if, as I anticipate, you will see no enemy in great force approaching, you will have a surplus of force, which you can withdraw from these points and direct to others, as may be needed, the railroads furnishing ready means for reinforcing these main points if occasion requires.

Doubtless local uprisings, for a time, will continue to occur; but these can be met by detachments and local forces of our own, and will, ere long, tire out of themselves.

While, as stated in the beginning of this letter, a large discretion must be, and is, left to yourself, I feel sure that an indefinite pursuit of Price, or an attempt by this long and circuitous route to reach Memphis, will be exhaustive beyond endurance, and will end in the loss of the whole force engaged in it.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

General Hunter, giving this letter, as he said, "to show the soundness of Mr. Lincoln's judgment even in military affairs," added, "the idea of chasing Price into the wilds of Western Arkansas, and thus putting the army entirely out of position, and preventing operations on the lower Mississippi during the winter, was so absurd that I should not have thought of it for a moment, even if I had not had the good advice of Mr. Lincoln."

But Hunter's command of the Western Department was of short duration. He was relieved on the 9th of November, 1861, by order of General McClellan, and transferred to the command of the Department of Kansas. General Halleck was sent to succeed him in Missouri. The exact reason for this change was never made quite clear; but it seemed to have been occasioned by apprehension in the mind of McClellan that some jealousy or dissatisfaction had grown out of the superseding of Fremont. The short winter spent by Hunter in Kansas was uneventful, but not passed idly. Having no force of the enemy to encounter or look after within his own Department, he busied himself effectively in the organization of troops, and in furnishing valuable assistance to the commanders in Missouri and New Mexico. He was prompt in answering their appeals to him for help, and did not hesitate or wait, but assumed at once in every emergency, the responsibility of any such service. Among the proofs of his energy and patriotism in this direction may be cited the following letter from General Halleck:

St. Louis, Feb. 19, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER,
Department of Kansas:

To you, more than any other man in this Department, are we indebted for our success at Fort Donelson. In my strait for troops to reinforce Gen. Grant, I appealed to you. You nobly and generously placed your forces at my disposition. This enabled us to win the victory. Receive my most heartfelt thanks.

H. W. HALLECK, *Major-General.*

General Hunter also, without instruction, and on his own judgment of the emergency, sent a regiment of mounted Colorado volunteers, by forced marches, to reach and aid General Canby in New Mexico. This regiment was commanded by General John P. Slough; and it was their brilliant victory over the enemy at Cañon Glorietta which saved the territory to the Union. But it was not the policy of the government at Washington to keep an officer of Hunter's experience and energy where his time must be passed in comparative inaction. He was ordered to relieve General Thomas W. Sherman, and, as his successor, assumed the command of the Department of the South on the 31st of March, 1862. His first effective service there was the bombardment and reduction of Fort Pulaski. The Department of the South at that time consisted of the territory embraced in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. It was more than a field for military watchfulness and military enterprise. It was a region occupied by a community in which were to be met and faced and disposed of questions of burning and exciting character, requiring to be handled with peculiar tact and unflinching boldness. Should the slaves of rebels in arms be turned into a force to be used against their insurgent masters? Should freedom be declared for those held in bondage, as against those who could claim to be their owners only by virtue of local laws and constitutional protection, which they themselves had violated and defied? Were men bound in unnatural thraldom to be restored to their natural right of liberty as a justifiable means for bringing those who profited by this enforced service to a due sense of their obligation of allegiance? Were the rebels to be left to the advantage of being supported and supplied, while fighting at the front, by the uninterrupted labor of their negroes behind them? Above all, might not the enslaved race be enlisted and organized into a force to be used as a legitimate weapon of warfare to compel the rebellious masters to submit to duty and the law? General Hunter was, in his convictions on these points, in advance even of general Northern sentiment, and in advance of the national government. And his courage was always equal to his conscientious convictions. He issued, in succession, two orders—one proclaiming freedom to the slaves within his department; the other providing for the embodiment of these freedmen into a regiment to be employed on the Union side in the war. The government at Washington, if not the country, was as yet unprepared for these decided and radical measures. The President repudiated and disavowed any authority given to a military commander to make such proclamation of emancipation; but in reality no announcement to that effect was transmitted to General Hunter, nor any direct expression of disapprobation of his action. He seems to have simply been the brave exponent of ideas and wishes timidly entertained at headquarters. It is thus that the single-hearted and enthusiastic leader in a great movement or popular cause often anticipates and helps to show the way to the grand end for which others, moving up slowly and hesitatingly, get afterward the principal credit. The true, daring man strikes while others are waiting for rule and precedent. As to the policy of employing negro troops, the former slaves of Confederates, General Hunter urged that upon the attention of the government from the time of his taking command in the South, "not only," to use his own language, "as adding to the number and efficiency of our own forces, but chiefly on account of its depriving the enemy of just so much labor in the fields, and compelling them to send an equal number of white men to do the necessary cultivation." But in this, as in the great work of emancipation, the authorities were not yet up to the time. Public opinion, or rather public cowardice, paralyzed conscience. And it is a sad fact that Hunter's negro regiment raised in South Carolina, although reported by him "a great success," learning and practicing well the drills and duties of the soldier, was never recognized nor paid. It was neither rejected nor accepted as a part of the military force. But the President himself did not fail, before many months had passed, to express his appreciation of the value of such troops and the importance of employing them. On the 1st of April, 1863, he addressed to General Hunter this autograph letter:

"Private."

Executive Mansion, Washington,
April 1, 1863.

Major-General Hunter:

"My dear Sir: I am glad to see the accounts of your colored force at Jacksonville, Florida. I see the enemy is driving at them fiercely, as is to be expected. It is important to the enemy that such force shall not take shape and grow and thrive in the South; and in precisely the same proportion it is important to us that it shall. Hence the utmost caution and vigilance is necessary on our part. The enemy will make extra efforts to destroy them, and we should do the same to preserve and increase them.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

But Hunter's fearless action and treatment of this difficult problem was not passed unnoticed by those who condemned the course which he deemed it his plain duty to pursue. In Congress Mr. Wickliffe, from Kentucky, called attention to what he regarded as a heinous offense in a military commander, denounced the employment of the negroes as soldiers, and procured the passage of a resolution of inquiry on the subject. This inquiry, addressed to the government, was referred by the Secretary of War to Hunter, for answer and explanation, and elicited from him immediately a report in reply. This report was so characteristic of the bold, good man who made it, and at the same time so clear and conclusive, that it deserves to be transcribed and preserved among the most important historical documents of our civil war.

Headquarters, Department of the South,
Hilton Head, S. C., June, 1862.

To the HON. E. M. STANTON,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the adjutant-general of the Army, dated June 13, 1862, requesting me to furnish you with the information necessary to answer certain resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives, June 9, 1862, on motion of the Hon. Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, their substances being to inquire:

1. Whether I had organized, or was organizing, a regiment of fugitive slaves in this Department?

2. Whether any authority had been given to me from the War Department for such organization ; and,

3. Whether I had been furnished, by order of the War Department, with clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, and so forth, for such a force ?

Only having received the letter at a late hour this evening, I urge forward my answer in time for the steamer sailing to-morrow morning—this haste preventing me from entering as minutely as I could wish upon many points of detail, such as the paramount importance of the subject would seem to call for. But in view of the near termination of the present session of Congress, and the widespread interest which must have been awakened by Mr. Wickliffe's resolutions, I prefer sending even this imperfect answer to waiting the period necessary for the collection of fuller and more comprehensive data.

To the first question, therefore I reply : that no regiment of fugitive slaves has been or is being organized in this Department. There is, however, a fine regiment of loyal persons whose late masters are fugitive rebels—men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the national flag, leaving their loyal and unhappy servants behind them to shift, as best they can, for themselves. So far, indeed, are the loyal persons composing this regiment from seeking to evade the presence of their late owners, that they are now, one and all, endeavoring with commendable zeal to acquire the drill and discipline requisite to place them in a position to go in full and effective pursuit of their fugacious and traitorous proprietors.

To the second question, I have the honor to answer that the instructions given to Brig-Gen. T. W. Sherman by the Hon. Simon Cameron, late Secretary of War, and turned over to me, by succession, for my guidance, do distinctly authorize me to employ all loyal persons offering their services in defense of the Union, and for the suppression of this rebellion, in any manner I may see fit, or that circumstances may call for. There is no restriction as to the character or color of the persons to be employed, or the nature of the employments—whether civil or military—in which their services may be used. I conclude, therefore, that I have been authorized to enlist fugitive slaves as soldiers, could any such fugitives be found in this Department. No such characters, however, have yet appeared within view of my most advanced pickets—the loyal negroes everywhere remaining on the plantation to welcome us, aid us, and supply us with food, labor, and information. It is the masters who have in every instance been the fugitives, running away from loyal slaves as well as loyal soldiers ; and these, as yet, we have only partially been able to see—chiefly their heads over ramparts, or dodging behind trees, rifle in hand in the extreme distance. In the absence of any 'Fugitive Master Law,' the deserted slaves would be wholly without remedy had not the crime of treason given the right to pursue, capture, and bring back those persons of whose benignant protection they have been thus suddenly and cruelly bereft.

To the third interrogatory, it is my painful duty to reply that I have never received any specific authority for issues of clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, and so forth, to the troops in question—my general instructions from Mr. Cameron, to employ them in any manner I might find necessary, and the military exigencies of the Department and the country, being my only, but I trust sufficient, justification. Neither have I had any specific authority for supplying these persons with shovels, spades, and pickaxes, when employing them as laborers ; nor with boats and oars when using them as lighter-men ; but these are not points included in Mr. Wickliffe's resolution. To me it seemed that liberty to employ men in any particular capacity implied and carried with it liberty, also, to supply them with the necessary tools; and, acting upon this faith, I have clothed, equipped, and armed the only loyal regiment yet raised in South Carolina, Georgia, or Florida. I must say, in vindication of my conduct, that had it not been for many other diversified and imperative claims upon my time and attention, a much more satisfactory result might have been achieved; and that in place of only one regiment, as at present, at least five or six well drilled, brave and thoroughly acclimated regiments should by this time have been added to the Loyal forces of the Union.

The experiment of arming the blacks, so far as I have made it, has been a complete and marvelous success. They are sober, docile, attentive, and enthusiastic—displaying great natural capacities in acquiring the duties of the soldier. They are now eager beyound all things to take the field and be led into action; and it is a unanimous opinion of the officers who have had charge of them, that, in the peculiarities of this climate and country, they will prove invaluable auxiliaries—fully equal to the simular regiments so long and successfully used by the British authorities in the West India Islands.

In conclusion, I would say, it is my hope there appearing no possibility of other reinforcements—owing to the exigencies of the campaign in the Peninsula—to have organized by the end of next fall, and be able to present to the Government, from forty-eight to fifty thousand of these hardy and devoted soldiers. Trusting that this letter may be made part of your answer to Mr. Wickliffe resolution, I have the honor to be most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(signed) DAVID HUNTER,

Major-General Commanding.

This report, brave and frank, but full of stinging irony, being communicated to Congress, its effect on the public mind, as reflected in that body, was at once apparent. An act was passed authorizing the raising of fifty thousand negro troops, as the beginning of an open and avowed policy in this particular in the conduct of the war. But in the South, too, as well as in the North, this use of the negro force, inaugurated by General Hunter, attracted to that officer an enviable notoriety. The virulence of feeling engendered in the Confederate Government at Richmond, exploded in the following remarkable document:

War Department, Adjutant and Inspector-General's Office,
Richmond August 21, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS—NO. 60.

Whereas, Major-General Hunter, recently in command of the enemy's forces on the coast of South Carolina, and Brigadier-General Phelps, a military commander of the enemy in the State of Louisiana, have organized and armed negro slaves for military service against their masters, citizens of this Confederacy. And Whereas, the Government of the United States has refused to answer an enquiry whether said conduct of its officers meets its sanction, and has thus left this Government no other means of repressing said crimes and outrages than the adoption of such measures of retaliation as shall serve to prevent their repetition, *Ordered* that Major-General Hunter and Brigadier-General Phelps be no longer held and treated as public enemies of the Confederate States, but as outlaws; and in the event of the capture of either of them, or that of any other officer employed in drilling and organizing slaves, with a view to their armed service in this war, he shall not be regarded as a prisoner of War, but held in close confinement for execution as a felon, at such time and place as the President shall order.

By order, S. COOPER,
Adjutant and Inspector-General.

This shameful Confederate proclamation, while it gave evidence of the frantic alarm which caused its issue, was unattended by any practical results. It was never withdrawn; and until the end of his life General Hunter could proudly refer to it as unintended proof, furnished by the enemy, of his military sagacity as well as his love of freedom. But that enemy was not known, except perhaps in a single instance, to have attempted its enforcement. The government of the United States allowed the insulting edict to go unnoticed, but General Hunter himself has left on record a very interesting account of the effective measures he took to protect those of his own command. "One of my officers," he wrote, "had been taken prisoner near St. Augustine, Florida, and thrown into the common jail in Charleston. He informed me by an open letter, sent by a Confederate flag of truce, that he was to be sent back to Florida to be tried by the civil courts on a charge of exciting an insurrection of the negroes. I immediately notified the Confederate authorities that I would at once seize and place in close confinement all citizens of any influence within my lines, and would immediately execute three of their number for every one of my officers injured. In a few days I received another open letter from this office, saying that he had been released from confinement, was treated most kindly by the people of Charleston, and was on the first opportunity to be sent North for exchange."

General Hunter, commanding the army in co-operation with the naval force under Rear Admiral Du Pont, during the operations against Fort Sumter and the city of Charleston in the spring of 1863, gave to the President and to the Secretary of War, full and detailed reports of the situation and movements in that quarter. These are narratives of much historical interest, but too voluminous to be reproduced here. They are to be found recorded and embodied in part in the printed *Report of Military Services*, furnished by him in compliance with an order from the War Department in 1873. The views and plans of General Hunter always looked to the most vigorous and active use of the forces at his command. But he was not always seconded in his desires for such energetic movements. His course was criticised. But, as usual, the severest of his critics were some of those whose knowledge of military operations was acquired by catering for the public press, at a distance from the seat of war, and generally in blessed ignorance of the situation. He never, however, failed to have the full confidence of the President; and when, in June, 1863, he was relieved from the command of the Department of the South, Mr. Lincoln wrote to him in terms of the strongest assurance: "The change was made for no reasons which convey any imputation upon your known energy, efficiency, and patriotism."

Smarting under information from the President himself that the editor of the *New York Tribune* was largely instrumental in procuring this change of commanders in that quarter, the sensitive old veteran may be pardoned for the sarcasm of this letter sent to that eminent journalist:

> PORT ROYAL, SOUTH CAROLINA,
> JUNE 12, 1863.
>
> *H. Greeley, Esq., New York.*
>
> Sir: Since you have undertaken the attack on Charleston, I sincerely hope you will be more successful than in your first advance on Richmond, in which you wasted much ink, and other men shed some blood. It is clear, from your paper, that you knew nothing of the orders which bound me to a particular course of action, which orders I strictly followed, and for obeying which I am censured. Worse than any wound our enemies can inflict, are the stabs in the dark of personal friends. The country must be informed that you have charge of this second attack on Charleston, so that on you may rest the praise or censure.
>
> Very respectfully
> Your most obedient servant
> D. HUNTER.

Mr. Greeley, it is believed, made no answer; and Fort Sumter and Charleston were not taken.

General Hunter, ever awake to the direction and exigencies of the occasion, appears to have had advanced views on other points relating to the conduct of the war. While holding command in the South, he repeatedly urged the President and the Secretary of War to consider the advantage that might come from sending an expedition through the interior of the Confederate States. He begged to be placed in command of such an expedition. He proposed to land a force at Brunswick, in Georgia, and march through that State, Alabama and Mississippi to New Orleans. After he was retired from the command at Charleston, he still dwelt on the importance of a movement through the heart of the Confederacy; and writing, in August, 1863, from Louisville, Kentucky, strongly and enthusiastically to Mr. Stanton on the subject, he said:

> There are now crowded into the States of Alabama and Georgia over two millions of negroes, furnishing four hundred thousand fighting men, all ready, willing and anxious to

> be drafted, and making much better soldiers than most of the men who require six and seven hundred dollars to induce them to '*volunteer*.' Twenty, fifteen or even ten thousand men marched rapidly into these States, without baggage, without artillery, subsisting on the country, carrying arms and ammunition for the negroes, and officers enough for one hundred thousand men, could go without serious opposition, directly from Vicksburg to Charleston.
>
> I think you will find that this small force can now well be spared, and I am confident it could march from the Mississippi to the Atlantic without serious opposition. A general rebellion among these crowded negroes would certainly produce great demoralization throughout the rebel army. The corn crop is very abundant, and if we can get nothing else we can live on the corn. We certainly should be able to do whatever the rebels can. The negroes would know every path, as they make most of their visits in the night, and we should thus be able to march just as well at night as in the day. I beg you will telegraph me to this place authority to take charge of an expedition of this kind.

There is every reason to believe that if the government at Washington had, at that time, approved and authorized the execution of Hunter's project, it could have been carried out with complete success, breaking into and through the hollow crust of the Confederacy, and carrying dismay and defeat from the valley of the Mississippi to the Atlantic coast. Under greater difficulties than would then have probably been encountered, at a later period in the war, the "march to the sea" was accomplished by another great and brilliant leader, but the credit of the idea remains with Hunter none the less, as one of the proofs of his military forecast and sagacity.

In the autumn of 1863, and through the succeeding winter, General Hunter was busily and actively occupied in the duty of inspecting and reporting on the condition of all the troops in the Mississippi valley under the command of General Grant, and the troops with General Banks on Red River. But, advancing as he was in age, the field, the march, the bivouac, the stirring adventures of the old-time cavalry officer, were more to the taste of Hunter, and in May, 1864, he was gratified to be ordered to command the Department of Western Virginia. It was not a service in which one of his habits could be idle. His rule in that Department was distinguished by the daring raid which, with a force of about eighteen thousand men of all arms, he organized and led up the Shenandoah Valley, and back westward over the Blue Ridge, occupying Lexington, destroying the important works for the construction of ordnance for the Confederacy at Buchanan, and, by "an audacious movement," to use the language of Jefferson Davis, reaching "the very walls of Lynchburg." This expedition was a means of inflicting much injury on the enemy, and inspiring in them no little terror. Until its management and results were better understood, however, and during the subsequent threatening approach of the enemy on Washington, and the attending popular excitement, this campaign was severely criticised. Without other comment now on such fault-finding, it is sufficient to cite what was promptly written by General Grant, on the 14th of July, 1864, to the Acting Secretary of War:

> I am sorry to see such a disposition to condemn a brave old soldier, as General Hunter is known to be, without a hearing. He is known to have advanced into the enemy's country, towards their main army, inflicted a much greater damage upon them than they have inflicted upon us with double his force, and moving directly away from our main army. . . . I fail to see yet that General Hunter has not acted with great promptness and great success. Even the enemy give him great credit for courage, and congratulate themselves that he will give them a chance of getting even with him.

In August, 1864, General Hunter was, at his own request, relieved from the command in Western Virginia. This was the last of his field service. The war closed in the spring of 1865. But, to mark the appreciation of this veteran officer by his government, he was honored by brevet promotions, successively, as a brigadier-general in the United States Army on the 15th of March, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Piedmont, and during the campaign in the Valley of Virginia," and as a major-general in the United States Army, of the same date, "for gallant and meritorious services during the Rebellion."

The high consideration in which General Hunter was held led to his being frequently detailed to serve on important army boards and courts-martial. Among the most noted instances of his being called to such service, he was in 1862, while in command of the Department of the South, ordered to preside over the court for the trial of General Fitz John Porter; and in 1865 he was president of the military commission for the trial of the assassins of President Lincoln. Such trusts were but the due recognition of his intelligence, his integrity, and his honor.

This completes the outline account of the public career of Hunter. It is a simple narrative, drawn from authentic records—a brief sketch of events and services, compiled by the hand of a loving friend who is unwilling to think of one of the remarkable men who figured in our great struggle for the preservation of the National Union being forgotten. And yet the writer hopes only to attract the notice, and refresh the memory, for a moment, of a new generation, who are enjoying the blessings which were fought for and secured by the energy and wisdom of those who are lately dead or fast disappearing. In regard to men who have held official position and done great public service, the people are like one who stands looking at a passing procession. The spectator gives no heed to those who have gone by; but his attention is wholly occupied with the movement of those immediately in front of him; unless occasionally when he cranes his neck to get sight of the faces, and speculate on the appearance of such as are marching in that portion of the line which has not yet come up. But in the case of General Hunter, the heart of friendship is not satisfied with recalling and dwelling only on his merits and performances as a man in public life. In his private, personal, and social character and relations, he was so true, good and lovable, that no one who knew him could speak of him in cold or measured terms. "The noblest of all noble fellows—both gentle and fierce," was what the gallant Rear-Admiral Raymond Rodgers said in describing him to General Halpine—the "Miles O'Reilly" of war literature. And no juster, truer picture could be drawn than that which came from the pen of Halpine himself, who served long on Hunter's staff in close and confidential daily intercourse with him: "In my whole experience of human nature—and it has been exceedingly varied—the purest, gentlest, bravest and most honest gentleman I have ever had the means of knowing thoroughly, is the officer in question. . . . David Hunter lives in my memory, and must while memory lasts, as a character free from any vice, so incapable of any baseness, that I have often thought four years of life not wasted if only for making me by that experience to realize that such a manhood as his was yet possible in this soiled and dusty world."

In closing this article, a word may properly be added, concerning an incident of recent occurrence. The present Congress of the United States, being in session at the time of General Hunter's death, promptly passed through both Houses, without objection, a bill bestowing on the venerable and estimable widow the usual monthly pension, accorded by special act to the widow of an officer of his rank. It is a strange and painful fact that the President of the United States surprised and shocked the general sense of justice and propriety by withholding his assent to that bill. The reason assigned for this departure from a generous usage was purely technical. But that reason was, at the same time, a blunder both as to the law and the practice. It is charitable to believe, as was stated in his place, by a distinguished senator from New Hampshire, that this action of the Chief Executive may be imputed to ignorance, and not a worse motive; and it is reasonable to hope that before the Forty-ninth Congress ceases to exist the error will be corrected.

Robt. C. Schenck

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S UNLUCKY PASS

The following incident is from the private papers and memoranda of a gentleman high in the Secret Service Department during the late civil war. He had partly written the story for publication prior to his death, thus it is given in his own language. The facts have been carefully compared with official documents, and are found correct in every particular. No publicity was ever given to the affair, it having been kept from the press entirely, and it appears now for the first time in any form save that of an official report. It is believed that outside of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stanton, the lady and gentleman mentioned in the article, and the officer from whose notes the account has been obtained, the details of this incident were wholly unknown. For obvious reasons, real names are not given. The two principal actors in the scene are still alive, and history would in no way be benefited by making public matters which might wound their feelings. Late one night in the fall of 1863, the following telegram was received by the provost marshal in the city of Baltimore:

"War Department, Washington, D. C.

Colonel Fish:

Information received at this office renders it almost certain that a lady about sixty years of age, name unknown, visiting her daughter or daughter in law at Syracuse, New York, is preparing to run the blockade with several trunks containing articles contraband of war and otherwise. I hope you may be able to take means to secure this person and her baggage, *no matter under what circumstances she may present herself.*

(Signed) Edwin M. Stanton."

The wording of the telegram, as will be observed, was peculiar, and the fact that such a telegram should be written at all about an ordinary smuggler was somewhat puzzling. Knowing that our bluff Secretary seldom wasted words on any matter I was forced to the conclusion that there was more in this affair, or, at least, that *he* knew more about it, than he cared to say through a dispatch, and although nothing was ever said by him as to this presumption on my part, yet events which afterwards occurred in working up the matter proved my surmise to have been correct. It was worse than useless, however, to be losing one's self in abstract speculations concerning a matter which required immediate action. Secretary Stanton evidently intended this dispatch both as information and as an order, although the order was not well defined. Syracuse was many miles distant; it was fair to presume, in a place of that size, there might be more than one "lady about sixty years of age, name unknown, visiting her daughter or daughter-in-law;" but, would there be more than this one "preparing several trunks?" Here was a faint hope of being able to get some trace, if we only had the proper person or persons there to investigate; but to send a stranger upon a matter which required such accurate and minute local information would clearly never do. Whether Syracuse had a good police force, and whether its chief was "loyal," was a matter better understood now than then; knowing they must have a postmaster, and presuming from the fact of his being a government officer that he was loyal and trustworthy, a copy of the telegram was sent to him, with a request that he would take measures to inform me if he could obtain any clew to the person mentioned.

This postmaster proved to be a good officer, and his heart was evidently in the Union cause, for in a very short time he sent back word that such a person had been there visiting her daughter-in-law for some time, and that she had left for New York city the week previous, taking with her three large trunks which he had positive information contained medicines, dry goods and "Yankee notions;" sorry he did not know this before, and could he be of any further assistance? Of course he could not be expected to do anything further, and it was very uncertain whether any one, at this late hour, would be able to proceed with the case, for the clew, very slight at first, had now become so frail that the chance seemed small indeed of ever finding the lady or her desired trunks. The fact of her having gone to New York was bad enough, but to have it occur "more than a week ago," seemed a climax of the complication. She had had time to escape with her effects, and before this might have been in Nassau, congratulating herself on her success; still there was a chance that she had been taking matters more leisurely than we supposed, enjoying the good things of New York thoroughly and lingeringly, before voluntarily shutting herself away from them by going into the Southern States. She had taken her own time in Syracuse, might she not do the same in New York?

While no probable chance could be thought of whereby Mr. Kennedy (superintendent of police in New York) could render any assistance in this matter, yet there was a possibility, and it was thought proper to leave no means untried; therefore a history of the case was prepared and forwarded to him for such action as he might think proper in the premises. A more complete description would have assisted him in the search, but he was given already all we had. "A lady about sixty years of age, with three trunks; came from Syracuse a week ago, doubtless *via* Hudson River R. R." A small thread indeed to follow in a city of a million inhabitants. Thus the matter stood for at least two weeks, when there came a little ray of light from New York. A lady who would answer the description had gone to Washington several days back, and she might be in that city at present; still there could be nothing positive about it.

This might, or might not be information; if indeed it was "our lady," we did not believe it possible for her to get through the lines at any point this side of Eastern Tennessee without a pass from this office, unless she should have unusual influence "at court" and manage to obtain a pass directly from Mr. Lincoln, which was a very rare achievement. No flurry was necessary, for, if this had been her intention, she had doubtless perfected her plans so thoroughly before reaching Washington that all had been consummated; or, which seemed more probable, she had failed. In either case, she would be compelled to come to this office herself finally; in the first event to get her pass countersigned ere it would be accepted by the Bay Line steamers, and, in the second, to try for a pass here for herself.

No developments had occurred in this direction for some two weeks after the date of the information mentioned above, as to her (or some one something near the description of her) having left New York. But in the midst of a mass of correspondence one morning, I was interrupted by the orderly who informed me that a lady and gentleman wished to see me as to a pass.

"Why do you let them trouble me with this matter? Show them to the desk of the officer in charge of that business," I said.

"I could not help it, sir. I directed them to Lieutenant Walker, but they insist on seeing you," was the courteous reply.

"Well, show them in, but don't permit this to happen again; people must learn to transact their business with the proper officers," I remarked with some asperity.

The door swung open somewhat impatiently, and there entered a lady past middle age, rather tall and commanding in her appearance, a pleasant but decided cast of features, an unmistakable air of gentility and breeding pervading everything about her, and tastefully and quietly dressed in mourning. She was accompanied by a middle-aged gentleman whom I recognized instantly as one of the most eminent lawyers of the city, a gentleman of wealth and high social standing, but with the reputation of being at heart a sympathizer with the South. These were the visitors who would not be put off, and although the subject had been entirely out of my mind for some days, yet as I rose to receive them it came like an inspiration that this was the lady I had for more than a month been seeking. Presenting chairs, they, especially the lady, were reluctantly seated; she seemed to think her dignity demanded that she should in no manner accept the hospitalities of the office; but after a short hesitation, catching the eye of her escort, she accepted the proffered seat. Waiting a few seconds for the visitors to make their business known, I asked in what manner they could be served. The lady partially rose as if intending to come toward me to speak earnestly, but her friend with a very slight motion to her to remain seated, said:

"We are sorry to disturb you, and are aware you seldom give personal attention to individual passes, but the circumstances are so peculiar, we have presumed to come to you direct rather than deal with one of your subordinate officers."

A gesture of assent was given, as he seemed to pause for such, and he proceeded:

"The lady who accompanies me is the wife of one of your ——, one of the general officers in the Federal Army. She has relatives in the State of Virginia, whom she is anxious to visit, and has obtained a special permit from Mr. Lincoln to do so, but upon presenting herself at the gangway of the steamer last evening and tendering her pass from the President, to her astonishment she was informed it was of no avail without being countersigned by you. Unable to understand why this was necessary and unacquainted with the location of your office, the boat being about ready to start, she was forced to abandon for the time her undertaking, and was driven to a hotel. Having had for many years the honor of her acquaintance, she came to my house and solicited my assistance, if any was needed, in seeing you to have this matter (which we presume is of form only) made straight."

A square, straightforward story, said in few words, and to the point, if we except the little stumble as to the side the general officer was on; and had it not been that the lady was "about sixty," and an unaccountable presentiment that she was the one we had been so long seeking, they would have been immediately furnished with the required pass, and dismissed, but with all these suspicions it could not be done, at least without some questions. Turning toward the lady, I asked:

"Will you allow me to look at your pass?"

She presented it somewhat ostentatiously, almost defiantly. Sure enough, there it was, all perfectly *en regle;* the signature was well known, and besides this, the whole body of the pass was in the unmistakable handwriting of Mr. Lincoln.

> "Officers and guards will pass the bearer, Mrs. ——— through the lines via Fortress Monroe, unmolested and her baggage undisturbed.
> A. LINCOLN."

Rather a tough document to get over; if my surmises as to the holder were correct, however, under the circumstances, it was deemed best to shrink from nothing, even to ignoring a document as clear, concise, and of as high authority as this.

Remarking that "this seemed to be all right," she was asked "why she had waited so long before availing herself of the document, its date being some days back?"

She replied that she "had been visiting friends, and knowing it to be good at any time, had been in no haste."

"Have you been North long?"

Madame started abruptly at the question; straightening herself in her chair, she replied:

"I fail to see how any such questions bear upon our business; you will excuse me if I decline to answer."

The gentleman, at this point, rose abruptly and somewhat nervously. "Perhaps I can smooth this difficulty," said he, advancing to the desk. "Mrs. —— has been for a long time with her daughter in the North, and availing herself of the known and tried loyalty of her gallant husband, has asked for and obtained the safe conduct you see, in order to enable her to visit near and dear friends in less fortunate circumstances."

Turning toward the lady again, who, evidently taking her cue from her friend, had relaxed somewhat in manner, I asked:

"Madame, you will pardon me, but there are a few questions it will be necessary for me to ask. Is your daughter-in-law living in Syracuse?"

"Yes, sir."

"You went from that place about a month since to New York?"

She bowed.

"About two weeks since you went from there to Washington?" I continued.

"Yes, sir; I did. But of what interest I pray can the recital of all this possibly be to you?"

"Excuse me, madame, but one more question. Where is your baggage at this time?"

"You are becoming impertinent, sir," said she, rising. "My trunks are at Barnum's, where I took rooms last evening; and I decline to answer any further questions."

This conversation had all been conducted so quietly and respectfully, that it was doubtless the most distant thing from the minds of either the lady or gentleman that there was any possible doubt of the ultimate success of their undertaking; indeed, how *could* it be otherwise? Were they not armed with the protection of the highest authority in the United States? This being the fact, what had they to fear? It was their province to give orders, not to obey; true, some little official routine must be conformed with, but in face of the document held, all *must* bend to their will.

Touching a bell, the orderly making his appearance was directed to inform Lieutenant Morris to report immediately. As the lieutenant came into the room and saluted in his quiet, impassive manner, the smothered anxiety or curiosity of both the lady and gentleman, which had begun to manifest itself from the moment I had sent for the officer of the guard, could be no longer contained; both started to their feet impatiently, angrily.

"What is the meaning of this remarkable conduct?" said the gentleman, vehemently. "Am I to understand, sir, that you are about to dare to controvert the orders of the President of the United States?"

"Remain perfectly quiet, sir, if you please. It simply and positively means that I am about to place this lady in arrest, as you will see. Lieutenant, you will take charge of madame. Conduct her to her hotel; see that she needs nothing to make her comfortable in her own rooms, where it will be necessary for her to remain until further orders, and in the meantime she is to hold no conversation with any person without a special permit from these headquarters."

The poor old lady sank back in her chair as white as death. "What?—what, sir?" she gasped; "arrest? arrest me?"

The lieutenant, obeying an almost imperceptible gesture, took two or three steps toward where she sat. The gentleman, who had apparently been stunned and bewildered by this sudden turn of affairs, now recovered, and in truly manly style came to the rescue. Stepping out as if to intercept the officer, his voice trembling with suppressed excitement, he turned toward where I was standing, exclaiming:

"How dare you, sir? Are you insane? Do you know who she is? Your power, I well know, is considerable, indeed too much—but there *is* a limit. You shall not do this thing. She is here under the protection of the chief magistrate of the nation, her husband one of the most gallant officers in your army" (the "your" came out squarely this time, his indignation having made him forget his guard), "and she shall not be insulted and outraged by you, a subordinate, who, because clothed in a little brief authority, seem to consider yourself infallible, and unaccountable to any one for your actions." Turning again to the officer, he said: "Touch her at your peril."

The lieutenant looked inquiringly, then, evidently satisfied there was to be no change in his orders, respectfully requested the lady to accompany him. She rallied from the startled and frightened condition into which she had been thrown, and as he addressed her she rose to her feet with dignity and a certain stately manner which well became her, saying with emphasis:

"I will make no scene; I will go with you, but dearly shall that man," pointing toward me, "suffer for this indignity."

"One moment, lieutenant," I remarked. "Madame, we shall be compelled to trouble you for your keys."

"Never," she broke in impetuously, "never shall you have them unless taken by force. Is there then *no* limit to your insolence?"

"Madame, it is imperative, and it will be so ordered that your three trunks be brought to this office. Should you refuse us the keys, we shall be compelled to break the locks. This we dislike to do, but should we have to do so, you must not after this positive assurance blame us for so doing. This whole affair is to be regretted, but under all the circumstances, and in the face of previous orders, I see no alternative. It is fully understood what liabilities are being incurred, and we do not shrink from the responsibility. If there is any one you particularly desire to send for, inform your friend and your wishes in that respect shall be obeyed."

She haughtily drew herself up, as she replied: "My friend," with somewhat scornful imitation of manner, "is abundantly able to take the proper steps to punish this insult, without any suggestions from you. As for myself, I can cheerfully endure a short imprisonment for the sake of the satisfaction I shall certainly soon feel in seeing you justly punished for this high-handed misdemeanor." Without a tremor, with a stately bow to her companion, she waved the officer in front of her and marched after him out of the room, erect and dignified. Her friend closed the door and turned back, saying:

"That I am astounded at your presumption, and shocked at your want of feeling, I need not say. But, sir, that is not all; I shall take the next train to Washington, and lose no time in laying your extraordinary behavior before the authorities you have insulted and outraged. You may expect to hear from me again in a very few hours, and unless I am more mistaken than ever in my life, your present quiet and cool demeanor will be changed more than you will care to have it."

Assuring him of my perfect willingness that he should take the course he proposed—nay, more, that it was impossible to see how he could honorably in friendship to the lady take any other—he was also informed that everything had been done upon mature reflection, and that there was no desire to shrink from any responsibility incurred through what seemed to him an arbitrary and unjust course. He went away with every indication of being highly incensed, and a positive prospect of a coming retribution upon the head of the man who had wrought this unforeseen disturbance.

Within a very short time the three trunks arrived, *with the keys*. Upon opening them, it was apparent the postmaster was correct as to their contents. If any further evidence had been needed as to the expediency of seizing them, they would have furnished it themselves, and had Mr. Lincoln known what he had been cajoled into passing unmolested over his signature, he would without doubt have been excessively displeased at those who had, wittingly or unwittingly, assisted in the deception so successfully attempted. The same evening our friend, who had so energetically made a raid upon Washington, returned. Entering the room with a brisk, satisfied step he presented me with an important "I told you so" air, a document bearing the impress of the War Department and addressed in the bold, nervous handwriting of Mr. Stanton.

"It is as I expected, sir," said he, as he laid it upon the desk, "and I have good reason to believe when you have read that letter that you will most heartily regret the steps you have taken in this matter." Opening the envelope there was found, what it was natural to expect from the information they had at Washington, viz.: a peremptory order from the Secretary of War "to immediately release the lady from arrest, restore her baggage, furnish her with a pass, and show cause why you should not be dismissed the service for disobedience of orders."

Short, curt, and to the point. Just such a document as any one knowing our irascible Secretary would expect. Our friend watched closely while the communication he had delivered was being read, evidently expecting to see a marked change of countenance.

"This is precisely what was expected," I said, laying the open letter on the desk; "he could not well have written anything different, knowing what he does, as yet, of this affair."

"Well, sir," exclaimed my visitor, "you do not pretend to say you refuse to obey that direct order? I was astonished at your audacity before, but *this* is inconceivable. May I ask, sir," mockingly, "*who* is the real conservator of power at the present time in these unhappy United States? My old fogy notions had always led me to believe the Secretary of War superior to any subordinate, and that deliberate, willful disobedience of orders was a crime to be most severely dealt with; but it seems I am mistaken, or else not educated up to the *advanced* age. May I ask what you *do* intend to do in this matter?"

"Certainly," I replied blandly. "It is proposed to immediately answer this letter by telegraph, stating what action has been taken; also to make a written report, in which reasons will be set forth why the course has been taken which evidently seems so unaccountable to you. Upon receipt of answer to this proposed report, it will be possible to give you information as to probable final action in the case. Until that time things must remain precisely as they now stand."

"I trust that I shall yet see you humbled in this matter. Shall I be allowed to see Mrs. —— and provide for her comfort? Or does it suit your convenience to render her as unhappy as possible?"

"You can see madame, if you desire it. But as far as personal comforts are concerned, she has the best a first-class hotel can afford, and is restricted in nothing but permission to leave her apartments, and intercourse with the outside world except through this office. She also has female attendance from the servants in the house. Very many people in this city would be most happy to be similarly situated, as far as necessities, or even luxuries, are concerned."

Accepting a permit to visit his friend, the gentleman went away, evidently discouraged. The support he had so strongly leaned upon had as yet proved of no avail, although it was apparent he was far from believing but that all would yet be reversed, as was natural from his stand-point of view. Yet the quiet composure and confidence in which all that had seemed so extraordinary to him had been done, had shaken him quite considerably in this belief. As soon as he was gone a telegram was sent to Mr. Stanton, stating that, notwithstanding his last and peremptory order it had been thought proper to stay the execution of it until he could be put in possession of further and complete information as to the case, which there were strong reasons for believing would cause him to revoke the order and approve of the action taken at this office, and that a full report should be sent next mail. Such report was prepared, giving the case in detail; first quoting his telegram of a month back, and emphasizing the sentence, "I hope you will be able to take such measures as to secure this person and her baggage, *no matter under what circumstances she may present herself*"—and then giving each step in the prosecution and development up to the present time, finally assuring him this was the person spoken of, and inclosing an inventory of the contents of the trunks.

The next morning's mail brought an autograph letter from him, most heartily approving the course taken, and leaving the whole case for the final and usual disposition in such matters, further stating that the matter had been laid before Mr. Lincoln and that this letter was written with his consent and approval. Some regrets were also expressed that no intimation had been previously received from this office as to the nature and bearings of the case, which would have prevented the summary tone of his previous communication brought by the gentleman interested.

In a very short time the gentleman in question entered, evidently a wiser and a sadder man. It was apparent he had been to Washington again, faithful to his trust, determined to leave no means untried to assist his friend. Mr. Stanton's letter was silently handed to him; he read it carefully and remarked sorrowfully that, "it was past his comprehension. That when subordinate officers presumed to dictate to their superiors, and were upheld in it, it boded no good to the country," etc.

To his inquiry as to "whether it was decided yet what the final disposition alluded to was," he was informed that the lady should have her own personal effects; to wit, her clothing actually made up, or cut and not made, and other things of like nature, returned to her, and be passed through the lines under guard whether she desired to go or not, with charge not to return during the war. Also that if she would designate some one of her relatives in the North to whom she wished the other things which were in her trunks delivered to, that should also be done, although such was not the usual course.

These promises were fulfilled, and she departed the next day. The articles not permitted for her to take were delivered elsewhere according to her directions, and thus ended this singular affair. Some time afterwards, the matter came up casually in conversation with the President, and he remarked that, he "was glad on some accounts that it had occurred, for it gave him an excuse ever after, when urged to grant a similar pass, to quote this case, and truly say that it might be of no avail, for his pass sometimes proved of no account except to be the means of getting himself into trouble, and he preferred to leave such business entirely to the officers who were expected to regulate and govern such matters."

Allan Forman

THE FIRST HOMESTEAD BILL

In 1848 General Taylor was nominated for the Presidency of the United States, much against the wishes of Horace Greeley, whose candidate was Henry Clay. Mr. Greeley knew Clay's position on all the reforms for which he was the advocate through his journal, and thought Mr. Clay would make a great President. For Taylor Mr. Greeley could not speak, and when the "Wilmot Proviso" was laid on the table by the convention which nominated Taylor, to use Mr. Greeley's own words, his "enthusiasm for the Whig cause was laid there also." If this free land question had come up and been advocated, undoubtedly Taylor would have been defeated. Yet the question elected him, and in this way: Cass was the Democratic nominee, and in the convention in which he was nominated the Free Soil Democrats bolted the nomination, withdrew from the convention, and nominated Martin Van Buren as their candidate. The split, with the glamour which is always thrown over a campaign when one of the candidates is a brilliant soldier, combined to elect General Taylor. In New York, however, on the same ticket with Taylor, Horace Greeley was a candidate for the short term in Congress, and with all his "isms" and reforms, which he did not hesitate to preach, he was elected by a large majority.

Entering Congress he was fortunate in being placed on the Committee of Public Lands, where he did the work with which this paper has to deal, for in no history, or even in the excellent history of land legislation published by the government, is it related. But he did not stop with the land question. He undertook many reforms, the mileage question, the franking system, the postal laws, public documents, and a host of others. On the mileage question he discovered he was toying with a whirlwind which touched every member of Congress. This economical spirit provoked many enemies, and he was assailed on all sides. At last he was stung to a reply, which he concluded as follows:

> "But the gentleman either distinctly charged or plainly insinuated that I have neglected my duties as a member of this house to attend to my own private business. I meet this charge with a positive and circumstantial denial. Except a brief sitting one private bill day, I have not been absent one hour in all, nor the half of it, from the deliberations of this house. I have never voted for an early adjournment, nor to adjourn over. My name will be recorded on every call of the yeas and nays, and, as the gentleman insin-

uated a neglect of my duties as a member of a committee (Public Lands) I appeal to its chairman for proof to any that need it that I have never been absent from a meeting of that committee nor any part of one; and that I have rather sought than shunned labor upon it. . . . And now, Mr. Chairman, a word on the main question before us, I know very well—I knew from the first—what a low, contemptible, demagoguing business this of attempting to save public money always is. It is not a task for gentlemen—it is esteemed rather disreputable even for editors. Your gentlemanly work is spending—lavishing—distributing—taking. Savings are always such vulgar, beggarly, two-penny affairs—there is a sorry and stingy look about them most repugnant to all gentlemanly instincts. And besides, they never happen to hit the right place—it is always 'strike higher!' 'strike lower!'—to be generous with other people's money—generous to self and friends especially, that is the way to be popular and commended. Go ahead and never spare for expense! If your debts become inconvenient you can repudiate and blackguard your creditors as descended from Judas Iscariot! Ah, Mr. Chairman, *I* was not rocked in the cradle of gentility!"

On the second day of the session Mr. Greeley introduced his land bill into Congress, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, of which he was a member. The other members of the committee were all good men, and Mr. Greeley, after considerable pleading, secured the approval without an amendment or an erasure, and on the 27th of February, 1849, a few days before the close of the session, Mr. Collamer, the chairman of the committee, reported the bill back to Congress. And now for the proceedings, let us refer to the *Congressional Globe* of that period:

"MR. COLLAMER, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill to discourage speculation in the public lands, and to secure homes thereon to actual settlers and cultivators, reported the same back to the house without amendment.

MR. GREELEY.—This is the bill which I introduced at an early day, upon notice given on the second day of this session. It is the only blll which has been before the Committee on Public Lands, this winter, proposing to recognize, in any form, the principle that a man is entitled to live *somewhere*, although he has no money wherewith to buy land to live on. This bill asserts this principle in the meekest and least exceptional manner. It respects the pledges solemnly made of the proceeds of our public lands to secure the payment of our Mexican war loans. The fee of every acre of the public lands will remain in the United States, under the provisions of this bill, until it shall have been purchased and paid for by the holder. And while it thus guards the interests of the whole country, it secures a home to every one who will claim it, without money and without price. Such are the general characteristics of this bill. Its material provisions are as follows:

1. Every citizen or applicant for citizenship is authorized by this bill to claim and settle upon and quarter section of the public lands, subject to private entry at the minimum price, receiving a certificate of right of pre-emption thereon for seven years thereafter.

2. At any time during those seven years, upon giving due proof that he has improved, cultivated, built a dwelling upon, and now actually inhabits that quarter section, and is the owner or claimant of no other land whatsoever, he or she shall be entitled, if a single person, to a right of unlimited occupancy to forty acres of said tract, or if the married head of

> a family to a like right of occupancy to any legal subdivision of eighty acres thereof, to be his without payment, and to pass to his heirs or assigns, who are owners or claimants of not more than 160 acres of land, this included.
>
> 3. The balance of the 160 acres covered by pre-emption as aforesaid may be purchased by the legal occupant at any time within the seven years' existence of the pre-emption at the minimum price of $1.25 per acre, with legal interest thereon from the date of pre-emption. If not so purchased, it will be open to pre-emption or purchase by any other person, as aforesaid.
>
> 4. Any person may purchase, at the present legal minimum, any quantity of the public lands, making affidavit that he requires the same, and the whole of it, for his own use and improvement; but any person failing or neglecting to make and file such affidavit, shall be charged and pay, for whatever land he may buy, the minimum price of $5 per acre.
>
> I shall not tax the time of the house with any argument in its favor, for which there is now no time. I simply ask the yeas and nays on the rejection of the bill.
>
> MR. GOGGIN interposed a motion that the bill be laid on the table.
>
> MR. GREELEY.—I ask the yeas and nays on that motion.
>
> Only about twenty members rising to second the call for the yeas and nays, they were not ordered, and the bill, by a *viva voce* vote, was laid on the table."

And thus closed the three months' term of Horace Greeley in Congress. His action on other questions no doubt in a measure caused the house to "sit down" on him so severely, but after all it was the same fear which before and since has characterized our national legislature on other great questions. Here was the first bill entered on the calendar of the house which advocated anything like the Homestead bill of 1862. True, there had been pre-emption bills without number, but Mr. Greeley's was the first bill which recognized that the land belonged to the people and should be free. Returning to New York, he issued his address to the electors of his district, in the course of which, alluding to his land bill, he said:

> "The House found no time to act on this bill, and refused me even the yeas and nays on rejecting it. Had I been more tender to certain foibles, this would probably have been otherwise. I do not complain as of a personal grievance; for I can better await a more just appreciation of this subject than can those who need land, and must annually sacrifice half their scanty earnings for the want of it."

Nathan Greeley.

MINOR TOPICS

DISILLUSIONS

FOOD FOR EARNEST THOUGHT AND FRUITFUL STUDY

Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, in one of his recent powerful sermons, said, "The only liberty a man has is the liberty of deciding to whom he will surrender his liberty. Every person obeys something. It is not a question whether we will serve, but 'choose ye this day whom ye will serve.' Ninety-nine per cent. of life is pure governance, a matter of being carried, driven, swayed, swept in and out with the tide, up and down with the wave. Everything is obedient. The sun and the sand go when and where they are drawn and blown. The stars and planets have their orbits laid down for them, and gravity is the name given to the invisible cords by which they are remorselessly dragged through their orbits; and the music of the spheres is a poetic way of phrasing what a mechanic would be likely to call, in his more prosaic and quite as accurate way, the clatter of the celestial machinery. Much of our enjoyment of nature comes from imaginatively endowing nature with qualities of liberty which nature does not possess. The gentlest breath that stirs mysteriously in the noontide heat among the summer pines, and which we love to think of as a sigh issuing from the forest in its weary solitude, comes all of it, as stern mechanical response to the pressure mechanically put upon it. Very much of the charm of nature owes itself to the genius we have of seeing in nature what is not there; and what we know as the freedom and the play of nature is only nature at hard work, but work done with such a show of ease and grace as to disguise from us the steel threads of remorseless necessity upon which its seeming playfulness is strung. A part of the pleasure afforded us by a waterfall with its plunge from the rocks, crumbling into drops and scattering forth into spray, and blossoming out along its margin into petals of red, violet, and gold, is due to fibers of imagined liberty and sportiveness that our thought weaves into the tissues of the waterfall's downy grace and dropping splendor; and we are measurably disenchanted so soon as it occurs to us that each drop and each bit of feathery spray has its form forced upon it, and its cadent orbit prescribed by an energy as relentless and invariable as that which determines the path of the moon about the earth, or the revolution of a spinning-wheel or a grindstone upon its axis. The revolving planet, the falling drop, the flying bird exist in a world that is already furnished with all the forces that are required, and the appropriate mission of each is fulfilled, not by its trying to extemporize and become a new power of its own, but by standing in the midst of the energies that are already at work, and surrendering itself in implicit obedience to the particular energy that is fitted to further it in the direction of its appropriate destiny. And this furnishes us a clew to what we might expect to find, and what we certainly shall find, as we emerge upon the higher and broader ground of man's intelligent existence. It is not a man's proper ambition to make of himself a great power in the world, but to get himself in the range of the forces that already exist, and let them propel him to the quarter toward which his own destiny properly verges. Whether we go up or go down, we are going to be carried to our destiny. Whatever becomes of us, and whatever we accomplish, will be effected by means of our having committed ourselves to some current or other, some wind or other, and then letting that tide or breeze have its own way with us. There are currents everywhere—in the sea and in the air, on the ground and among men. Life is full of drift as the sky of breezes and sunbeams, and the celestial spaces of gravitation. Every one gets touched by them, pulled and pushed and twisted by them ; and whatever pull he obeys will seize him in the direction of its own goal. Roads are all built, trains are at the stations, tides setting deep and strong towards the sea. Men do not have to save themselves, any more than they have to damn themselves. We have only to choose our conveyance, and then abide by it ; we have only to select the mastery that we will obey, and then obey it, and where the boat goes we shall be landed ; whither the wind blows we shall be wafted. We go to the Forty-second Street depot, and find two trains side by side on adjacent tracks ; both of them are through trains, one for Albany, the other for New Haven. We can take which we like, but having made our choice, and having committed ourselves to the one or the other, not we but the train will take us to our destination. That represents the way in which all the great results wrought in the world are being accomplished. On all the lower plains of achievement the key to success is the art of finding the wind that blows in the direction you wish to go. All the mechanical contrivances have never produced one atom of new energy. Inventive genius is a tact for discovering nature's own energies, finding out which way her energies are going, and letting her carry our burdens as she goes. It is belting our machinery to forces that have been latent in fire and water for a million years, waiting to go to work, waiting to respond to the prayer of man's necessity and man's intelligence. The energies, the great product-yielding factors, physical and intellectual, moral and spiritual, are all in stock ; to one energy or another every man is tied by cords of personal gravitation, steel links of obedience ; and those energies—not his own energies—are what makes him an agent of ruin or of succor, pulling him down or lifting him up. He is treading to the beat of their music ; he is bending to the pull of their tension ; he is bowing to the thrall of their mastership. This modifies a little our natural idea of power, human power. Men's sense of personal freedom and individual sovereignty far outruns the facts of the case. There is in men undoubtedly an element of self-determination. You certainly determine for yourself what train you will take ; and yet it is not you that take the train, but the train that takes you. Our liberty is less the liberty of deciding what we will do, than it is the liberty of deciding what we will let be done in us, and for us, and through us. We scarcely realize how small is our province of creative energy. We talk of self-education. No man can add one cubit to his stature, nor can he add one inch to his mind. Truth will educate us; the personality of other people will educate us; but *self*-education would be in the realm of the intellectual what lifting ourselves into the air would be in the sphere of the physical. There is what we may call the enginery of education; we can couple ourselves to the enginery, and be dragged to our educational destination, and that is the only way we shall get there. The forces are here; the currents are running; the tide is setting; the trains are on the track; the winds are blowing. You cannot make much of a wind, but you can choose a wind, and you can trim your sails to it, and by its push and inspiration can attain the haven which you select. And one wind or another is filling your sails. Deliberately or otherwise you are committed to some energy that is pulling you. It may be down, or it may be up. There is no man living who is not tethered to something that is drawing him its way. Nothing in the universe that stands in entire dissociation. You have no liberty. You can choose your master, but you cannot choose to have no master. Allegiance of some sort is ingrained, and tendency toward some gravitating center as inherent in man as in a water-drop or a star."

HOMESTEAD OF DAVID WILLIAMS

ONE OF THE CAPTORS OF MAJOR ANDRE

South from the village of Schoharie, through a beautiful valley, some five miles to Middleburg, thence eight miles to Livingstonville, two miles east, and up a picturesque ravine to the foot of a mountain, with an almost perpendicular ascent of one mile to the summit, we reach the land of the Williams family. First is the residence of William C. Williams, eldest grandson of the captor; about a quarter of a mile beyond is the homestead, where the captor passed the most of his life subsequent to the Revolution, and where he died. His only child, a son, was born, lived and died there, and it was the birth-place of his seven grandchildren. It is now the property of his youngest granddaughter, a married lady of about forty, who lives here with her husband, two children and mother, the latter being the widow of David, the only child of the captor, an intelligent and estimable woman, in her eighty-sixth year, who relates with accuracy and interest the historic events connected with her husband's father. The first settler here was Daniel Shays, leader of the great "Shays's rebellion" of 1786, in Massachusetts, who, being defeated, fled to this retired spot. He sold the property to Mr. Boughton, who held the farm of 109 acres some two years, and sold it to David Williams, the captor. This aged daughter-in-law says he, Mr. Williams, was always very generous, and indorsed for any person who asked him, until the place became mortgaged for all it was worth. But he received a pension of two hundred dollars a year from the government, and managed to retain the property. She says that David Williams's feet were badly frozen while serving in the Revolutionary Army, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered, and which disabled him to a considerable extent from physical labor. But his son, on arriving at manhood, by industry and energy, paid off all indebtedness, and erected the residence now standing, and added 170 acres to the farm. This land is now owned by the eldest grandson, William C. Williams, who was the first man to raise hops in this part of the country. This gentleman, William C. Williams, has the silver medal that was given to the captor by George Washington, in accordance with the vote of Congress; likewise the cane presented to him in New York city, made from the cheval-de-frise used in obstructing the navigation of the Hudson at West Point during the Revolution. In December, 1830, David Williams was in New York, by invitation of the Mayor of the city, who presented him at that time with a fine horse, harness, and carriage. The pupils of a school in the city also presented him with a silver cup. This, by his instructions, was to be given to his first great-grandson who should bear the name of David, and thus it has gone to the son of Myron Williams, in Iowa. The description of the proceedings on the occasion of the presentation of the cup, from the New York *Evening Post*, of December, 1830, will be found most interesting: "TRIBUTE OF RESPECT. On Friday last, Mr. David Williams, the surviving captor of Major Andre, visited the school of Messrs. Flint and Kidder, in the Ninth Ward, by desire of the pupils, and was so highly gratified with his reception as to solicit particularly that the whole of the ceremonies be published. He was first introduced into the male department, and having related the story of the capture of the unfortunate Andre, which was listened to with the most profound interest, he concluded with some pertinent remarks, calculated to make and perpetuate patriotic impressions on the minds and feelings of the children.

Master Bayard, on behalf of his associates, then addressed Mr. Williams in the following terms: 'Sir—It is with feelings of no common diffidence that I undertake the agreeable and honorable task allotted me, to bid you welcome to this school. I see before me the venerable form of a man belonging to another age, a relic of the most remarkable era in history—a compatriot of the most distinguished men, whose labours in the cause of independence have filled the measure of the nation's glory. I see one of three, who, at a most critical period of our arduous struggle for liberty, preferred the integrity of patriotism before the shining bribe of treachery.

Your name, sir, is associated with one of the most signal interpositions of Divine Providence which has marked the course of our Revolutionary strife, and it shall be handed down to future generations inscribed on the same banner which exhibits the names of those venerable men whose fame and whose virtues are the pride and the property of the nation.

Sir, I thank you, in the name of my associates, for the honor you confer on us by this visit. Long may you enjoy every blessing which this world can afford and when you descend into the vale of death, may you be supported by the same Almighty arm which brought deliverance to your country, and may you enter into that rest which remains for all the people of God!'

Mr. Williams also visited the female department, and repeated the story of his patriotism, concluding with a few parental observations, which were heard with the most eager and respectful attention. Miss Ritchie, on behalf of her associates, then addressed him as follows: 'Sir; With feelings of joy and reverence, I rise, in behalf of my teachers and my companions here, to thank you for this visit. We have read of your exploit—your name and the name of your companions, Paulding and Van Wart, are familiar to our ears. We have always been taught, and so shall all the children of this wide republic be ever taught, to venerate the incorruptible integrity of your characters, and to cherish with admiration and gratitude the recollection of your illustrious deed. But, sir, to hear the story of the capture of Major Andre from one of the captors himself, and to make our personal acknowledgments to him for the benefits we derive from this eminent service, is an occurrence altogether unexpected by us, and has afforded a pleasure which words are too poor to express. Our hearts are full of thanks—accept the offering and along with it accept our blessing and our prayer, that Almighty God, whose divine providence inspires you with that exalted patriotism, may crown you with happiness equal to the importance of the deed which adorns your life, and present the brightest page of our country's history.'

By both addresses, as well as by the whole scene, which was truly touching, the old gentleman was much affected; and in both departments, while tears rolled down his aged cheeks, he took each scholar affectionately by the hand, repeatedly declaring, 'this is the happiest day of my life.' After the ceremonies, at the school, no room in the academy being large enough to hold all the scholars, they formed a procession to the number of about sixty young ladies and eighty young gentlemen, and escorted him to the Long-room, Military Hall, where ample accommodations were afforded for the succeeding ceremonies, which were the repetition of his story for the gratification of the relatives and friends of the pupils present, and the presentation to Mr. Williams of A SILVER CUP, which was done by Master Miles, with the following address: 'Sir; You have kindly condescended to recount to us the circumstances of that noble act, for which the world admires, and your country honours you: and we have feebly, in words, expressed the grateful emotions of our hearts on this interesting occasion. But we are anxious to manifest our deep sense of the importance of your incorruptible patriotism, and our respect for your personal worth by some visible token. I have, therefore, the honour, in the name and in behalf of my fellow-pupils, to present you this CUP, which we beg you to accept—itself a trifle—yet we hope the occasion will confer on it a value; for while you are honoured by men of your own generation, this assures you that you have, also, the gratitude of posterity.'

The cup is of beautiful workmanship, bearing, within a circle in front, the inscription: 'Presented to David Williams, by the pupils of Flint and Kidder's School, at New-York, December, 1830.' On the exterior of the circle, were the words 'Gratitude of Posterity.' Upon receiving it Mr. Williams was so much affected, as to be for some time unable to speak. He at length said, 'My dear children, your kindness has overcome me. I thank you. Your present if I could I would always wear upon my heart; but I cant—it's too big.' But clasping it to his breast, he added, 'I will wear your gratitude here as long as I live.'

The order, discipline, and manner in which the whole scene was conducted, reflects great credit upon the teachers as well as pupils. A. SPECTATOR."

The homestead is but a short distance from the Catskill Mountains, facing the south, and commanding one of the grandest views of that range with its numerous peaks towering into the blue ethereal regions of space. Here the patriot died on the 2d of August, 1831, aged seventy-six years. A monument has been erected to his memory, by the State of New York, at the stone fort at Schoharie Court House. It occupies a conspicuous position by the roadway, near the Old Stone Fort, which is one of the best preserved of the Revolutionary forts in the State.

D. KNOWER

SCHOHARIE, NEW YORK.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Private Intelligence of the Revolution.

From the Collection of the Hon. T. Romeyn Beek, M.D., of Albany, now in possession of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.

[The Rev. Dirck Romeyn, D.D., to whom this letter was addressed, was known in the Reformed Dutch Church as "a prince and a leader, an exemplar of Christianity." He is also known as "the old prophet" whose influence led to the foundation of Union College in this State. Born an English subject, by descent a Dutchman, he was an ardent American. So pronounced was his patriotism that his life was endangered, and he was obliged to solicit "militia aids" from Governor Livingston, and as the danger increased additional "aids" were given him. From the numerous letters in possession of his descendants it would seem that he furnished private intelligence of great moment to Clinton and other prominent officers during the Revolution. He died in 1804.]

Colonel Tench Tilghman to Rev. Dirck Romeyn, D.D.

Head Quarters
Col. Days 3^{d} Novem^{r} 1780

Sir

His Excellency General Washington has been informed within two days past, that another embarkation under the command of Sir Henry Clinton is preparing at New York. Should this be so, it is more than probable that you will have heard something of it, as the communication between Hackensack and Bergen is frequent. —You will be good enough to let me know, by the return of the bearer whether any thing of the kind has come to your knowledge, with any particulars which you may have collected. Should you at any time in future gain any intelligence which you may think material you will oblige His Excellency and render essential public service by communicating it to him.

I am with great Respect
Your most ob^{t} serv^{t}
Tench Tilghman
Aide de Camp.

[*To be Continued.*]

NOTES

IMITATION—The eminent author, Professor Alexander Melville Bell, in his recently issued work on *Elocution*, says many things in which every one is more or less interested. From his instructive essay on *Imitation*, we quote the following: "Imitation gives rise to specific rules; reason evolves guiding principles. Imitation is most widely operative where intelligence is lowest; and rules—the development of imitation—are necessarily most, where reason is least exerted. Great men are original; ordinary men are imitative. The man of genius is, of all others, the least amenable to ordinary laws and customs; the man of lowest intellect is, of all others, the greatest slave of usage and prescription. Thus greatness is reflected and multiplied, and a nation is elevated by an individual. In this way, too, the common standard of humanity is raised, and the greatness of one age becomes the mediocrity of the next. The generality of men tread in the beaten ways of their fathers; but genius—erratic and adventurous—strikes out new tracks, and leaves behind it 'footprints on the sands of time,' which the after ages follow.

The principle of imitation plays an important part in education. Children, being naturally apt to imitate, assume the manner with the speech of their parents or nurses; and schoolboys learn as much indirectly by imitation as they do by direct instruction. Hence it is important that the models set before children, in the nursery and at school, should be such as may profitably be imitated, since copied they will be. The fact of this tendency to imitate, we must accept as an inevitable necessity, but we should endeavor to counteract its evils by the constant application of a higher principle in teaching—by training the reasoning powers at every step, and by discouraging, as much as possible, the inherent tendency to imitate."

WILLIAM BLOUNT—Among the members of the old Continental Congress, in 1783 and 1784, and again in 1786 and 1787, was William Blount, one of the pioneer patriots of the territory south of the Ohio River, an independent, adventurous, self-reliant soldier and citizen, who lived in an age when conspicuous merit alone secured commanding influence. In his *Life*, written by General Marcus J. Wright, we find the following: "Mr. Blount was of an ancient English family of wealth and rank, which, at an early day, emigrated to North Carolina. The name is often mentioned in the annals of that State during the Revolution. Mr. Blount was remarkable for his address, courtly manners, benignant feelings, and most commanding presence. His urbanity, his personal influence over men of all conditions and ages, his hospitality unostentatiously but yet elegantly and gracefully extended to all, won upon the affections and regard of the populace, and made him a universal favorite. He was at once the social companion, the well-bred gentleman, and the capable officer." On the 7th of August, 1790, he was commissioned by President Washington as governor of "the territory south of the Ohio river."

A GENEALOGICAL WORK will soon be privately printed by General Charles W. Darling, in handsome form, with portraits, arms, and charts, containing much information never before made public relative to the families of Hacklackenden, Haynes, Pierpont, Noyes, Darling, Chauncey, Davis, Ely, Dana, and Robertson. All these families, except the last-named, were from New England. A sketch of Archibald Robertson, of Scotland, who painted the likenesses of George and Martha Washington, while spending several weeks as a guest in the family of the same, will be given a place in the book, also accurate copies of the original miniatures on ivory, painted by him from life. With the exception of a single copy, granted some years ago to the New York Historical Society, no copy of these miniatures has ever been made. These originals possess unusual historic interest, and, as many may know, they are in the possession of the granddaughters of Mr. Robertson: Mrs. Charles W. Darling, of Utica, New York, and Mrs. S. M. Mygatt, of Paris, France.

QUERIES

VANDERVOORT—Can any reader of the *Magazine of American History* give information as to the parentage and paternal ancestry of Hon. Peter Vandervoort, born 29th March, 1751?

His wife was Ann Kouvenhoven, whom he married 3d September, 1771. A daughter, Margaret Vandervoort, married Hon. Elisha W. King, of New York city.

In the Surrogate's Office, in New York, in Liber XL., p. 105, is recorded the will of a Peter Vandervoort, who bequeathed a Bible, containing the family genealogy, to his son, William Ledyard Vandervoort. Was this the husband of Ann Kouvenhoven? PEDIGREE

MEMBERS OF THE OLD CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—Where can a complete list be obtained of the members of the American Congress prior to the establishment of the present form of government, under the Constitution, in the United States of America?

BRITISH MUSEUM

KEY-STONE STATE—When was this sobriquet first given to Pennsylvania, and what was the occasion of the name?

J. D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

REPLIES

FLORIDA [xvi. 499, xvii. 86]—There is disagreement among the authorities not only with regard to the Holy-day on which Juan Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, but also with regard to the day of the month, and even the year.

First; with regard to the year. Most of the modern authorities refer the discovery to the year 1512. But this is a mistake. The year was 1513. This error is found in the *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed.; *Appleton's Cycl.*, article FLORIDA (under the title

PONCE DE LEON, the date is correctly given); *Haydn's Dict. of Dates; Woodward and Cate's Encycl. of Chronol.; Lippincott's Biograph. Dict.; Johnson's Cyclop.; Drake's Dict. of Amer. Biog.; Nouvelle Biog. Generale; Washington Irving's Life of Columbus; Theodore Irving's Conquest of Florida; Hildreth's Hist. of the U. S.; Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella;* and in numerous works of minor importance.

The old Spanish chroniclers, Gomara and Herrera, agree in saying that Juan Ponce de Leon sailed from Porto Rico, in search of the Fountain of Youth, on the 3d of March, 1512, and reached the coast of Florida on the 27th of the same month. According to the more common mode of reckoning the beginning of the year in those times, the new year (1513) did not begin until Annunciation Day, March 25, so that this eventful 3d of March, on which Juan Ponce set sail, fell in the year 1512. According to our present method of reckoning, the year 1513 began on the first of January preceding, and this 3d of March belonged to the year 1513. But both by the ancient and by our modern rule of reckoning, the 27th of March fell in the year 1513.

Secondly; with regard to the Holy-day. The authorities agree in saying that Florida was discovered on the Holy-day called in Spanish, *Pascua Florida* (Passover of Flowers); but some assert that this was Easter; others, that it was Palm Sunday (the Sunday before Easter). The discrepancy seems to spring from the fact that the name *Pascua Florida* was applied anciently by the Spaniards both to Palm Sunday (*Domingo de Ramos*) and to Easter (*Pascua de Resurrecion*). Thus John Minshen, in his *Guide into Tongues*, 1617, gives *Pascua Florida* as a Spanish equivalent for Palm Sunday, "quia circa id tempus flores emittuntur et e terra et arboribus," and also for Easter, "a florido et vernanti anni tempore, incidit enim Pascha in tempus anni vernum." An easy calculation shows that for the year 1513, the Golden Number was 13, and the Dominical Letter in old style was B. Paschal full moon fell in that year on March 24, O. S., and Sunday the 27th was Easter, and not Palm Sunday.

The mistake of calling the day Palm Sunday was made in old times by Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, 1625) and by Hakluyt (Transl. of *Landonniere's Florida*, 1586). The error has been propagated in modern times by Robertson, Irving, Hildreth and other writers of less fame. The correct date of the discovery is given by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in his *Historia de la Florida*, lib. i., cap. i.: "La Florida llamada assi por averse descubierto la costa dia de Pasqua Florida;" and Lib. i., cap. ii. [Juan Ponce de Leon]: "diò en la Costa al Septentrion de la Isla de Cuba; la qual Costa, por ser Dia de Pasqua de Resurrecion quando la viò, la llamò Florida; y fue el año de mil y quiniente y trece, que segun los computistas se celebrò aquel año à los veinte y siete de Março."

Peter Martyr, in his *De Rebus Oceanicis*, Dec. iv., Lok's transl., says: "Joannes Pontius called it Florida, because he founde that iland on the day of the resurrection; the Spaniard calleth Easter the flourishing day of the resurrection." According to Herrera, *General Hist. of America*, Dec. i., Bk. ix., ch. 5, Stevens' transl.: "On Sunday the twenty-seventh, being Easter Day, in Spanish call'd *Pasqua de Flores*, they saw an Island. . . . Believing that Land to be an Island, they nam'd it Florida, because it appear'd very delightful, having many pleasant Groves, and it was all level; as also, because they discover'd it at *Easter*, which, as has been said, the Spaniards call *Pasqua de Flores* or *Florida*."

Mr. George Bancroft has given an accurate and succinct statement of all the facts. I quote from the Centenary edition of his *History of the United States*, Vol. i., pp. 23, 24: "On the 3d of March, 1513, according to our present rule for beginning the year, Ponce embarked at Porto Rico with a squadron of three ships, for his voyage to the fabled land. On Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, and which in that year fell on the twenty-seventh of March, land was seen. It was supposed to be an island, and received the name of Florida, from the day on which it was discovered, and from the aspect of the forests, which were then brilliant with the bloom of spring." W. S. WYMAN

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA, TUSCALOOSA, Ala.

SINTVYCK [xvi. 593] was the grist-mill located near where the Battle of Bennington, so called, was fought in the State of New York. In Burgoyne's Orderly Book (*Munsell's ed.*, p. 82, 83), referring to the same mill, it is called "Sainturich Mill." In the New York Revolutionary Papers (ii., 364, 365), it is written *St. Kaich*, and noticed as the place where certain rioters from the Hampshire Grants were assembled. In Hadden's Journal and Orderly Book (p. 120, 121), the same location is described as "*St. Crick's Mills*." This mill was owned by one Van Schaick, and stood at or near the junction of the Walloomsach River with a smaller stream known as Little White Creek. *Burgoyne's Orderly Book*, *Munsell's ed.*, p. 83, note. The place where this mill was constructed was called by the Indians *Sahan-Kaim-Soick*. See *Book G*, *Albany County Clerk's Office*, p. 229. From this, by abbreviation, could easily come *San Coich*, or it may have arisen from the name of the mill owner, *Van Schaick*. JAMES GIBSON

SALEM, NEW YORK.

ANDRUSTOWN [xvi. 594] was a settlement in the present town of Warren, in Herkimer County, New York, and was attacked by Brant and a band of Indians, and destroyed in July, 1778.

JAMES GIBSON

SALEM, NEW YORK.

A CRITICAL INQUIRY ABOUT SIR WALTER RALEIGH [xvii. 77–79]—On page 79 for *fact* read "*proof*."

ROANOKE

SOCIETIES

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its monthly meeting for December, at its rooms, on the evening of December 13. An interesting communication was read from Winslow Jones, of the British Museum, with reference to the "Calvert Papers." These supposed papers have been for several years a subject of great curiosity and interest with the Maryland Society, and many and almost constant have been the inquiries which have been made with reference to them. The late J. H. Alexander, Esq., left on record that he saw, nearly fifty years ago, in one of the rooms of the British Museum, two large chests, labeled "Calvert Papers." The high authority of Mr. Alexander in all such matters has always been regarded by the members of the society as establishing, beyond a possible doubt, the fact that such documents exist, and that they might be of great value for settling many controverted questions in the early history of Maryland. Mr. Jones states in his letter, that he has no knowledge of any such papers or chests among the archives of the museum, and does not remember that he has ever seen such during the nearly forty years that he has been connected with that institution.

An interesting letter was also read from Minister Edward J. Phelps, who represented the society at the recent celebration of the eight hundredth anniversary of Domesday; with also a letter from Lord Adair of the Royal Historical Society, President of the celebration.

The historic paper of the evening was read by Edward F. Leyh, Esq., upon "The Mace," as an emblem of authority. The paper was prefaced by an amusing description of a scene witnessed by the writer in the House of Representatives at Washington, a collision between a "black Republican" and a "Copperhead," in which the sergeant-at-arms was struck by one of the combatants, but as he had not the mace in his hand at the time, the offense was held a mere personal assault, and not a contempt of the authority and dignity of the House. This led the writer to a careful investigation of the origin and meaning of the mace, which stands as the badge of authority in every legislative body in our country; and his investigation led him to the conclusion that it was not of Romance origin, but the oldest badge of authority, older than the sceptre of the king or the baton of the field-marshal, the emblem of the law-making and executive power of the Germanic world, where, however, it has been displaced by the sceptre, but remains with us the highest sign of the dignity of the law-making power.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A regular meeting of the society was held at its rooms in the Library Building at Utica, on January 28, Vice-President Ellis H. Roberts in the chair.

A. A. Graham, of Columbus, Ohio, and E. L. Dana, of Wilkesbarre, Pa., were chosen corresponding members; and Hon. William Townsend and Ward Hunt were elected to resident membership. Vice-President Roberts then spoke as follows: "The Oneida Historical Society has in no way done more to keep alive and preserve our local history, than by the monuments which it has helped to erect. The beginnings of our city are defined and perpetuated by the memorial of old Fort Schuyler. The settlement of the county is forever traced back to its pioneer by the monument to Hugh White, in the town which bears his name. The towering column at Oriskany, teaches for all time the strategic and commercial relations of the valley of the Mohawk to the continent, while it gives immortality to the yeomen who withstood the armed hosts of invasion. For these, this society may claim its share of credit. The monument to Baron Steuben, due in large part to the thoughtfulness of our German fellow-citizens, had the favor of our distinguished president, whose eloquence crowned its dedication. He also contributed to the memorial to that earlier soldier—the soldier of the cross—Samuel Kirkland, missionary, by whose grave the hillside above Oriskany Creek is made consecrated ground. The work already done by this society, opens the way for other like tasks, and I suggest that the committee on monuments of this society be directed to report what action should be taken to mark the graves of the heroes of the revolutionary period, in Forest Hill Cemetery, and elsewhere in this county."

Mr. Seymour then read a paper on the late librarian of the society, Judge M. M. Jones, and paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the deceased. Mr. Alexander Seward followed with appropriate remarks, and moved that the thanks of the society be returned to Mr. Seymour for his paper. The chair announced that in January, Professor Burdick, of Hamilton College, would deliver the annual address before the society. Subject, "Is local history worth studying?"

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at its May meeting in Newark, adopted resolutions warmly approving the proposed celebration in New York, in 1789, of the centennial of the inauguration of our present national system of government, and appointed as a committee to co-operate to that end, the Hon. Nathaniel Niles, Adjutant-General William S. Stryker, ex-Governor Joel Parker, ex-Mayor Garret D. W. Vroom and William Nelson. Rev. Allen H. Brown read a paper on *Dr. Jonathan Pitney, and Fifty Years of Progress in West Jersey*, Dr. Pitney being credited with having been largely instrumental in securing the erection of light-houses along the southern shores of New Jersey, and for bringing into existence the railroads connecting the Delaware shore with the coast. Dr. Henry Race read a paper on the oft-told but always interesting story of Jennie McCrea and her tragic fate at Fort Edward, New York, in July, 1777; the McCreas were from Somerset County, New Jersey. The Hon. John F. Hageman, of Princeton, read a paper on *The Life, Services, and Character of Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Senator and Secretary of State.* Mr. Hageman was a classmate of Mr. Frelinghuysen, and his paper was a worthy tribute to the eminent statesman. The society met at Schooley's Mountain, Morris County, September 2, where a paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Burtis C. Megie, on the history of that watering-place, once the most famous in the country, and still boasting of being the oldest—its first hotel (still standing) dating back to 1795; and the Rev. Dr. Alfred Hiller also read a paper on the Lutheran Church in New Jersey—Swedish, Dutch, German and English, covering a period of more than two hundred and sixty years. German Valley, lying within three miles of Schooley's Mountain, was settled by a colony of Lutherans early in the last century. An invitation was read from the Royal Historical Society of England asking for co-operation in the celebration of the approaching anniversary of the completion of the Domesday Survey, five hundred years ago. Mr. William Nelson gave a description of the two stout vellum volumes which he had been permitted to handle four years since in the Public Record Office in London, which contain these surveys, the basis of all land-titles in England to this day. The volumes are kept in plate-glass cases, under lock and key, in the innermost office of the Keeper of the Rolls. It was announced that the Executive Committee had appointed Messrs. Wm. Nelson, General Stryker, G. D. W. Vroom and A. V. D. Honeyman to represent the society at the Centennial celebration at Annapolis of the Convention of 1786, which led the way to the forming of our present Constitution. The members were greatly pleased with the meeting, and voted that it would be good to hold a summer session every year at some of New Jersey's many watering-places.

THE GALVESTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY —This society was organized in 1871, adopting the constitution and by-laws of the New York Historical Society, and its first president was Dr. S. M. Welch. The late Colonel A. M. Hobby was his successor. A reorganization of the institution was effected not very long since by the election of Philip C. Tucker as president, and Mr. Andrew Benner as secretary. The collection has already grown very valuable. It embraces the private diaries and papers of Lorenzo de Zavalla, first Vice-President of the Republic of Texas, and the dress sword which he wore when presented at the court of Louis Philippe; also a voluminous correspondence between Zavalla and Santa Anna and Jose Antonio Mexia, touching upon Texas and Mexican affairs during those early days when the fortunes of the two republics were one and the same. The archives also contain personal narratives of James A. Sylvester, of the capture of Santa Anna, after the battle of San Jacinto; official and private letters of Colonel James Morgan, commanding at Galveston in 1836; narratives of the Mier Expedition, as written by a member; military order-book and papers of General Magruder; register for 1864 of the male and female inhabitants of Galveston, with name, age, nativity and occupation of every resident in the city of Galveston at that time; also, a variety of autograph letters, biographical notices, public addresses, books, pamphlets, newspapers, etc., together with about thirty different histories of Texas.

BOOK NOTICES

BIBLIOTHECA HAMILTONIANA. A list of books written by, or relating to Alexander Hamilton. Compiled by Paul Leicester Ford. 8vo, pp. 159. Pamphlet. From the Knickerbocker Press of G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York. 1886.

The signal ability with which this little work has been produced renders it a valuable acquisition to any library, whether public or private. It is just what its title indicates—and that covers a broad field—with pertinent annotations concerning the rarity of some of the works mentioned, the origin and history of others, and where they may at present be found. The list embraces more than three hundred titles—those of the various editions of all the publications relating to Hamilton, including his own writings of every class, his joint writings with others—as the "Federalist," and "Letters of Camillus"—and the memoirs, sketches, sermons, and orations of which he was the subject. The arrangement of the list is clear, certain letters of the alphabet being used to guide the student to libraries where specified books or pamphlets may be found. To those who are looking into the beginnings of our government, this book will be a perfect directory, as the pamphlets on the Constitution, and such as relate to Hamilton's financial policy, are absolutely necessary to the formation of an intelligent opinion; and it is not one hardly in a thousand of the present generation who knows where to find them. We have examined every page of this unique work, and take pleasure in cordially recommending it as a model of its kind.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE HONORABLE MAJOR JOHN HABERSHAM, of Georgia. By Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 30. Privately printed. 1886.

The subject of this monograph arrived in Savannah, in 1738, in company with Rev. George Whitfield, and was henceforward, for more than half a century, prominently identified with important public affairs. He was the founder of the earliest mercantile house in Savannah, the efficient secretary of the colony, a commissioner of silk culture, an assistant to the President of the Province upon the surrender by the trustees of its management and prior to the erection of the royal government, and Governor *pro tempore* of Georgia during the absence of Sir James Wright. In 1785 and 1786 he was a member from Georgia of the Continental Congress, then in session in New York city. He was active in educational matters and in charities, one of the founders of the University of Georgia, and the organizer of the earliest Sunday schools in that State. Colonel Jones, the author of this charming biographical chapter, says of Major Habersham: "The purity of his character, the nobility of his aims and impulses, the utility of his acts, and the influence of his virtuous life were at the time, and have ever since been, recognized and admired." We are always glad to welcome any work that adds to our information concerning the members of the old Continental Congress, and for that excellent reason, as well as many others, this sketch deserves a permanent place in the biographical literature of America.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE for beginners and students, with complete Indexes and numerous Illustrations. By Clara Erskine Clement. 8vo, pp. 206. New York: White, Stokes & Allen. 1886.

Architecture is a theme of which we cannot know too much, and of which it is almost unpardonable in this enlightened age to know too little. It grows upon the mind and heart with knowledge, and is never tiresome to the intelligent pupil. Mrs. Clement is one of the few living authors who is quite competent to handle a subject of such breadth and importance in a short space. She has chosen the most noteworthy features of both ancient and modern architecture, and with graphic description and illustrative pictures marshaled them into an orderly procession. She begins with the earliest period, when tribes or nations dwelt remote from each other, and when the wooden hut was the genuine offspring of demand for shelter. Architecture, from its birth, was stamped with the character of the country or race from which it sprung. Religion or idolatry inspired its development. With the Pagan devotee, art was made to conform to the supposed moral attributes of the deity, in whose honor monuments and temples were erected. The obelisks of ancient Egypt were built by the kings to express their reverence for the gods.

Mrs. Clement leads her readers pleasantly along from one country to another; shows them the wonders of Nineveh; introduces them to Babylon, the largest and the finest of all the ancient cities, with its walls pierced by a hundred gates and surmounted by two hundred and fifty towers, its "hanging gardens," its river Euphrates, and its famous temple, where every brick bears the name of Nebuchadnezzar; takes them to Persia among the palaces and tombs; tarries with them in Greece and in Rome until everything most desirable to know has been learned; and then moves rapidly forward through the centuries which are teeming with examples of Christian, Gothic, Byzantine and Saracenic architecture. The third chapter of the book is devoted to modern architecture, from 1400 to the present time. It is less interesting than the chapters preceding; but at the same time it contains a vast amount of exact and helpful information. The publishers have issued the work in admirable style, and it is altogether worthy of the highest praise.

REMINISCENCES AND OPINIONS, 1813–1885. By SIR FRANCIS HASTINGS DOYLE. 8vo, pp. 420. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

The personal reminiscences of a genial man of wide culture and with the story-telling gift, cannot fail to be entertaining in book form—more entertaining, often, than are the same reminiscences by word of mouth. The printed page can be read at will, once or perhaps twice; but we all of us know that a garrulous old man, whose life has been an eventful one, and who has done a good deal of talking in his time, is very apt to become wearisome. The reminiscences of Sir Francis, in their published form at least, are in no danger of prolixity. His life covers the major part of the most extraordinary century of the world's history, that is to say the last, which must always be the most extraordinary—born in 1810, or, as he characteristically puts it, in "Whalebone's Derby year." Fancy a retired Oxonian professor fixing the date of his birth by the name of the winning race-horse for the year! In this country his name is by no means so generally well known as in England, but some of his later works have been widely copied by the American press, and show that eighty years have not altogether dimmed the fire of youth. He was extremely fortunate in having been associated in boyhood with many men who have since become famous: Gladstone, Lord Elgin, Arthur Hallam, and scores of others whose names are familiar wherever English is spoken, are encountered on every page, and almost always some curious incident is told. Of Gladstone, for instance, it is said that in company with some other boys of his own age he was practicing the cheers and unearthly calls common in the English Parliament, and was nearly flogged for drunkenness by a tutor who could not understand how such noises could be made by persons in their sober senses. The volume is instinct with the sprightly humor of its brilliant and versatile author. It is rambling and disjointed, as his Oxonian lectures are said to have been; but this very fact lends it an undoubted charm. There is hardly a dull line, certainly not a dull page, in the whole volume. Sir Francis is one of the few living representatives of an age that was infinitely more encouraging to the enthusiasms of life than is the present time. Byron and Scott were the literary inspirations of his youth, and he has never fallen under the spell of modern methods to a degree sufficient to take this edge from his powers of appreciation. It is pleasant to reflect that the genial old gentleman survives to enjoy the literary success that his reminiscences are sure to achieve. In England they have long been awaited with pleasant anticipations by those who knew that they were in preparation, and many an American reader will close the volume with a kindly feeling in his heart for the old *litterateur*, turfite, scholar and society man who attended the Doncaster races last year, and will no doubt attend the Derby should he live till 1910.

SKETCHES OF MY LIFE. By the late ADMIRAL HOBART PASHA. 12mo, pp. 281. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

The story of a sailor's life, when well told, is sure to be entertaining, and it is a singular fact that, with few exceptions, sailor books are better literary work than those produced by their brothers in arms on land. Perhaps this is because they are fewer in number, and have as a general thing less of pretense and humbug than characterizes the work of their shore-going brethren. Like most of the most entertaining autobiographies, the admiral's reminiscences are thrown together much as though he had told the story sitting on deck of an evening. There is a certain unstudied sequence of events, beginning with his rough-and-ready initiation into the service, and his adventures, hair-breadth escapes, and love affairs as a careless and daring young middy, and ending with the narrative of his able command of the Turkish fleet during the last war with Russia. Several of the most interesting chapters are devoted to blockade-running during the civil war in this country. Into this dangerous trade he entered simply from a love of adventure and a desire to make money, and his descriptions of the exciting rushes through the lines of United States cruisers off the Southern coast can hardly be read without a quickening of the blood. Of course no American can read these accounts without wishing that he might have been captured and locked up for a while, just for the credit of the service; but time enough has elapsed for us to forgive him for lending aid and comfort to the enemy. The book is by far more entertaining than the majority of novels, and we cordially recommend it to any one who is suffering from a surfeit of fiction.

THE POEMS OF SIR JOHN SUCKLING.

A new edition, with preface and notes. Edited by FREDERICK A. STOKES. 12mo, pp. 218. New York: White, Stokes & Allen. 1886.

This, we believe, is the first attempt at grouping together, under various headings, such of Sir John Suckling's poems as can be so arranged with propriety—and it is the first and only collection of them ever published in this country. Some few of the songs of this brilliant courtier and wit are among the finest in the language, their simplicity, grace, and humor are unmatched; but his writings, either in prose or verse, are not of uniform merit. His life was very short, extending only from 1609 to 1642. His father, who had been comptroller of the royal household, left him a large fortune while he was yet in college, and he plunged deeply into the frivolities and dissipation of the court of Charles I., to which he was attached. Many of his letters as well as verses are extant, and are excellent in style, sparkling with vivacity; while some of his serious ones concerning public affairs display sound judgment and high ability. He wrote several plays that received some notice at the time, but none of them have been considered of sufficient account for a place in this volume. A finely executed portrait of the poet, from the painting by Vandyke, forms the frontispiece, and a prepossessing face it is that looks down upon us through the vista of the centuries. The work has been edited with much discrimination and good taste, and is elegantly printed.

AGNES SURRIAGE. By EDWIN LASSETTER BYNNER.

16mo, pp. 418. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1887.

The author of this historical novel has made his mark through two previous books, namely, "Damen's Ghost" and "Penelope's Suitors," both of which were received with more than the average meed of popular favor. The present work deals with colonial times, the scene opening on the picturesque peninsula of Marblehead, prior to the old French war, and introducing as the basis of its plot a number of the dignitaries of that time, who will readily be recognized by any one who chooses to search the records covering that romantic period of New England history, when we are wont erroneously to think the lives of all men conformed strictly to the straight puritanical standard of manners and morals. The Frankland episode, as narrated in the book before us, was one of the conspicuous scandals of the time, and in very truth involved many of the leading officials of the colony in its complications. The story of Agnes Surriage is the not uncommon one of beauty in distress, of love and jealousy, of adversity and fortune. It is not fair to the book or its author to sketch the plot, and thus rob the reader of half the enjoyment. It is certainly well and carefully studied from the actual records of the time, and is based largely upon the personal papers of the hero, to which the author had access. The most thrilling episode is the great earthquake at Lisbon, in the terrors of which the principal actors in the drama are personal participants. As a character study the book is not without a peculiar charm, based, it would seem, upon the nature of the authorities from which the author derives his main facts. Many of the letters and incidents bear the stamp of that nature which makes us all kin.

LIVES OF GIRLS WHO BECAME FAMOUS. By SARAH K. BOLTON.

12mo, pp. 347. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1886.

The contents of this work show at a glance its claim to the reader's attention. Sketches of the lives of such women as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Helen Hunt Jackson, Lucretia Mott, Maria Mitchell, Mary Lyon, Elizabeth Fry, Louisa M. Alcott, and a dozen others of distinction, when well done, cannot otherwise than command wide and appreciative interest. Mrs. Bolton is a practiced writer, and has evidently made a careful study of her various subjects, dwelling particularly for the benefit of young girls on the early years of the famous women of whom she writes. For instance, she relates of Harriet Hosmer's school life that, "unused to restraint, she did not like the first school at which she was placed: the principal said he 'could do nothing with her.' She was then taken to Mrs. Sedgwick, who kept a famous school at Lenox. She remained here three years. Mrs. Sedgwick says: 'She was the most difficult pupil to manage I ever had, but I think I never had one in whom I took so deep an interest, and whom I learned to love so well.'" When Margaret Fuller Ossoli was fifteen, she had read and studied so persistently, and with such discrimination, that she had learned the secret of all the most prominent lives. The author says: "The majority in this world will always be mediocre, because they lack high-minded ambition and the willingness to work." This statement we fear is only too true. The wonderful career of Mary Lyon is traced by Mrs. Bolton with a skilled hand, and is perhaps the most picturesque chapter in the book. She was a born educator. Her childhood home was in a remote township among the hills; and her early experiences in teaching, and the heroic efforts she made to found the school which has been such a success, and is still sending out its strong forces into the world—"the very foundation of the highest civilization"—reads more like romance than a story in real New England country life. The book is illustrated with portraits, but they are without exception very poorly engraved and printed.

THE BUCKHOLTZ FAMILY. Sketches of Berlin Life, by JULIUS STINDE. Translated by L. DORA SCHMITZ. 16mo, pp. 262. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

The translation, so the title-page informs us, is "from the forty-ninth German edition," and one can readily understand, even from a translation, that in the original the book is one of those surpassingly natural studies of social life that always fascinate the reader. It is for German middle-life what Rose Terry Cooke's studies are to New England life—so natural that one says: "Why, I could have written that myself!" Human nature has so much in common that an American—even one who is not familiar with German ways—recognizes the truthfulness of the pictures. That the story loses somewhat in the translating is almost a matter of necessity, and in this case the author has yielded, perhaps a bit too often, to the temptation of German idiom. Here and there, is an evident struggle to put into English some of those awe-inspiring German compounds that are so very expressive in German, but are so hopelessly untranslatable that the attempt to render them in any other tongue had better be abandoned. Upon the whole, the translation is good, and the story well deserves to be read. Even the faults of translation are prompted by the best of motives.

CAPTAIN GLAZIER AND HIS LAKE. An Inquiry into the history and progress of exploration at the headwaters of the Mississippi since the discovery of Lake Itasca. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 58. New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Company. 1886.

Mr. Henry D. Harrower has collected in this work many facts relative to the exploration of the sources of the Mississippi since the white man first sighted Lake Itasca, with several valuable maps. As his criticisms of Captain Glazier take the form of an inquiry, we shall be better able to judge of their merits when the results of thorough exploration furnish the public with the exact conformation of the region which gives birth to the great river.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NATURAL HISTORY IN AMERICA. By G. BROWN GOODE. An Address before the Biological Society, Washington, D. C., at its Sixth Anniversary 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 105. Washington. 1886.

In this most instructive monograph we have rehearsed the story of the earliest investigators of American natural history, including two centuries of English endeavor, and nearly three, if the earlier explorations of the naturalists of Europe are taken into consideration. The record of the achievements of American science since the time of Franklin is, in the language of President Goode, "a proud one." He says: "During the last fifty years in England, and the last forty in America, discovery has followed discovery with such rapid succession that it is somewhat hard to realize that American science in the colonial period, or even that of Europe at the same time, had any features which are worthy of consideration." He adds, however, that "it seems fortunate that some of the most honored of the early naturalists are perpetuated in well-established generic and specific combinations."

SOME ESSAYS OF ELIA. By CHARLES LAMB. Crown 8vo, pp. 236. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1886.

The incomparable essays of Elia made their appearance originally when the art of illustration was still hampered by the slow methods of printing from the block. The electrotype and the various kinds of process-work were then unknown. Moreover, the art of drawing, with a special view to illustration, was not then cultivated to anything like the perfection now attained; artists who could draw for the engraver were scarce, and their time was, for the most part, occupied with more remunerative work. There have, we believe, been handsome illustrated editions of Lamb's works, but nothing with modern improvements in style and treatment. It is not wonderful, therefore. that Mr. C. O. Murray should have been tempted, by the constantly recurring picturesque situations in the essays, to attempt their interpretation. He has succeeded admirably in most of the hundred and more illustrations that embellish the pages of the pretty volume in catching the spirit of the context, and he has been ably seconded by the engraver, Mr. R. Patterson. It is so seldom nowadays that one sees old-fashioned wood engravings outside the pages of London "Punch," that it is with a degree of incredulity that we recognize these as the real thing. Not that they are necessarily better than good process-work. but they have an interesting flavor of antiquity about them recalling Cruikshank and Bewick, and having withal a certain soft richness that process-work has not yet attained. The attractive little volume contains fifteen of the most popular of the essays, which may well introduce Elia to the younger generation of to-day, which knows him only by repute.

NOTABLE ETCHINGS BY AMERICAN ARTISTS. Text by RIPLEY HITCHCOCK. Folio, pp. 54. New York, 1886: White, Stokes & Allen.

This beautiful volume contains ten typical representations in the different departments of etching, presenting different methods of work. The etchers are J. L. Jerome Ferris, Frederick W. Freer, Kruseman Van Elten, James J. Calahan, Frank M. Gregory, Leroy M. Yale, Joseph F. Sabin, W. H. Shelton, Charles Volkmar and W. St. John Harper. The text is admirably adapted to the purposes of the work, as it deals in little criticisms upon particular examples and gives some account of the process by which each artist works, with timely and valuable information about the personality of the artists themselves. One of the most interesting of the etchings is "The Book Worm," by Joseph F. Sabin, the son of Joseph Sabin, the well-known and enthusiastic bibliophile, of whom it is said, "His name will always be associated with the history of the growth of taste for, and knowledge of, rare, fine, and valuable books in this country." The son, who modestly calls himself an amateur, offers, says Mr. Hitchcock, one of the rare instances of a connoisseur engaging in the actual practice of his favorite art. Among other noteworthy examples in the book of which we should speak more at length if space permitted, are Frank M. Gregory's "Old Trinity and Wall Street," and Dr. Yale's "The Old Bridge." The latter is an etching direct from nature, representing a scene on the Merrimac River. It is remarkably well done, in the artist's free and individual manner, and impresses us like the catching and holding of a sudden thought or inspiration.

IN JUSTICE TO THE NATION. American History in American Schools, Colleges, and Universities. By FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE, Ph.D., Fellow of the University of Pennsylvania. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 22. [Reprint from Education] 1886.

This excellent monograph deserves wide circulation. The knowledge of American history is altogether too limited. The teachers in our public and private schools from one end of the country to the other, would, we fear, present a sorry picture, if marshaled into a class for examination in the true story of the social development of the American people. If such can be said of the teachers, what can be expected of the pupils!

Professor Thorpe tells us that in "more than two hundred and fifty of our universities and colleges, the study of American history is confined to the study of one text-book. In preparatory schools it is not taught, on the average, above five recitations a week, not to exceed thirty minutes a lesson; and the total amount of this study averages not over six months in the school-life of the child." He also shows in clear, straightforward English what ought to be done to remedy this serious evil, and how to prepare teachers for the proper instruction of pupils in one of the most important branches of education.

THE SCHOLAR'S DUTY AND OPPORTUNITY. By CHARLES W. BAIRD, D.D. Phi Beta Kappa Oration. University of the City of New York. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 17. New York. 1886.

"The scholar, whether in professional or in business life, whether in public office or in the capacity of a private citizen, can exert in this age and in this land a mighty influence for his country's good. His vote, his voice, his pen, his personality, employed with intelligent, persistent purpose in the service of righteousness, truth, and justice, may be employed with telling effect. The large and growing class of those among our population who have enjoyed the benefits of superior intellectual training, have—did they but know it—a mission superadded to their several callings as lawyers, teachers, ministers, physicians, journalists or what not, a mission to promote sound views upon all questions of public interest, and to take the lead in all action prompted by generous devotion to the common good." We need only quote the above gem from Dr. Baird's scholarly oration to illustrate its character and value. The monograph in its present form ought to have a place in every young man's portfolio, to be read and studied at any or every leisure moment.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG. "THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER." The History of it. By MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER HAMILTON. 12mo. Pamphlet. pp. 26. New York: George B. Lockwood & Sons. 1887.

"Every school-boy and school-girl in the land should be familiar with the chief points in the history of their country's ensign," says the author of this admirably condensed account of our beautiful national flag. It certainly will not be the fault of General Hamilton if they are not hereafter, since nothing could be more clearly presented in a way of a pen-picture than his record of the origin, birth and gradual unfolding of the "stars and stripes," until the stars number thirty-eight.—"Such a flag as was never before displayed by any nation, nor by any human hand."

Hugh Mercer

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVII MARCH, 1887 No. 3

FREDERICKSBURG, FIRST AND LAST

I

WHEN a site for the "Federal City" was under discussion, some statesmen, in whom the historic sense was strong, suggested Fredericksburg. Since then, research has revealed romantic adventures in that region more than fifty years anterior to its settlement by English people. There the first Christian shrine was built (1570) and its Spanish missionaries massacred; there Captain John Smith fought with the Rappahannocks (1608). It would have been historically as well as physically a picturesque place for the national capital. In the present paper, however, I must content myself with a moderate degree of antiquity.

In 1675 occurred the killing of Robert Hen and an Indian, both in the employ of a Burgess of Stafford County, which led to Colonel John Washington's siege of the Doegs, on the present site of Washington City, to their massacre while under a flag of truce, to reprisals, and to Bacon's Rebellion, whose significance has been recently shown in this magazine. In March, 1675, the Jamestown government ordered "one hundred and eleven men out of Glocester county to be garrisoned at one ffort or place of defence at or neare the ffalls of Rapahannock river, of which ffort Major Lawrence Smith to be captain or cheife comander." The ammunition assigned for this was "ffower hundred and eighty pounds of powder and fforeteene hundred fforty three pounds of shot,"—much more than was distributed to either of the four other river forts by the same act. This was the beginning of Falmouth, now by bridges made a suburb of Fredericksburg. Falmouth may fairly claim to be the oldest town on the Rappahannock. Though its fort was but temporarily manned in 1675, Major Lawrence Smith recognized the advantages of the place—then the head of navigation, and with a fine water power in its falls—and made certain proposals to the government, which were adopted in April, 1679. He was to mark out below the falls a piece of land one mile in length, and a quarter of a mile backward into the woods, and thereon build habitations for 250 men, of whom 50 were to be well armed and kept ready for action at tap of drum. Around this a larger district was defined, within which the Major and his 250 were to have "priviledges,"—to wit: three miles above and two below the fort, by four miles back from the river. Major Lawrence Smith, with two commissioners chosen by himself from the inhabitants, and six chosen by a majority of the 250, was empowered to hold a court within these limits—the usual appeals being allowed—to make such by-laws as a county might make, and administer them.* "Within the said ground," continues the Act (Hening II.) "all which he (Smith) presumes and accompts to be his own land, noe person or persons to the number of two hundred and ffifty whome he shall seate or receive to dwell within the mile on the river, and quarter of a mile backwards as is before mentioned, shal be lyable to be arrested for any debt due by judgement, sealed bond, bill, note, booke debt or otherwaies, but shalbe free and acquitt from any arrest or suite of law for any matter or thing whatsoever except at the kings majesties suite, for the full space of twelve yeares, &c." They are all free of taxes for fifteen years. But the district is not to be a refuge or asylum for fugitive servants, or slaves, or accused persons. This document is signed by Sir Henry Chicheley, governor; Matthew Kemp, speaker; and Robert Beverley, clerk of the Assembly, attests the copy.

The site of this military district, of which Falmouth is the centre, is one of the most historical in the United States. Where Captain John Smith anchored his vessel and fought with Indians in 1608, another Captain Smith, sixty-eight years later, built a fort, and, three years after, a town. His empire included, possibly, the ground on which George Washington passed his boyhood, certainly Chatham, the headquarters of the Federal generals in the late war; while the old fort hill was used to bombard Fredericksburg in 1862. Not one stone or brick of the fort is left on another, but the terraces on the long hill back of the riverside houses still bear traces of ancient work.

The garrison regulations of the time were severe. A blasphemer, drunk or sober, must for every offense run the gauntlet through one hundred men, and, if willfully persistent in such offense, be bored through the tongue with a hot iron. The same for any soldier who shall deride the Bible or sacraments. After a third conviction for swearing or drunkenness, the offender must "ride the wooden horse half an hour with a musket tyed at each foote, and ask forgiveness at the next meeting for prayer or preaching." Non-attendance at prayer-meeting or preaching, every morning and evening, punished at the discretion of the commander. "If any offers to strike them (officers) with his hand, whether he hitt or misse, he shall loose his right hand." Laziness in any service is punished with the wooden horse; and silence while marching is encouraged by "the penaltie to be laid neck and heels during the space of one hour for every such offence." Nine offenses were punishable with death—most of them being still so punishable in time of war. The fort at Falmouth, built after a declaration of war against the Indians, passed under civil regulations when the town was built (1679), but certain military privileges remained, and, no doubt, some corresponding severities.

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* This little princedom was then in old Rappahannock County (now extinct); in 1692, it became Richmond; in 1720, King George; in 1776, Stafford was extended to the river. Across the river Rappahannock County became Essex, in 1692, and Spottsylvania (in honor of the darling Governor Spottswood) in 1720. See picture of Chatham on page 190.

THE HOME OF MARY WASHINGTON IN FREDERICKSBURG.

The fort and settlement near the falls are not again mentioned in the acts of assembly, so far as preserved, and this may have led the late George Fitzhugh to suppose that Major Lawrence Smith's settlement was "abortive." But any one familiar with Falmouth will feel certain that a considerable number of its houses are quite two hundred years old. Probably we may find an explanation of the silence of the records in the following paragraph of an Act (April, 1692,) dividing Rappahannock County, which till then lay on both sides of the river. The northern side was now named Richmond; the southern, Essex; and it is enacted "by their Majesties" etc., that "the records belonging to the county court of Rappahanoc before this division be kept in Essex county, that belonging wholly to their Majesties and the other to the proprietors of the Northern Neck." It would require as many pages as I can here give sentences to report the causes and consequences of this severance of the country between the Rappahannock and Potomac from the rest of Virginia. Its presentation as a private estate to Lord Culpeper was the beginning of a reign of terror which did not end until the *ancien régime* on the Rappahannock was broken up. The gentry were in panic. Their tobacco—their wealth and currency—had been subjected to ruinous levies and restrictions; their servants and slaves were becoming burdens. They now expected their land titles to be taken away. It did not so prove, but distrust broke the link of loyalty between the Rappahannock and Jamestown. Amid the dismays of the time came rumors that the king, with alliance of Indians and negroes, meant to crush Protestantism. This brought forth a fiery clergyman of the Established Church, John Waugh, of Stafford County, whose voice rang through the valley until the people took up arms. This excitement ended in 1689, when William and Mary were proclaimed "Lord and Lady of Virginia," but the old baronial life on the Rappahannock could not be fully recovered. Alarms environed the larger and lonelier plantations. The white retainers had been dismissed to become "poor whites;" their masters were beginning to look about for some means of earning livelihood by means less precarious than tobacco. They began to gather near villages, to trade, to study professions. When that untitled representative of the English middle class, Alexander Spottswood, came to Virginia (1710), he found a people of his own class, prepared to work. Colonel John Washington, once a hunted royalist, had hunted Indians; his grandson, Augustine, was busy with Principio iron-furnace, one of the four which were operating on the Rappahannock when George Washington was born.* All this was the work of "Tubal Cain" Spottswood, and his Germans in one sense; in another, it was the result of the long series of suicidal acts of English despots, large and little, by which the cavaliers were largely severed from their estates; in yet another, it was due to the energy characteristic of gentlemen often supposed indolent, but who in all their affairs have always displayed an almost painful eagerness and activity—whether hunting, fighting, or working. It was these dislocated elements—rich and poor—of a perishing *régime*, which were presently represented in the two towns at the head of navigation on the Rappahannock—Fredericksburg and Falmouth.

These towns were founded legally after the region had already become flourishing, by the same act—February, 1727. The Preamble says: "Whereas great numbers of people have of late seated themselves and their families upon and near the river Rappahannock, and the branches thereof above the falls; and great quantities of tobacco and other commodities are every year brought down to the upper landings upon the same river to be shipped off and transported to other parts of the country; and it is necessary that the poorer part of the said inhabitants should be supplied from thence with goods and merchandise in return for their commodites, &c." It is also stated that the Spottsylvanians had petitioned the Assembly on the subject. It is therefore enacted that a tract of fifty acres belonging to John Royston and Robert Buckner should be vested in trustees and laid out for a town to be called Fredericksburg. The trustees were John Robinson, Esq., Henry Willis, Augustine Smith, John Taliaferro, Harry Beverly, John Waller, and Jeremiah Clowder—most of them old "baronial" names. Royston and Buckner, whose lands seem to have been unceremoniously taken, are to be paid forty shillings per acre. The price was probably not unfair, and no doubt those Gloucester gentlemen owned other lands whose value would be enhanced by the new town. They were to be paid from the money obtained by the sale of the "half-acre" lots! But the said Royston and Buckner are assigned two lots each. The owner of the land higher up and across the river was William Todd, of King and Queen County. He was given forty shillings per acre, assigned four lots, and allowed payment "for such houses as he hath erected, which shall be taken into any of the streets or public landings of the said town." The trustees of Falmouth were Robert Carter and Mann Page, esquires, Nicholas Smith, William Thornton, John Fitzhugh, Charles Carter, and Henry Fitzhugh.

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* Early Iron Manufacture in Virginia (*Papers of U. S.* Nat. Museum). By R. A. Brock, Secretary Va. Hist. Soc. The smelting-furnace near Fredericksburg is mentioned by Hugh Jones in his *Present Condition of Virginia* (1724).

All of these Falmouth names are historically connected with the immediate neighborhood, with a significant exception—Carter. This Robert Carter, who heads the list, resided at Corotoman, Lancaster; he was an old man now, and, no doubt, practically represented on the Board by his son Charles; but nothing could be done in the Northern Neck save under his approval. For this was "King Carter," agent in Virginia of the sixth Baron of Cameron, Thomas, Lord Fairfax, who inherited eight thousand square miles of Virginia from his mother, Catharine, daughter of Lord Culpeper. Colonel Carter before becoming "king" had led many troops against the Indians. These were nearly exterminated from the Northern Neck when he helped to found Falmouth. Besides his son Charles, his son-in-law, Hon. Mann Page, appears one of the trustees of Falmouth. His son of the same name built Mansfield, a grand house near Fredericksburg, and was father of the celebrated Governor Page, of both peaceful and revolutionary fame. Robert Carter, sometimes called "King," but more popularly "Robin," was as unpopular as an exact overseer of a vast estate traditionally associated with a royal robbery might naturally be. Though Culpeper had a bad name, Fairfax was in good repute; if any tenant was not satisfied, it was laid at old "Robin's" door. The late

CHATHAM, HISTORIC HOME OF THE FITZHUGHS, KNOWN DURING THE LATE WAR AS THE LACY HOUSE.

Major Byrd Willis, of Fredericksburg, his great grandson, has preserved a bit of doggerel chalked on "King" Carter's tomb in Corotoman Church:

> "Here lies Robin, but not Robin Hood,
> Here lies Robin that never was good,
> Here lies Robin that God has forsaken,
> Here lies Robin the Devil has taken!"*

But the late John Minor—son of General John Minor, who married a daughter of Major Byrd Willis—adds a note in which he shows that there was no just ground for the unpopularity of Robert Carter. He also denies the tradition that Carter was dismissed from the Fairfax agency, and states that he held it until his death, which occurred in 1732.† In 1730, Lord Fairfax conveyed to Robert Carter a snug corner of the Northern Neck—63,000 acres.‡ Majesty on the James dare not deal freely with Majesty on the other side of the Rappahannock. Ten years after King Carter's death, the Assembly passes a law against wooden chimneys in Fredericksburg, and the freedom of swine in its streets; nothing is said of the same evils in Falmouth. In 1755, Governor Dinwiddie reminds his Home Government that he cannot suspend fines and forfeitures in the Northern Neck. In 1763, it became necessary to abate the evils in Fredericksburg already referred to, and every wooden chimney was fined five shillings, every hog or goat in the street one shilling per month; the like evils in Falmouth being for the first time assailed in 1765, where, however, instead of being fined, the hogs and wooden chimneys are outlawed. They may be lawfully destoyed.

Fredericksburg, founded in 1727, the year in which George I. died, was named after the father of George III. It was not, however, incorporated until 1781, a new court-house being erected that year. "Having been

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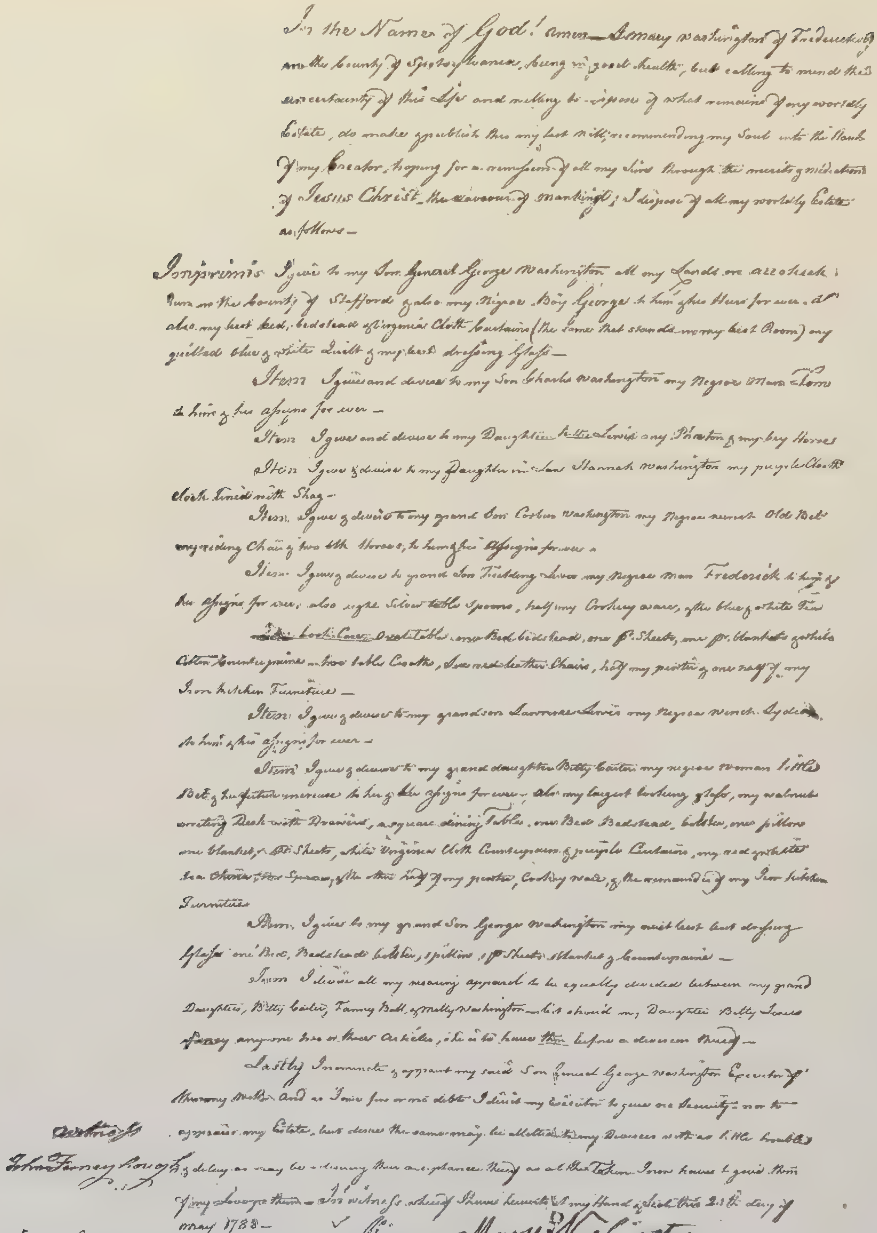
* *Willis, MS.* I am indebted to Mrs. Tayloe, of Fredericksburg, for the use of this invaluable manuscript left by her grandfather, Major Byrd Willis. It was written by that patriarch of the place for his own family only, but contains much of public interest.

† John Minor, who writes this, was the most learned man that Fredericksburg has produced, as well as a gentleman of the most exalted character. He died in an early year of the late war.

‡ "Visiting his American estates about the year 1739 [Thomas Fairfax, Sixth Baron of Cameron] was so captivated with the soil, climate, and beauties of Virginia, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life there; and he soon after erected two mansions, Belvoir and Greenway Court, where he continued ever afterwards to reside in a state of baronial hospitality. . . . He had been educated in revolutionary principles, and had imbibed high ideas of republican liberty."—*Sir Bernard Burke.* The title devolved on cousins. The late Lord Houghton told me that when in this country he visited the eleventh Baron, and invited him to his seat in the House of Lords. It is remarkable that five of these American lords have unostentatiously borne witness to the principles of him whom the Duke of Buckingham described as, "Fairfax the Valiant."



In the Name of God! amen — I Mary Washington of Fredericksburg in the County of Spotsylvania, being in good health, but calling to mind the uncertainty of this Life and willing to dispose of what remains of my worldly Estate, do make & publish this my last Will; recommending my Soul into the Hands of my Creator, hoping for a remission of all my Sins through the merits & mediation of Jesus Christ the Saviour of mankind; I dispose of all my worldly Estate as follows —

Imprimis I give to my Son General George Washington all my Lands on Accokeek Run in the County of Stafford & also my Negroe Boy George to him & his Heirs for ever. &c also my best bed, bedstead & Virginia Cloth Curtains (the same that stands in my best Room) my quilted blue & white Quilt & my best dressing Glass —

Item I give and devise to my Son Charles Washington my Negroe Man Tom to him & his assigns for ever —

Item I give and devise to my Daughter Bettie Lewis my Phaeton & my bay Horse

Item I give & devise to my Daughter in Law Hannah Washington my purple Cloth Cloak lined with Shag —

Item I give & devise to my grand Son Corbin Washington my Negroe wench Old Bet my riding Chair & two black Horses, to him & his Assigns for ever.

Item I give & devise to grand Son Fielding Lewis my Negroe man Frederick to him & his Assigns for ever, also eight Silver table Spoons, half my Crockery ware, & the blue & white Tea ~~China~~ Book Case, Oval table, one Bed bedstead, one pr. Sheets, one pr. blankets & white Cotton Counterpaine, two table Cloaths, six red leather Chairs, half my pewter & one half of my Iron kitchen Furniture —

Item I give & devise to my grandson Lawrence Lewis my Negroe wench Lydia to him & his assigns for ever —

Item I give & devise to my grand daughter Betty Carter my negroe woman little Bet & her future increase to her & her assigns for ever, also my largest looking glass, my walnut writing Desk with Drawers, a square dining Table, one Bed Bedstead, bolster, one pillow one blanket & pr. Sheets, white Virginia Cloth Counterpaine & purple Curtains, my red & white Tea China, Tea Spoons, & the other half of my pewter, Crockery ware, & the remainder of my Iron kitchen Furniture

Item I give to my grand Son George Washington my next best dressing Glass one Bed, Bedstead bolster, 1 pillow, 1 pr Sheets blanket & Counterpaine —

Item I devise all my wearing apparel to be equally divided between my grand Daughters, Betty Carter, Fanny Ball, & Milly Washington — but should my Daughter Betty Lewis fancy any one two or three Articles, she is to have them before a division thereof —

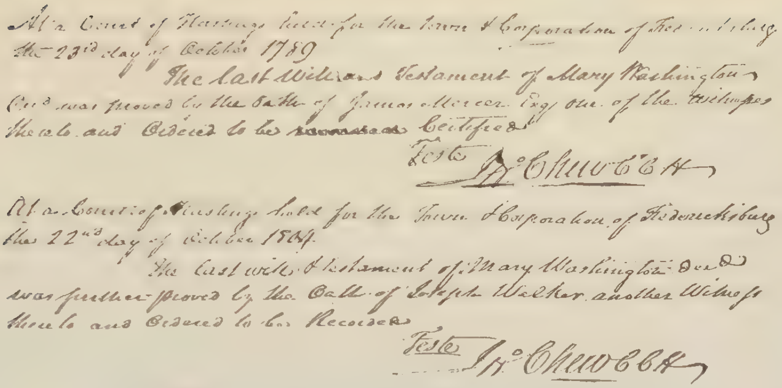
Lastly I nominate & appoint my said Son General George Washington Executor of this my Will and as I owe few or no debts I direct my Executor to give no Security nor to appraise my Estate, but desire the same may be allotted to my Devisees with as little trouble & delay as may be desiring their acceptance thereof as all the token I now have to give them of my love for them — In witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this 20th day of May 1788 —

Witness
John Ferneyhough

Signed Sealed and published in our presence & signed by them the presence of the said Mary Washington & at her desire

Witness
Joseph Walker

Mary Washington



At a Court of Hustings held for the Town & Corporation of Fredericksburg the 23rd day of October 1789
The last Will and Testament of Mary Washington Decd was proved by the Oath of James Mercer Esq one of the witnesses thereto and Ordered to be ~~recorded~~ Certified
Teste Jno Chew CCH

At a Court of Hustings held for the Town & Corporation of Fredericksburg the 22nd day of October 1804.
The last will & testament of Mary Washington Decd was further proved by the Oath of Joseph Walker another Witness thereto and Ordered to be Recorded
Teste Jno Chew CCH

FAC-SIMILE OF THE WILL AND AUTOGRAPH OF MARY WASHINGTON.

[*Made directly from the original through the courtesy of the City authorities of Fredericksburg.*]

previously," says Howison, "a village or collection of dwelling houses, inhabited by a variety of people, it was made a town according to a policy of the Government of Virginia which we now look back to with surprise. You know well that the tendency of the social system in Virginia, at least up to the time of the late war, was to country life, and not to the growth of towns. On their great landed estates, with their abundant means, their slaves and dependants, the gentlemen of the Colony, and afterwards of the Commonwealth, looked upon town life with something like aversion, and never sought the towns except for temporary business or pleasure. The General Assembly sought to antagonize this tendency. They sought to do a thing impossible—that is to make towns by statute-law."* A good many of these paper towns came to nothing, of course. At the mouth of Potomac Creek there remains to this day the strong stone foundation of an edifice never built in what was to have been the town of Marlborough. But when the gathered population near the falls had been assigned the private property of certain gentlemen, and royally named, the Assembly did not regard it as quite respectable to transfer to it the Hustings Court, or give it a corporate council. Nor did the gentlemen interested in the foundation venture at once to dwell on any of the half-acre lots. The grand old residences, Mansfield (Pages), Fall Hill (Thorntons), and Kenmore (Lewises), Boscobel and Chatham (Fitzhughs), were all at a respectable distance. Even the chief gentleman and promoter of the town, Colonel Henry Willis, built his residence on the elevation beyond the town, since become historic as Marye's Hill.* The "great numbers of people," in answer to whose needs the twin towns were founded, must have been at first mainly in Falmouth, for the fifty acres laid out as Fredericksburg were not yet well occupied in 1732, when Colonel Byrd visited the place after his visit to Governor Spottswood at Germanna, farther up the river. "Colonel Willis," he writes, "walked me about his town of Fredericksburg. It is pleasantly situated on the South shore of Rappahannock River, about a mile below the falls. Sloops may come up and lie close to the wharf, within thirty yards of the public warehouses, which are built in the figure of a cross. Just by the wharf is a quarry of white stone that is very soft in the ground, and hardens in the air, appearing to be as fair and fine-grained as that of Portland. Besides that there are several other quarries in the river bank, within the limits of the town, sufficient to build a large city. The only edifice of stone yet built is the prison, the walls of which are strong enough to hold Jack Sheppard if he had been transported thither. Though this be a commodious and beautiful situation for a town, with the advantages of a navigable river and wholesome air, yet the inhabitants are very few. Besides Colonel Willis, who is the top man of the place, there are only one merchant, a tailor, a smith, an ordinary keeper, and a lady—Mrs. Leviston—who acts here in the double capacity of a doctress and coffee woman." †

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* Fredericksburg: past, present, and future. Lecture by Robert R. Howison, 1880.

The real founder of Fredericksburg was the Colonel Harry Willis referred to by Colonel Byrd. He owned, besides his Fredericksburg estate, three thousand acres and a grist mill in the Little Fork of the Rappahannock, of which the patent was granted 1726; ‡ but he was a careless and extravagant man, and when he died his property had to be offered for sale. Fortunately, his wife had saved enough to buy it up (*Willis MS.*). The Governor and Council, however, relieved this easy-going gentleman of a portion of his real estate, for when it was found, twelve years after the site was surveyed, that it occupied not only the original 50 acres taken from Royston and Buckner, but 243 square poles belonging to "Henry Willis, Gentleman," and 220 belonging to "John Lewis, Gentleman," the Governor, Council and Assembly removed "all doubts and controversies" by confirming these square poles to Fredericksburg, paying Willis five and Lewis fifteen pounds. Colonel Harry Willis was a very large man, as was his grandson, Major Byrd Willis, author of our MS. "It was said of my grandfather Colonel Henry Willis that he courted his three wives when maids and married them all as widows. He had children by all." "When the second wife died (she was the widow Mildred Brown when he married her) my grandmother, the widow Gregory, wept immoderately on hearing of it. Upon some one remarking that it was strange she should grieve so much for her cousin, she replied that the death of her relative was not the sole cause of her grief, though she loved her dearly, as they were cousins and bore the *same name ;* but that she knew that old Harry Willis would be down there to see her, and she did not know what to do with him." Sure

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* My aged mother remembers the Willis House before it was burned. With the increase of the family, it had spread until it seemed a group of contiguous houses. The present mansion on the height, Brompton—not on the exact site of the Willis House, which was nearer the National Cemetery—was probably built by Colonel Willis, and altered by the late John L. Marye, the distinguished lawyer whose name is now connected with the Hill.

† *Journey to the Land of Eden.* The Levistons were the first residents of the place, and held their lease from John Royston, of Gloucester. They were persons of good position. Female doctors were not unknown in other parts of Virginia in early times. Colonel Byrd, in his journal, mentions another, a Mrs. Fleming, who explained to him her methods of treatment. The Rev. John Clayton, in a letter to the Royal Society, May 12, 1688, relates that "a gentlewoman that was a notable female doctress" cured a rattlesnake bite with oriental bezoar and dittany. (*Force's Tracts*, II.)

‡ *Hening*, IV., 464.

KENMORE. HOME OF BETTY LEWIS, THE SISTER OF WASHINGTON.

(*Engraved from a photograph*).

enough, the old Colonel commenced a siege at the door of the Widow Gregory, sister of Augustine Washington. The fact that Henry Willis married in succession two cousins, christened with the same name—Mildred Washington—induced Major Byrd Willis to believe that the first Washingtons were accompanied to this country by a brother unknown to history. (Lawrence Washington's daughter, Mildred, died in 1696). "He (the first John) left three children: John, who lived at the mouth of Machodock Creek (on the lower side), King George County. The property was afterwards sold by Thacker Washington. Whom he (John) married I cannot now recollect but I believe a Warner, as that was a favorite name among his descendants. The next was Augustine, who settled up Pope's Creek, Westmoreland at Wakefield (Bushfield?) where General Washington was born. I know not the name of his first wife, but his second was a Ball from Lancaster or Northumberland, in the Northern Neck: she was the mother of the General and of Mrs. Fielding Lewis, the grandmother of my wife. The third and last (of the first John's children) was my grandmother Mildred. My father, Lewis Willis, was a schoolmate of General Washington, his cousin, who was two years his senior. He spoke of the General's industry and assiduity at school as very remarkable. Whilst his brother and the other boys at play-time were at bandy or other games, he was behind the door ciphering. But one instance of youthful ebullition is handed down while at that school, and that was his romping with one of the largest girls; this was so unusual that it excited no little comment among the other lads."

This Willis MS. proves that George Washington went to school in Fredericksburg. That, indeed, was but natural, for the farm where his boyhood was passed is within easy reach of the town. Among his schoolmates were some who afterward gained distinction under his command. Mr. Lossing's notion that Mary Washington's mother was born in Cookham, England, has been disproved by my brother, Richard Conway, who examined original documents connected with the subject. Colonel Joseph Ball, her father, married his first wife in England, and she died there, leaving him a son and four daughters. Before marrying his second wife in Lancaster, Virginia, he distributed some property to his daughters by the first wife. One deed, for 190 acres, to his son-in-law, Raleigh Chinn, is dated February 12, 1703, and witnessed by George Finch, Mary Johnson, and Edward Jefferys. On June 25, 1711, his will is dated, and on July 11 admitted to probate in Lancaster County. In it, after large devises of lands and slaves to his five children by the first wife, he writes: "Item, I give and bequeath to my loving wife Mary Ball, the feather-bed, bolsters and all the furniture thereto belonging, whereon I now lie in my own lodging chamber, as it stands and is now used, and all the chairs in the house which are single nailed." He then devises to her land, slaves, crops, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, stills, a chaise and harness, and an "Irish woman, by the name of Ellen Grafton, for the time she has to serve." He then devises to Mary, his only child by his second wife (Washington's mother), "400 acres of land in Richmond county, in ye freshes of Rappahn. River &c." Next we find: "Item, I give and bequeath unto Eliza Johnson, ye daughter of my beloved wife 100 acres of land, or what it is, more or less, that I bought of Webb Lux late of this county." From this it appears that Colonel Joseph Ball married for his second wife Mary Johnson, a widow of Lancaster, with a daughter named Eliza; that by this second wife he had one child, born some time between 1703 and 1711, and named Mary, who became the wife of Augustine Washington.*

It may be that some future antiquarian will trace the path connecting the ancient village of Washington, Northumberland, England, to the parish of Washington, originally in Northumberland, Virginia. The former possesses fabulous fame as the place where the Knight of Lambton slew a dragon which desolated the country; the latter bears the name of a man through whom the fable, which may have fired the heart of some remote ancestor, was fulfilled.† The father of Washington owned a good property in Stafford besides his place at Fredericksburg, and he was interested, as we have seen, in an iron furnace. George Washington's precocity was not stimulated by poverty. His boyhood was passed in an interval of peace, except for the fierce conflict of sects brought on by the preaching of Whitfield and the presbyterian Samuel Davies. As for the Indians, their tomahawk was buried, as, indeed, were most of themselves. The old fort at Falmouth, as Governor Dinwiddie wrote, was long destroyed.* Two fairs per annum had been authorized for Fredericksburg (1738). The two towns had been largely settled by thrifty Scotchmen, who rapidly grew rich. The town attracted men of high intelligence. Dr. John Tennent, an able physician and botanist, who introduced Seneca snake-root in the treatment of pleurisy, wrote at Fredericksburg his important treatises, one of which was published by Dr. Richard Meade in Edinburgh (1738), and in the same city and in New York in 1842. He married a daughter of Rev. Archibald Campbell, brother of Alexander Campbell, father of the poet. Alexander was an early settler at Falmouth, where his wife was born. One of the poet's brothers, Robert, married a daughter of Patrick Henry, and Thomas was much grieved that he also could not reside in Virginia.

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* See *Washington Post*, October 11, 1886. It is a curious thing to find Colonel Ball's gift to his son-in-law Chinn attested by Mary Johnson, who presently became his wife. Could she have been his housekeeper? The gifts to his children look as if he were conciliating his family. For many years one of the "characters" in Fredericksburg was a witty auctioneer named Gabriel Johnson, who was wont to summon people to his mart with Mary Washington's dinner-bell, and I have heard it suggested that he was a connection of her family.

† Mr. Alexander Brown, of Nelson County, Va., has unearthed the curious fact that in November, 1650, one George Washington was charged before the Bermuda Assizes with treason, for saying that "the King has sould his subjects to Popery" and "the King was a Rogue and deserved to be hanged 7 years ago." George Washington was found guilty, but an appeal to England was granted. Mr. Brown points out that when the Virginia Company sold the Bermudas to the Somer Islands Company, they had to make good a deficiency of land by allotments in Virginia. By a paper filed at Whitehall (July 28, 1639), it appears that the consequent migration from the Bermudas was to lands "situate betwixt the Rapahanock and Patowmeck." It is possible that one of the two Mildred Washingtons married by Harry Willis, the founder of Fredericksburg, was descended from this audacious anti-royalist of the Bermudas. There were several Washingtons in Stafford—Colonel William, Lawrence, Robert—whom the great General esteemed. The former he regarded as a relative, apparently without knowing the relationship.

TOMB OF MARY WASHINGTON.

As the boy Washington watched the ships sailing past his home, the desire to go to sea grew within him; his mother would not allow him to accept the midshipman's warrant offered when he was fifteen, but was, no doubt, proud when, at seventeen, he was appointed by Lord Fairfax surveyor of the Northern Neck. It was a curious Nemesis that the high-handed donation of that region to Culpeper, the courtier, should have brought it into the hands of a nobleman at whose feet Washington learned a radicalism foreign to his own temperament. Although, when the final struggle came, Lord Fairfax adhered to the crown, and his estates were confiscated, his influence fostered the independent spirit of the Northern Neck—the cradle of the Revolution in Virginia.

One need only peruse the *Dinwiddie Papers* to know what leading part Fredericksburg and Falmouth bore in the English war against the French and their Indian allies. The supplies largely came thence, both of provisions and soldiers; also several leading officers were from these towns and their vicinity. In the year 1756, Stafford had a population of about 2,000 whites and a somewhat larger number of negroes, and Spottsylvania about the same. The wealth of the two towns—which might now be regarded as one—was large enough to attract the hungry eyes of royalty in England. The Stamp Act met with prompt and uncompromising resistance. The justices of Stafford resigned in a body, and sent to Governor Fauquier an address (dated October 5, 1765), in which they say: "Our County seal is his late Majesty sitting on his throne, with Justice and Mercy supporting his crown over his head, and this invaluable chapter of Magna Charta (which L^{d}. Coke says in his comment on the statute ought to be engraved in letters of gold in every Court of justice for its motto): 'We will deny or delay no one justice'—which we are firmly persuaded is inconsistent with the Stamp Act." * This is signed by Peter and Travers Daniel, Wm. Bronaugh, J. Alexander (Burgess 1767–75), Wm. Brent (descendant of the famous Giles Brent, Lord of Kent Island, Maryland), J. Mercer, author of *Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia*, and founder of a distinguished family, Thomas Ludwell Lee, member of the Convention of 1776, and judge of the General Court, Samuel Selden, Gowry Waugh, Thos. Fitzhugh, of Boscobel, near Fredericksburg, and Robert Washington, to whom General Washington bequeathed a spy-glass and gold-headed cane.

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* *Dinwiddie Papers*, II. 475. Admirably edited and annotated by Dr. Brock, 1884.

In this emergency of the Stamp Act, the town of Falmouth, which had perhaps a thousand inhabitants, formed a committee, and moved with such energy as to elicit a snub from Richard Henry Lee, who, in a letter preserved in the Philadelphia Phil. Soc. Library, writes: "When a Committee has already been chosen for the County of King George by the Freeholders after full and fair and sufficient notice it is surely subversive of every idea of propriety that a small village like Falmouth should presume to have a Committee of their own partial and private election." Whether because they heard of this movement in Falmouth, or for other reasons, the British Government repealed the Stamp Act, but with a declaration of their right "to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatever." This, too, was soon to be tested.

The society gathered at Fredericksburg about this time was unique. Mrs. Washington had moved, about 1750, to her house in Fredericksburg, not very far from Kenmore, where her daughter Betty (Mrs. Fielding Lewis) resided. Colonel Fielding Lewis, a worthy magistrate and legislator, owned half the town. St. George's Church, built in 1732, had grown strong under a succession of brilliant clergymen—Patrick Henry, uncle of the famous statesman, James Marye, a Huguenot refugee, who was transformed to an Episcopalian and preached there thirty-two years, and an eloquent son of the latter, bearing the same name. There could hardly be imagined men more adapted to keep alive the spirit of independence. The descendants of Governor Spottswood resided there, as indeed they do to this day.

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* It is worth noting that in the course of this address these magistrates mention as articles supplied to the mother country tobacco, wines, flax, hemp, silk, iron and potash. All of these industries flourished in Virginia. Wine was made by the Huguenots.

There were two families of Mercers in the place. One was that of the celebrated General Hugh Mercer, who, after his eminent service at Pittsburg and elsewhere in the Indian and French wars, had settled down to a large medical practice. Hugh Mercer had fought for the Pretender at Culloden (1745), then fled to Fredericksburg, where he was the hero of George Washington, aged 14, under whom he was destined to do heroic service. He was in the Indian wars ten years later, was wounded at Fort Duquesne, and barely escaped capture. Mr. Dreer, of Philadelphia, has a letter by him, dated Fredericksburg, May 16, 1767, acknowledging his election as a Corresponding Member of the Philadelphia Medical Society, and giving some interesting information as to the methods he had used in certain diseases to which his neighborhood was liable. The fine face which the pencil of Trumbull has preserved of this brave general, who fell at Princeton (January 3, 1777), bears a resemblance to some members of another family of Mercers, though the relationship between them has not been traced. These were descended from an Irish gentleman of wealth who settled in Stafford, 1720. One of his sons, Lieutenant-Colonel John Fenton Mercer, raised a squadron of horse in that county at his own expense, fought beside Lafayette, and sat in the Constitutional Convention.* Colonel George Mercer, who had been solicitor in London for the Ohio Land Company of Stafford, was appointed Stamp Collector, but soon resigned (*Emmet MS.*). The house of the Mercers at Fredericksburg was called St. James. Here Judge Mercer, whose name is attached to Mary Washington's will, dispensed a grand hospitality. He married a Miss Dick of Fredericksburg. To Captain Charles Dick, chiefly was entrusted the manufactory of arms established at Fredericksburg in July, 1775. General George Weeden, made Brigadier-General Feb. 21, 1777, had been host of the "Rising Sun Hotel," where he had often entertained Colonel George Washington and other distinguished gentlemen of the neighborhood—among them Richard Henry Lee, who organized the anti-Stamp-Act Association, and young George Mason, who had talked his Declaration of Rights a score of times at the "Rising Sun" before he put it on paper. Dr. Smyth, in his book of travels in America (London, 1784), says that he stopped at the hotel kept by George Weeden, "who was then very active and zealous in blowing the flames of sedition." James Madison, born at Port Conway, near by, liked to visit the town of culture and fashion. It had a Jockey Club. Freemasonry was also one of its fashions. Washington was initiated into the Lodge there November 4, 1752, and made a Master Mason the year following. Fredericksburg was the Masonic centre for twelve counties. The Lodge was a nest of "treason." It is not wonderful that in such a community the revolutionary spirit was found already panoplied when Lord Dunmore removed the gunpowder from Williamsburg to his man-of-war. Six hundred men then armed themselves and offered their services to defend their capital. A council was held, and on April 29, 1775, a Declaration of Independence for Virginia and her sister colonies was passed, concluded with the words: "GOD SAVE THE LIBERTIES OF AMERICA."

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* His daughter Margaret impoverished herself by liberating her slaves, and supported herself by teaching until her death in 1840.

Moncure D. Conway

JOHN VAN BUREN

A STUDY IN BY-GONE POLITICS

II

De Witt Clinton finished a career not more remarkable for its political prominence than for the variety of its fortunes, on the 11th of February, 1828. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the last year of his fourth gubernatorial term. Not only the father of the "Big Ditch," as the Erie Canal was contemptuously styled by those who opposed the policy of its construction and maintenance, before it had verified the predictions of its promoters and become a chief factor in the development of Central New York, he was the last great example of pedigree in the politics of his State; for, until about 1801, the history of New York politics was little more than that of the struggles for supremacy of a triumvirate of clans—the Livingstons, Schuylers, and Clintons, made possible by the smallness of the population and the limitation of suffrage to freeholders. But Clinton's political methods, when he secured control, reflected the qualities of his character, and assumed too much of the savor of patroon dictation to conciliate and subordinate the younger and ambitious element of his party. His nature was haughty and domineering, his manner repellent and overbearing, his temper irascible and violent. He could endure neither rivalry nor opposition, and a quarrelsome and combative disposition led him continually into breaches with his nearest friends. Not a man of profound abilities, the vicissitudes of his public life can only be explained by the element of luck; for we may well distrust the statesmanship, as well as the ambition, of one who could exchange his seat in the national Senate, although itself purchased by a deal, for the position of local boss afforded by the mayoralty of New York city, also obtained by bargain, and the management of the corrupt and unscrupulous Council of Appointment—the disposer, during its existence, of more patronage than is even now possessed by the President of the United States.

It was inevitable that leadership, or rather despotism, of such a sort as De Witt Clinton's should produce friction and discontent. And it did. It generated the converse methods of Martin Van Buren, and formulated the modern political art. Faction began, organized, and rapidly developed; and from 1817, the beginning of Clinton's first term as governor, until his death, war between the "Clintonians" and the "Bucktails," as the adherents of Tammany and Van Buren were termed, was waged with all the energy and animosity that belong to factional broils. The alleged principle of the "Bucktail" opposition was the disapproval of the Canal policy, but the spirit of it was hatred of Clinton and all his works. To overthrow him they intrigued and dickered. To gain strength, in the beginning, they joined hands with every political guerrilla who could be induced to find an object in the union. They possessed no scruples and neglected no means. They succeeded, and so thoroughly that he became a political outcast, discountenanced and deserted by his party. But in the zest of victory they carried their advantage too far; they adopted the same plan of proscription that was afterward practiced upon Van Buren in reference to his mission to England, and with a similar effect. In 1824, without motive or excuse that was justifiable, they ejected Clinton summarily from the office of Canal Commissioner, the sole remnant of his vanished power. This produced a revulsion of feeling. He was re-adopted by his party, and in the same year triumphantly elected governor, and again re-elected in 1826.

His death was opportune to the "Bucktails," and left them in full possession of the field. He had been the first prominent politician of his State to favor the candidacy of Andrew Jackson for President, and bid fair, had he lived, to obtain much the same influence with him that soon was gained by Van Buren, whose tactics at this juncture, in changing from Crawford to Jackson, displayed his rare acuteness and dexterity. Thus, for some time to come, the Regency was omnipotent, and the party breach was closed. Such was the immediate origin of the spirit of faction, sometimes dormant, but never dead, which has been the bane of the Democratic party in the State of New York.

Factions, it may be supposed, have their philosophy, as well as the parties which they agitate and divide. The political divisions of a French legislative chamber, Right and Right-Centre, Left and Left-Centre, aptly illustrate the relations between parties and the elements, the internal parties, of which they themselves are composed, ranging in opinion from the extreme of conservatism to the opposite extremity of radicalism. But factions are more often based upon motives of personal advantage, or, in modern phrase, the desire of cliques to "control the organization" of their party, than upon the principles of economy or problems of government, upon which the ablest minds may differ. Even in the latter view, the difference in opinion between the wings of the same party cannot be wide while they hold, as they must, to a common political creed. In no large sense, therefore, can factional strife be justified upon any theory of statesmanship. It is necessarily of a lower grade than party contests, and is generally as much without rational palliation as it is without the spirit of concord. But aside from the important consequences these dissensions frequently entail—for in politics nothing is without weight—they form the spice of political history, and disclose what small things even great men can do for the sake of personal power.

Until 1837 there was more or less harmony in the Democratic ranks, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, the Regency was dominant, and minorities were ignored. The policy of the new *régime* was both provident and pacific. The central power was now a sort of bureaucracy. It was watchful of new talent in every quarter, and always solicitous to compliment it with attention or reward it with office; for the prospect of place has ever possessed the virtue of restraining erratic movements. Whenever possible, the course it pursued was to evade decided action or attitude in relation to every important subject in which there might lurk a contingency of friction or unpopularity; or, according to the definition originally laid down by Martin Van Buren, the most accomplished master of the art, its methods were "non-committal." In 1835, however, the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights party arose, and gave promise of a serious inroad upon the strength of the Democratic party; but, two years later, it was adroitly led back into the fold by the position taken by Van Buren, the President, at the opening of the "panic session" of Congress, in reference to hard money and corporations, banks in particular—opposition to special charters and paper currency being the chief principles of the new organization.

But in 1837 the Whig party, which had been steadily growing in power, gained complete control of the State legislature, and in the following year elected William H. Seward governor, defeating Marcy, who had been the successful opponent of the former in 1836. Seward held the office until 1842, two successive terms. This result was due to several causes—a variety of divisions in the Democratic party, less seen on the surface than in the election returns, aided by insubordination in several of the western counties, which for a long period were known as the "infected district." This latter element was the continuation of the old pro-Clinton faction, still hostile to the Regency, but chiefly active under the banner of Anti-Masonry. It was this situation of affairs that gave the electoral vote of the State to Harrison in 1840. But that great Whig victory soon turned to ashes. Death proved more disastrous to that party than Democracy; as, upon Harrison's demise, Tyler's defection was fatal to its newly gained ascendency. His treachery, for his course deserves no other appellation, wrested from it the patronage of New York State, and, in 1841, restored to the Democrats the command of the legislature, a triumph as complete as it was unexpected. On the first of January, 1843, William C. Bouck, a Democrat, assumed the gubernatorial chair.

It has seemed needful, for the sake of clearness, to give this account of the lineage of the struggle in which John Van Buren now found himself. But it is difficult in the space of a half-dozen paragraphs to present even a bird's-eye view of the intricacies and transitions which marked the politics of this period. The influences were as varied as the interests, and the interests as selfish as they were active. Modern politics, with all their wrangling and contention, are tame, for the most part, beside the exciting performances during the first forty years of the Constitution. To call them animated, merely, would be as inadequate as to call the Deluge damp. Twenty times, during the first session of Congress, the Vice-President threw the casting vote. Jackson, when a Representative, voted "No" on a resolution of thanks to Washington, the retiring President. Washington could call Jefferson a "profound hypocrite," and Adams could characterize Hamilton as a trickster and a traitor. Leaders of fine natural parts arose, and became free-lances in the political field. Many were in politics as the Hessians were in war. Aaron Burr, brilliant, audacious, and crafty, feared of men and beloved of women, had flamed like a meteor in the political zenith, had been Vice-President, had come within a single vote of being President, but, like the meteor, had suddenly gone out in the darkness of ignominy and disgrace. It was only now that the two great party creeds can be said to have developed their fixed and recognized distinctions. The science of party organization was only now introducing those elements of stability upon which the calculations of a canvass could be framed. The time had nearly passed when a senator of New York held a position below that of governor. Politics, like the general government, were becoming national in the sense that they are national to-day. The leaders were beginning to perceive and to weigh the relations and interdependence between State and national politics; and it may not be extravagant to say that this nationalization of politics was of no slight influence in the federalizing of the Union. Than John Van Buren, no man was better versed in the ins and outs of this political period. During the latter part of it, he had not only been a spectator, but, as we have seen, an observer from the inside, a politician in training.

The struggle in which he first actively engaged had now begun. The first symptoms of it had been seen in the legislature of the preceding year. It was over the old Canal question, furthered by the chronic tendency of the party to discord, manifested so often before. The conservative faction, known as the Hunkers, favored not only the completion of the public works, then in process of construction, but the commencement of others that promised eventual profit, although they disclaimed the desire of largely increasing the public debt. All this the Radicals rigidly opposed. They would begin no more public works that would not insure immediate self-support. And more than that, they divined the scheme of charging the canals with the special revenues which had already been applied to their construction, and called this a debt to the general fund, proposing to pay it before going any deeper. During Seward's administration the canal debt had been greatly increased. This fact had much to do with restoring the legislature of 1842 to the Democrats, and brought on a prolonged discussion of the State finances which resulted in the passage of what was called the "Stop and Tax Law," a Radical measure devised by Flagg, the comptroller, suspending the completion of the unfinished public works, and devoting a portion of the canal revenues to a sinking fund to pay the existing debt. It was with considerable reluctance that the leading Conservatives were induced to vote for it; but they did, which formed the basis of much future wrangling.

Although Bouck had been beaten in 1840 he had run some 4,000 votes ahead of the electoral ticket, and was consequently looked upon as a candidate for renomination. But the Radicals favored Silas Wright. He declined to run, however, and Bouck was renominated, somewhat against their wishes. But the factions, only now beginning to take distinctive form, were united by the adoption of resolutions pledging the party to the financial policy embodied in the "Stop and Tax Law."

Nevertheless, with his election, the time had come for a break. Bouck's affiliations, such as he had, had always been more or less with Van Buren. But the Hunkers were now ranging themselves against the Regency, and the course of the Radicals, who ere long composed what was left of it, in opposing Bouck's nomination, doubtless had the effect of increasing his incipient estrangement from them. At any rate, he soon found himself in the Hunker camp. He was not a strong man, but a fair type of the fortunate politician, both in that day and in this. Until the age of twenty-two he had worked on his father's farm, and professed pride to the last in the fact—for it was useful among the rural voters—that no laborer around him had toiled harder than he. Yet he took an early interest in politics, and became successively town-clerk, sheriff, assemblyman, senator, and canal commissioner, which latter office he held for nineteen years, until he was ousted by the Whig legislature of 1840. He desired at first to heal the difference, but this was impossible. It was a quarrel he did not cause and could not cure. It was like a rheum in the blood. So he did the next best thing, or, rather, attempted to do it; he allied himself more closely with the Hunkers. But the alliance was impotent from his lack of political tact. While he filled most of the offices at his command with Hunkers, he failed to strengthen himself or his faction. In a political sense, his appointments were injudicious, and, thus wasting the power of his friends, he lost caste with them, as well as the respect of his enemies. Politicians accept the ways of politics, and admire foemen worthy of their steel. The Radicals made no such mistake. They had control of the canal board, and employed its patronage, although it was much less than that possessed by the governor, with such skill and effect that they soon arrayed against his administration a large portion, if not a majority, of the party. The collision between him and the State officials of the Radical stripe soon grew acrimonious and notorious.

But it was in the legislature that the factional war was seen to the best advantage. During the sessions of 1843 and 1844 it nearly usurped the law-making function of that body; and, as commonly is the case, the strife was over the loaves and fishes. The chief clash in the beginning was over the appointment of State printer. Croswell was again anxious for a place which was so pecuniarily and politically desirable. He had latterly drifted toward the Hunkers, being liberally disposed in relation to internal improvements, and was therefore strenuously opposed by the Radicals—but without success. A similar contest, although with a different result, was made over the office of attorney-general. When the Democrats went out of power, Samuel Beardsley, since known as an able jurist, held that office. He went out of place with his party, and now wished to be reinstated. But he was not—he had opposed the re-election of Silas Wright for senator in 1837.

During all this wrangle, the maneuvers of the Whigs were dexterous and efficient. They held the balance of power, and yet, with numberless opportunities, they never once blundered. Their object was extremely simple—to increase the split in their opponents; but to succeed was not equally simple. They saw at once the impolicy of acting uniformly with either of the contending factions, and, mindful of this, their course was masterly. In the senate, most of the nominations of Bouck that were distasteful to the Radicals they quietly turned in and helped reject. But on questions of finance and internal improvements they voted with the Hunkers. And, as the temperate but tedious Hammond observes, they were probably as sincere in their operations as either portion of the Democratic party.

The year 1844 is one of historical prominence. It may be said to mark the beginning of a sub-epoch in our political annals. It was then that the antislavery sentiment was for the first time an operative factor in a presidential election. In May of that year, Henry Clay was nominated for President by the last really representative convention of his party. But the nomination came too late; the party which owed its strength and existence in no small degree to his personality and his labors had delayed this recognition of its chief too long. The "Texas question," at bottom the new element that was to shape the politics of a long period to come, proved as fatal to his election as it did to the renomination of Martin Van Buren.

That question, it has been said, was the first upon which Van Buren showed that he could possess principles paramount to his political interests. He avowedly opposed the annexation of Texas, and it cost him the nomination, although he was beaten in convention by the "two-thirds rule." His power had now begun to weaken in his State. The factional war, growing in bitterness and energy, was rapidly absorbing the neutrals. Upon the "Texas question" Croswell had broken with Van Buren, and carried with him a powerful following. The Southern influence was insidiously permeating the politics of the North. But in this beginning of the new power its future was not foreseen. Silas Wright was blind to it; for, notwithstanding the defeat of Van Buren, with whom he had always been in close accord, he lent the support of his high character to the election of Polk. He withdrew from the Senate, his most congenial sphere, to carry New York State for the Democrats by running as their candidate for governor. The factions united upon him, one from preference, the other from policy. He was easily elected, and his personal success carried with it that of the electoral ticket.

This was the situation of affairs when John Van Buren received his first and only office. From 1840, he had been one of the most marked figures in political circles. His presence was potent in nearly every convention, and his bland but convulsing wit enlivened every political canvass. He naturally sided with the Radicals, and quickly became one of their "managers." And the same qualities which gave him force in politics had a like effect in law; he was already one of the most brilliant advocates of his day. Thus, at the opening of the legislature of 1845, which was still Democratic, his legal reputation and his strength among the Radicals made him the candidate of that faction for the office of attorney-general.

It may be interesting to note that Horatio Seymour was made speaker of the Assembly, always a position of great political influence. He now shared with Croswell the leadership of the Hunkers, who, with the aid of a few of the "moderates," gave him a slight majority in the caucus. He had entered the contest with considerable reluctance, since his faction was slightly outnumbered by the Radicals; but, once in, he spared no pains to win; he felt that his future hinged upon the result. He had made his advent into public life in 1842, as a member of that body, at the age of thirty-one. His family connections were high and wealthy. His tastes were refined and scholarly, and his education complete. He pursued the study of the law until admission to the bar; soon after which both his father and the father of his wife, a gentleman of great wealth, died, and he abandoned practice for the management of their extensive estates. Until 1842 he kept quite aloof from politics; and his consent in that year to run for the Assembly was gratifying to the Democratic party, which regarded his active support as a valuable acquisition to its strength, as well for his character and attainments as for his wealth and social position. He served in that capacity until the time of which we speak. He represented a pronounced Hunker district, and during his legislative service had acted uniformly with that faction, although no member of it with anything like his prominence and ability was less disliked by the Radicals, or would arouse less bitter opposition. This was due not only to his conciliatory manners and a graceful readiness to yield in small things, which always renders opposition less offensive, but to his solid acquirements and brilliant talents, which soon made him a representative of the Democratic party as a whole; for it must be remembered that, as a rule, in general elections and on main issues, the *party* divisions were never more vigorous and defined. He at once gained distinction in debate. His manner was forceful and pleasing, his style finished and scholarly, and less given to latinity than that of most public speakers without literary training. Moreover, few statesmen or political orators have developed in a more marked and serviceable degree the ability to talk much and well upon occasion without "committing themselves;" and perhaps no quality better illustrates the secret of his continued power and standing in his party until he died in ripe age, the lamented "Sage of Deerfield."

Thus, with Seymour as speaker, the Radicals were compelled to put forth extra efforts to carry the legislative caucus held soon after. How closely balanced was the division may be seen in the fact that the several nominations were made by majorities ranging from one to five. And it was a majority of one upon a most exciting vote that made John Van Buren attorney-general of the State.

During his two years' administration of that office he added largely to his legal reputation by the part he took in several trials which attracted wide-spread interest. Those cases, among others, arising out of the anti-rent disturbances had considerable political significance. They had a colonial origin. The Dutch West India Company, by virtue of its patent, established in the New Netherlands the feudal system of the United Provinces. It granted extensive tracts of land to patroons, whose descendants, in many instances, retained their proprietary ownership until the period now in question. These lands were rented under conditions as strict and severe as any which marked the feudal systems of Europe. This tenure of these vast manorial estates continued until after the Revolution; and, notwithstanding the enactment of laws abolishing the system, the patroons, unwilling to yield their sovereignty, contrived by legal ingenuity to retain by a form of deed the spirit and chief advantages of the old institution. All this created a growing discontent. The terms of the landlords were arbitrary and exacting. The tenants could not buy, for the patroon would never sell. There was no relief in the courts, for the manorial titles had been sustained. Political agitation was the consequence. In 1839, societies were formed to secure relief from these burdens, and soon developed into a distinct political party; and so strong did the "Anti-Renters" become that they openly resisted the service of legal process to collect the manorial rents. The excitement grew intense. Bands of organized and disguised marauders, by the most outrageous murders and depredations, forestalled the methods of the Ku-Klux Klan. In 1845, so violent was their action that the County of Delaware was declared by the governor to be in a state of insurrection. Prosecutions were instituted for murder, conspiracy, and resistance to law; and it was due in no small degree to the persistence and advocacy of John Van Buren that the offenders were convicted in the very stronghold of their power, and an end put to that side of the anti-rent agitation.

Another noted trial in which he engaged was that of the negro Freeman, for murder, the *cause célèbre* of the time. He had killed, under circumstances of the most aggravated atrocity, an entire family by the name of Van Nest—father, mother, three children, and their grandmother. The defense was insanity, and his counsel was William H. Seward. Not only was the defense somewhat of a novelty at that period, but Seward's high standing, professionally and politically, gave the case a notoriety that otherwise it would not have attained. Seward was now forty-five, an ex-governor, and one of the ablest lawyers in the State. He graduated from Union College in 1820, and after a three years' preparation with the most favorable opportunities, he came to the bar and settled in practice at Auburn. His early professional career was characterized by the most thorough and painstaking devotion, so much so, that his insistence in details and minutiæ gave him the sobriquet of "Small Potatoes" Seward. But, like all lawyers, of the time, he took an immediate interest in political affairs; and his suavity, sagacity, and power of speech soon obtained for him recognition and influence. Until 1828 he supported John Quincy Adams; but the defeat of the latter in that year virtually disbanded the National Republican party, as it was called, in Western New York. This, of course, compelled a change of allegiance, and Seward, together with Thurlow Weed and Millard Fillmore, joined the Anti-Masonic party, which the famous Morgan abduction gave rise to; and in 1830 he was elected to the State senate by a union of that party with what remained of the National Republicans. He served in the senate until 1834, when the Anti-Masons and the National Republicans became the Whig party of the State. In his opposition to the Democratic party he may also have been influenced by a circumstance that occurred in 1827. He had always been an admirer of De Witt Clinton, and, although he had never acted openly with Clinton, his name was proposed to the senate for the appointment of surrogate of his county. The nomination was rejected by the friends of Van Buren, who were soon to rule the party. From this time Seward was anything but a Democrat, and after the formation of the Whig party his advance was rapid and commanding.

His connection with the Freeman case had a double significance. The defense of insanity being interposed for almost the first time in the history of the criminal law of the State, if not of the United States, it would add to his professional reputation; and the prisoner being a negro, his efforts would be politically operative with the "abolition" element now beginning to manifest itself. Seward, indeed, had owed his election as governor to no slight extent to the aid he received from that source, and he was paving his way to the most advanced principles of the future Republican party. Few accounts of Seward omit the part he took in this trial. He was assigned by the court to defend the prisoner, and the enormous labor he bestowed upon the case from first to last, and to the seeming neglect of his large practice, won him many admirers. His efforts were able, and his final address to the jury almost a forensic masterpiece. He was gracious and graceful in manner, and smooth but telling in style. He possessed the art of always dignifying his subject, and of making a speech that both sounded well and read well. It was under these circumstances that the attorney-general was induced to assist in the trial. The case had progressed some way before he arrived, to the discomfiture of the district attorney, according to tradition. John is said to have entered the court-house without ceremony, and, without previous special study, to have conducted the examination of expert witnesses on the question of insanity with a skill that was often confounding to them as well as to the counsel for the defense. His memory was prodigious, and its possessions always at easy command. Spectators of the trial still tell of the readiness with which he supplied from recollection authorities that Seward was unable to quote from research. And it need only be said in this place that in the trade of appealing to juries he has seldom been surpassed. At all events, it is still a lingering tradition that in the "Prince" the "Governor" found more than his match. The negro was convicted; but upon appeal the conviction was reversed. He died before a re-trial, and an examination of his brain left no doubt of his insanity—Seward losing nothing by the result.

At the end of his term as attorney-general, which lasted two years, he removed to the city of New York, which he henceforth made his home. But during that period the situation of his party was rapidly approaching a crisis.

Governor Wright was at once beset with the same difficulties which had harassed and terminated Bouck's administration. While he had been nominated by the Radicals and was known to be in sympathy with them, he nevertheless, like Bouck, attempted at first to be neutral. For several years preceding his election there had been a growing sentiment in favor of revising the constitution, which, among other things, the anti-rent excitement and a general revolt against the centralized method of appointments had produced. The question had also been one of the main bones of contention in the Democratic party. In preceding legislatures, amendments to the constitution had been proposed by the Radicals, chiefly relating to the submission of propositions to increase the public debt by a popular vote; but they had always been defeated by a combination of the Hunkers and the Whigs. This compelled the Radicals to insist upon a constitutional convention. The Hunkers then proposed that all the amendments made by the convention should be separately submitted to the people; this was defeated by the Whigs and Radicals, and the convention bill was passed. Thus the Whigs, by dancing first on one leg and then on the other, succeeded in their desire for a convention, and of increasing the hostility between the Democratic factions.

At first the governor was opposed to the revision, which had the effect of strengthening the hands of the Hunkers. He finally concluded, however, to sign the bill, and this connected him with the Radical interest; an identification made complete by his veto of a bill which had been passed by the Whigs and the Hunkers, making appropriations for the continuation of work upon the canals, and which he deemed in conflict with the "Stop Law" of 1842. Between him and the Hunkers there was henceforth no more peace.

The Radicals about this time assumed another name. They had advocated many of the most far-reaching changes made by the new constitution, declaring land tenures allodial, and limiting the duration of agricultural leases; erecting single legislative districts; destroying the judicial function of the Senate and abolishing the Court of Chancery; establishing the Supreme Court, and making all the judges elective; making laws of incorporation general, and forbidding State debt except by popular vote. They were charged with the design of destroying all the old institutions for the sake of a few improvements. Their opponents applied to them the story of the farmer who burned his barns to kill the rats, and they accordingly became "Barn-Burners."

In 1846 they were strong enough to force Wright's renomination, but they could not re-elect him. The feud was too bitter and the Whigs too strong. John Young, to whose skill and engineering the course of the Whigs through all this strife was chiefly due, was nominated by that party. The Anti-Renters rallied to his support. Wright had elected Polk, but, under the pressure of the Southern Democracy, Polk had now forsaken him, and the Hunkers followed suit. He was hopelessly beaten, and in the following year he died. A few weeks later the Democratic nominations were made by the Hunker faction, but they in turn were overwhelmed. Thousands of the Barn-Burners, instead of voting the ticket, cast ballots upon which was inscribed a parody of the Texan war-cry—"Remember Silas Wright!"

But the struggle now had reached a wider field.

Chas H Peck.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK.

THE WRECK OF THE SAGINAW

In October, 1870, Ocean Island was the scene of the wreck and total loss of the United States steamer *Saginaw*, commanded by Lieutenant-Commander Sicard, the present accomplished Chief of the Naval Bureau of Ordnance. A gang of contractors' men had been at work for several months, deepening the harbor of Midway Island, which is a small uninhabited spot in the north Pacific—position, latitude 28° 13′ N., longitude 177° 23′ W.

On October 28, the *Saginaw* started to return with these men to San Francisco. Before shaping his course for that place, Captain Sicard decided to call at Ocean Island, about one hundred miles to the westward of Midway, thinking that possibly some wrecked sailors might have found refuge there, and knowing that it was well out of the highway of vessels in that part of the Pacific. He expected to sight the island at daylight of the following morning, and, with that end in view, gave orders regulating the speed of the ship; but an undue and unexpected current had carried them to the westward, and, at three o'clock in the morning of the 29th, when, according to calculation, the reef should have been ten miles off, they struck thereon. The vessel, not being strongly built, broke up almost immediately, and the crew had barely time to save the ship's boats, some provisions, and a few other stores. Fortunately no lives were lost. The next day the after part of the ship was washed up on the reef by the surf.

The officers and crew were thankful to escape with their lives, but their plight was still most desperate. Here they were on a small island, hundreds of miles from any inhabited portion of the globe, and quite out of the regular track of vessels. All hands were immediately put on quarter rations, but even at this rate, they knew their provisions could last but a few months, and the birds, turtle, seal, and fish found in limited quantities would be far from sufficient to sustain life in nearly one hundred able-bodied men. At all events, a cheerful mien was assumed, a camp was established, the ship's discipline continued, and work was found for all, as the best means of diverting their minds from the perils of their situation.

It might be interesting to recount how they distilled water by means of an old boiler; how a sextant was manufactured from some of the old brass work of the ship, and how a flat-bottomed boat, forty feet long and twelve feet wide, was projected and nearly completed from the materials of the wreck, when the much longed-for succor arrived. But space will not permit this.

The day after the wreck, Lieutenant J. F. Talbot, the executive officer of the *Saginaw*, volunteered to take one of the ship's boats to Honolulu—the nearest port—there to seek the assistance which was so vitally necessary. The boat which had been the gig of the *Saginaw*, a fine-modeled whale-boat, was selected for the purpose. She was carefully prepared for the voyage, being built up on the gunwale, decked over, provisioned and watered, and furnished with chronometer, compass, navigating instruments, etc. With Lieutenant Talbot went four men, William Halford, Peter Francis, John Andrews and James Muir, all volunteers. They left Ocean Island November 18, fully aware—as sailors—of the dangers of the 1500-mile journey that lay before them. While making this passage, they had two severe gales, during which they lost their sea anchor, and then their oars and one of their sails, which had been converted into a drag. Five days after leaving, their fire was put out, and everything being wet, it was two weeks before they succeeded in getting a light, which was at last obtained by the use of one of the lenses of the binocular glasses. Their deck was leaky, much of the food was ruined by salt water, they nearly all had sieges of sickness, and all suffered from cold and want of food. During these hard weeks, Talbot was cheerful and hopeful, encouraging his men by force of his own example.

In making the land, they were a week later than they had expected to be. Owing to the lively motions of the little boat the navigating instruments only gave approximate results, so that when they supposed themselves to be off the Island of Kauai, the land which they sighted December 16, proved to be part of another group, and they had to beat up to the former. They reached this island December 18, and while attempting to run into Hanalei Bay, at 2 A. M., December 19, the boat suddenly shot into the breakers and capsized immediately. Francis and Andrews were swept away at once. Talbot attempted to climb upon the bottom of the boat, and essayed to get hold of the stern for that purpose; the sea lifted the boat; he was struck on the forehead by the stern, and swept away. Muir succeeded in reaching the shore, but soon died of exhaustion.

Such was the piteous fate of these four brave men, who, having performed this perilous voyage, voluntarily undertaken for the relief of their companions, perished literally in sight of the promised land. But Providence did not intend their noble efforts to be fruitless. Halford had climbed upon the bottom of the boat and divested himself of his clothing, and he succeeded in reaching the shore in safety. He was taken to Honolulu, where he made known to the American minister the hard straits the *Saginaw's* crew were in, and a steamer was soon under way, bound for their relief, and ultimately brought them all to Honolulu. Halford was rewarded for his courage and endurance by being made a gunner in the navy, a position which he still holds.

The boat in which this remarkable voyage was made, and the extemporized sextant mentioned above, are now at the Naval Academy, and are great objects of interest to all visitors.

Talbot graduated from the Naval Academy in 1866. He was a Kentuckian, handsome, brave and powerful, a man of the most correct habits. During his course at the academy, his mind—from the death of his mother—took a serious bent, and ever after that he was known for his unostentatious but consistent religious views. This is evident from the narrative of Halford, who states that after land was sighted, and they talked of being safe, Talbot said that he was fully prepared to die, and sure that God would take him to Himself. He was but twenty-six years old at the time of his death.

A tablet to these brave men was erected in the chapel of the Naval Academy, the inscription on which ends as follows:

> "To commemorate their adventurous voyage, in admiration of their heroism, and to keep alive the remembrance of their noble and generous devotion, this tablet is erected by their shipmates and by officers of the U. S. Navy.
>
> . . . .
>
> 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.'"

Edmund B. Underwood.
Lieutenant, U.S. Navy.

HISTORIC HOMES ON GOLDEN HILLS

WHAT AN OUT-OF-THE-WAY TOWN HAS GIVEN TO THE WORLD

The discovery of gold and the presence of a veritable gold mine in the vicinity of Plainfield, Massachusetts, has recently brought that "ancient and honorable town"—as styled by the *New York Observer* last summer—into public notice, and the spirit of inquiry is rife as to its exact whereabouts and general characteristics. For the information of those who have never perceived its geographical position on the maps of the country, it may be stated that the town is perched on a nest of hill-tops, alongside the eastern boundary of the Berkshire Hills, and that its territory is six miles long by four wide. It is blessed with an abundance of rock and forest and fresh air, and is supposed to eclipse the Berkshire towns in untillableness of soil, in remoteness from manufacture and traffic, in healthfulness of climate, and in the roughness and romantic beauty of its scenery. No unmannerly railway ever yet intruded within its limits, no car whistle ever penetrated its rural quietude. Yet railways encircle it on every side, crossing each other at many angles; and numerous railway stations flourish within easy driving distance of ten and fifteen miles, in almost any direction.

The central part of the town is high and dry, consisting chiefly of smooth table-land. It was here the first settlers planted their homes. They were a sensible, resolute, well-informed, self-respecting, and severely religious people, who gave a moral and intellectual character to the place which it has never outgrown. Plainfield is truly rich in reminiscence, richer by far than it is ever destined to be in gold mines. From its well-ordered historic homes influences have emanated affecting the destinies of millions of the great human family. It has from its earliest beginnings possessed elements of national interest. This seemingly inconsequential Massachusetts town has sent out into the world, for active, important work, more educated Christian ministers, authors, and editors than any other town of its size on the globe.

Some of the facts in this connection are marvelously interesting. Who has not heard of Rev. William Richards, whose piety, tact, and statesmanship were of such moment to the government of the Sandwich Islands in its transition from a barbaric state? He was a Plainfield lad, prepared for

Williams College in the renowned classical school taught in his own house by the first Plainfield minister, Rev. Moses Hallock. From college young Richards went to Andover for a theological course, which completing, he sailed in January, 1823, in the ship *Thames*, as a missionary to the Sandwich Islands, accompanied by his young wife. His diary, kept on that memorable voyage, a small, plainly written manuscript volume, yellowed with age, is preserved, and curiously entertaining. On the 29th of January he says: "The only thing for which this day has been remarkable has been the number of whales that have played round us—I should think a dozen at least at the same time. They were of the species called 'Finbacks,' and are never pursued by whalemen, for they run so fast when harpooned that they injure boats very badly, and they are not valuable when caught. These fish therefore play about us as much as they please unmolested. They swim near the top of the water and about once a minute come with their backs quite out of the water to breathe. We had the best possible opportunity to view them, for they sailed several times round us, as close to the ship as they could and not interfere with it. They were about sixty feet long. We could easily measure them by the ship." Mr. Richards was a close observer and jotted down everything he saw. On arriving at Honolulu, in April, he was at once invited by some of the chiefs of the island to become their personal instructor; but he was destined for Lahaina, where he lived for some time in a house of grass, without floors, windows, chimneys, or partitions. He said that his abode was as good as that of the king, with the exception that the latter was better supplied with mats for the ground. His house of worship was also the same sort of a structure. But great changes were soon to take place in that country.

Rev. William Richards was then about thirty years of age, with bright, handsome, expressive features, revealing great loveliness and integrity of character; a man of fine presence, charming in his manners, and well calculated to make friends with all classes rapidly. His religious teachings and preachings were attended with the most remarkable results. In 1825, the Rev. Mr. Dole says: "His house was thronged with inquirers after the way of salvation. When he awoke in the morning he found people waiting at the door to converse with him on the truths of the Scriptures. When they left, others took their places, so that the house was not empty till the doors were closed at night. And even then he was interrupted by calls, and not infrequently awakened at midnight by those who wished to ask questions." He was in constant association, as the years rolled on, with the king's family and the aboriginal chiefs, who were accustomed to come to him for advice in every emergency. In 1838, when he had been fifteen years at the work of civilizing and christianizing these people, and had aided in translating the Bible into their language, he entered the service of their government, at the king's request, and gave shape and direction to their politics. His first duty was to prepare a constitution and code of laws for the nation, which remain a lasting monument to his honor. He then sailed for Europe and the United States as Minister Plenipotentiary of the king, to obtain from the great powers of the earth an acknowledgment of the Sandwich Islands as an independent kingdom.

HOME OF REV. MOSES HALLOCK, PLAINFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS. HOUSE WHERE THE CLASSICAL FAMILY SCHOOL WAS TAUGHT FOR THIRTY-ONE YEARS.
[*Engraved from a Photograph.*]

This first diplomatic mission from that country, less than half a century ago, is particularly interesting at this juncture, when the United States is seeking closer commercial relations with the Hawaiian kingdom, and, as some might surmise, looking to mutual absorption. The credentials of Mr. Richards in 1842, handsomely engrossed on vellum, bearing the signature and seal of the king, are in existence, in the possession of his niece, Mrs. William Holmes Hallock, who has courteously permitted a fac-simile to be engraved for the benefit of the curious.

The translation reads:

"Kamehameha III, King of all the Hawaiian Islands, to his Excellency John Tyler, President of the United States of America.

Great and Good Friend

We have made choice of Sir George Simpson and Rev. William Richards as our Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to your Excellency.

They are especially charged concerning all the relations between this Government and your Excellency. They are both well informed of the relative interests of the two countries and of our sincere desire to cultivate and strengthen the Friendship and good feeling which has subsisted between us, and from a knowledge of their Probity, Fidelity and good Conduct we have entire confidence that they will render themselves acceptable to your Excellency by their persevering endeavors to preserve and advance the interests and happiness of both nations.

We therefore request your Excellency to receive them favorably and to give full credence to whatever they shall say on the part of our kingdom, and most of all when they shall assure you of our friendship and wishes for the prosperity of your Excellency and for the welfare of your Republic. And we pray the Almighty God to have you our Great and Good friend in his holy keeping.

Written at Lahaina Island of Maui Hawaiian Archipelago, the eighth day of April, 1842.

By Your Good Friend,

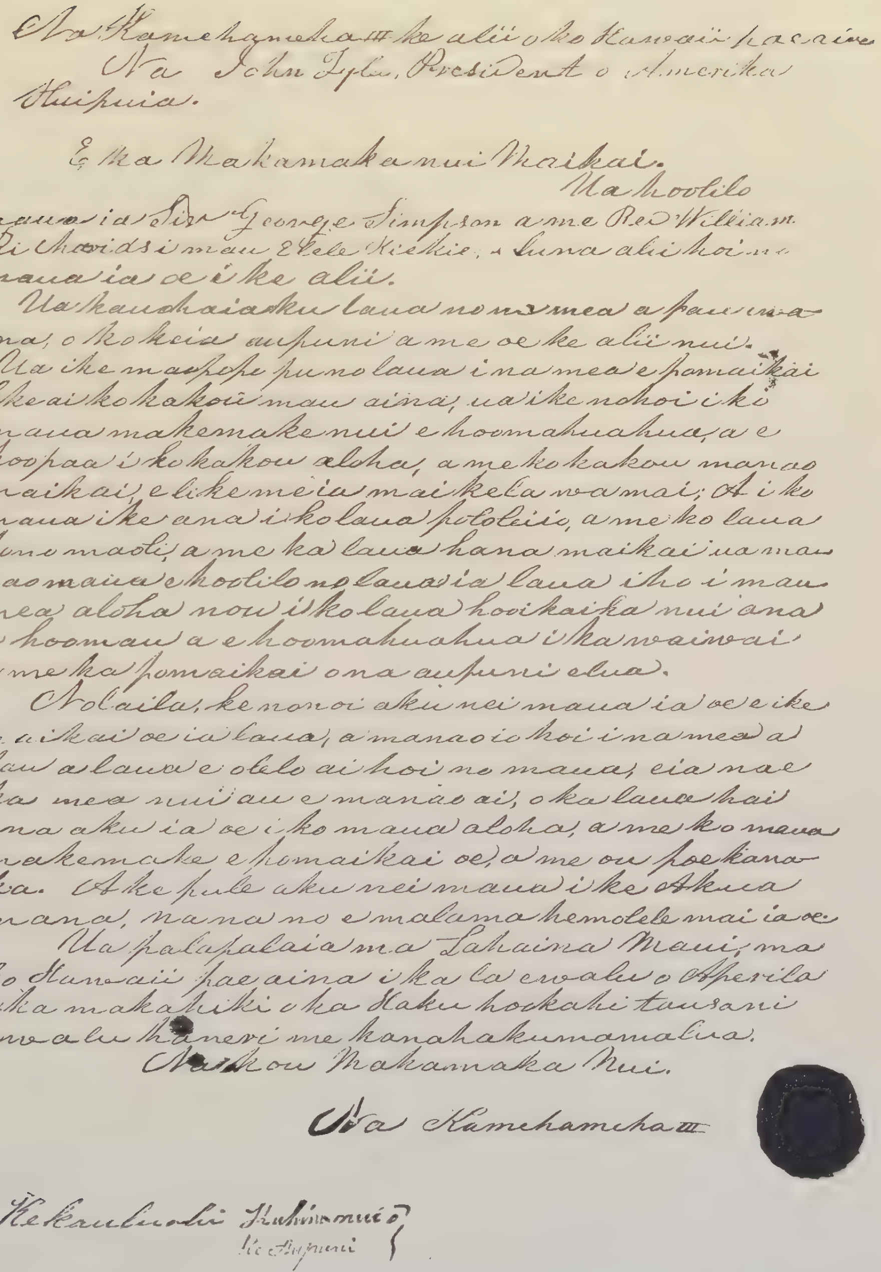
Kamehameha III.

Kekauluohi

Premier of the Kingdom.

Mr. Richards was accompanied to the United States by Prince Haalilio, the heir apparent to the Hawaiian throne, whose visit to Plainfield while in this country is well remembered, but who died at sea on the return passage. Subsequently, for several years, Mr. Richards was Minister of Public Instruction at the Sandwich Islands, and his labors were incessant. He held two services in the church on the Sabbath, and during the week, from morning till late at night, was engaged in deliberations, consultations, translations, and multifarious matters of business and benevolence. The king had perfect confidence in his judgment, and considered him his best friend. He was beloved by the natives, and trusted by all with whom he came in contact. His death, in 1847, after residing a quarter of a century among the Hawaiians, was regarded as a national bereavement. The Honolulu *Friend* which contained the oration at his funeral is a precious relic of that eventful period, and we give its heading in *fac-simile.*

" Every result has a pedigree," were the forceful words of an eminent divine a few weeks since. " No event ever stands alone, disassociated from preceding events. When a man has influenced his time, we ask, first



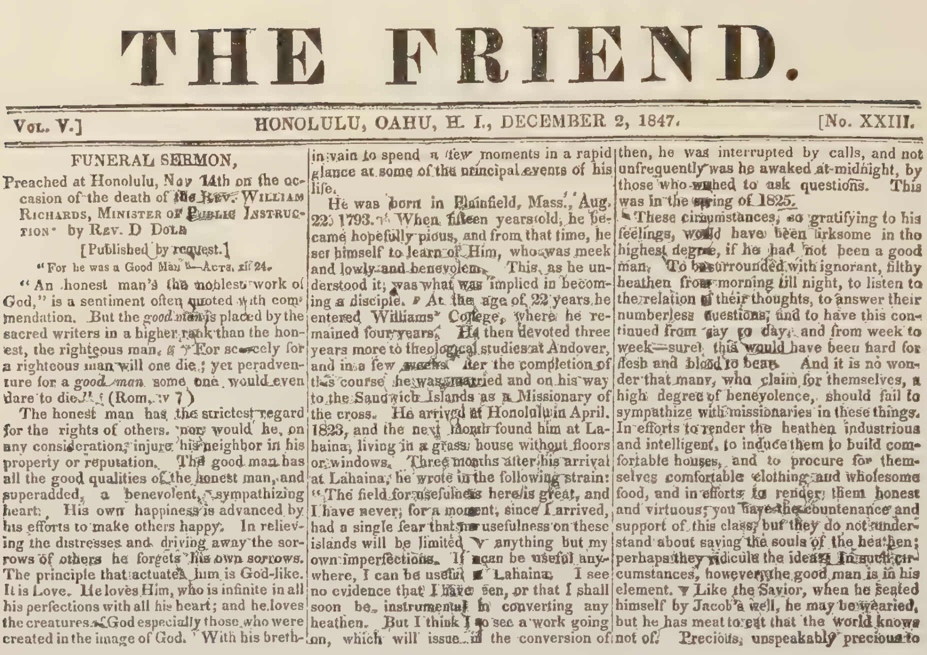
Na Kamehameha III ke alii o ko Hawaii paeaina
Na John Tyler, President o Amerika
Huipuia.

E ka Makamaka nui Maikai.
Ua hoolilo
maua ia Sir George Simpson a me Rev William
Richards i mau Elele Kiekie, a Luna alii hoi na
maua ia oe i ke alii.
Ua kauoha aku laua no na mea a pau iwa-
ena, o ko kaua aupuni a me oe ke alii nui.
Ua ike maopopo pu no laua i na mea e pomaikai
like ai ko kakou mau aina; ua ike no hoi i ko
maua makemake nui e hoomahuahua, a e
hoopaa i ko kakou aloha, a me ko kakou manao
maikai, e like me ia mai kela wa mai; A i ko
maua ike ana i ko laua pololei, a me ko laua
pono maoli, a me ka laua hana maikai ua ma-
nao maua e hoolilo no laua ia laua iho i mau
mea aloha nou i ko laua hooikaika nui ana
e hoomau a e hoomahuahua i ka waiwai
a me ka pomaikai o na aupuni elua.
No laila, ke noi aku nei maua ia oe e ike
maikai oe ia laua, a manao io hoi i na mea a
pau a laua e olelo ai hoi no maua, eia nae
ka mea nui au e manao ai, o ka laua hai
ana aku ia oe i ko maua aloha, a me ko maua
makemake e pomaikai oe, a me ou poe kana-
ka. A ke pule aku nei maua i ke Akua
mana, nana no e malama hemolele mai ia oe.
Ua palapala ia ma Lahaina Maui, ma
ko Hawaii pae aina i ka la ewalu o Aperila
i ka makahiki o ka Haku hookahi tausani
ewalu haneri me kanahakumamalua.
Na kou Makamaka Nui.

Na Kamehameha III

Kekauluohi Kuhina nui o
Ke Aupuni

FAC-SIMILE OF THE CREDENTIALS OF REV. WILLIAM RICHARDS AS MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1842.



THE FRIEND.

VOL. V.] HONOLULU, OAHU, H. I., DECEMBER 2, 1847. [No. XXIII.

FUNERAL SERMON,

Preached at Honolulu, Nov 14th on the occasion of the death of the REV. WILLIAM RICHARDS, MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION. by REV. D DOLE

[Published by request.]

"For he was a Good Man"—ACTS, xi 24.

"An honest man's the noblest work of God," is a sentiment often quoted with commendation. But the *good man* is placed by the sacred writers in a higher rank than the honest, the righteous man. "For scarcely for a righteous man will one die; yet peradventure for a *good man* some one would even dare to die." (Rom. v 7)

The honest man has the strictest regard for the rights of others. nor would he, on any consideration, injure his neighbor in his property or reputation. The good man has all the good qualities of the honest man, and superadded, a benevolent, sympathizing heart. His own happiness is advanced by his efforts to make others happy. In relieving the distresses and driving away the sorrows of others he forgets his own sorrows. The principle that actuates him is God-like. It is Love. He loves Him, who is infinite in all his perfections with all his heart; and he loves the creatures of God especially those who were created in the image of God. With his brethren in vain to spend a few moments in a rapid glance at some of the principal events of his life.

He was born in Plainfield, Mass., Aug. 22, 1793. When fifteen years old, he became hopefully pious, and from that time, he set himself to learn of Him, who was meek and lowly and benevolent. This, as he understood it, was what was implied in becoming a disciple. At the age of 22 years he entered Williams' College, where he remained four years. He then devoted three years more to theological studies at Andover, and in a few weeks after the completion of this course he was married and on his way to the Sandwich Islands as a Missionary of the cross. He arrived at Honolulu in April, 1823, and the next month found him at Lahaina, living in a grass house without floors or windows. Three months after his arrival at Lahaina, he wrote in the following strain: "The field for usefulness here is great, and I have never, for a moment, since I arrived, had a single fear that my usefulness on these islands will be limited by anything but my own imperfections. If I can be useful anywhere, I can be useful at Lahaina. I see no evidence that I have been, or that I shall soon be, instrumental in converting any heathen. But I think I do see a work going on, which will issue in the conversion of then, he was interrupted by calls, and not unfrequently was he awaked at midnight, by those who wished to ask questions. This was in the spring of 1825.

These circumstances, so gratifying to his feelings, would have been irksome in the highest degree, if he had not been a good man. To be surrounded with ignorant, filthy heathen from morning till night, to listen to the relation of their thoughts, to answer their numberless questions, and to have this continued from day to day, and from week to week—surely this would have been hard for flesh and blood to bear. And it is no wonder that many, who claim for themselves, a high degree of benevolence, should fail to sympathize with missionaries in these things. In efforts to render the heathen industrious and intelligent, to induce them to build comfortable houses, and to procure for themselves comfortable clothing and wholesome food, and in efforts to render them honest and virtuous, you have the countenance and support of this class, but they do not understand about saving the souls of the heathen; perhaps they ridicule the ideas. In such circumstances, however, the good man is in his element. Like the Savior, when he seated himself by Jacob's well, he may be wearied, but he has meat to eat that the world knows not of. Precious, unspeakably precious to

FAC-SIMILE OF THE HEADING OF THE HONOLULU PAPER CONTAINING FUNERAL SERMON.

of all, where was he trained, and who were his father and grandfather?" In turning to the boyhood home of Rev. William Richards, we find he was not the only son in a large family of clever children destined for foreign usefulness. His brother, Rev. James Richards, while in Williams College, was the leading spirit in a prayer-meeting so extraordinary in its results that its site has been commemorated by a marble monument. Five college boys, of whom he was one, met in a grove back of the college buildings to pray for the conversion of the world. While on their knees, a terrific thunder-storm burst upon them, and they crawled under a haystack and continued their devotions. One of them remarked that ever since he began to study geography he had deplored the condition of the pagan countries, and was now determined that the Gospel should be sent to them. The subject assumed a definite shape from that hour. Thus originated, in 1806, the great foreign missionary movement in this country. Societies were soon formed, and young James Richards was among the very first to practically demonstrate his sincerity in a philanthropic enterprise of such magnitude and importance, by sailing as a missionary to Ceylon. The maple-grove at Williamstown has been included within a beautiful park of ten acres, and the monument marks the precise spot where the haystack stood, and is inscribed with the words: "The Birthplace of Foreign Missions, 1806," beneath which are engraved the names of the five young men. Rev. William Richards had yet another clerical brother who became a highly esteemed minister in New Hampshire; and one of his brothers studied medicine, and grew into a celebrated physician. The words of Dr. Parkhurst are pertinent in this connection: "The attempt to explain a man's life and works is mostly a process of showing how what has come from him by unfolding had been made a part of him by infolding."

The father of these remarkable sons was James Richards, better known as Deacon Richards, who bought land and built a house in Plainfield when there were not more than three or four habitations in the new town. Then he went back to the seashore, near Boston, for his young wife and family; and they made the journey to Plainfield, which consumed many days, bringing all needful housekeeping and farming paraphernalia upon their moving-wagons and the backs of their horses—an undertaking more formidable a hundred years ago than a trip to Alaska is to-day. Mrs. Richards has been described as "one of the loveliest women of her time." Deacon Richards was an educated man, with no little versatility of talent, and a vigorous Christian. He was one of the dauntless few who established a church and opened a school before planting corn or building stone walls. He conducted Sabbath exercises when they had no minister, and, being a fine singer, organized and led the church choir, often composing music for the hymns. Later on, he taught singing-school in his own and the neighboring towns; and he also taught the common school in winter for upward of thirty years, and only left off teaching when he was sent to the General Court at Boston to represent the town. One of his granddaughters wrote to a favorite niece: "When he moved to Plainfield all the place was covered with forests, and splendid sugar-maple trees grew close by their door. There were a great many little animals in the woods, and as they had never been frightened by hunters or small boys, they lived near the house; and sometimes the woodchucks came into the back room, and the rabbits made their home under the barn. I have heard my grandmother say that at one time they counted forty rabbits that came running round her when she went out to feed them." Deacon Richards became very prosperous in worldly affairs, but he never allowed business of any kind to interfere with his religious duties. He thought it wrong to perform any work on the Sabbath, and in his family the Sabbath began at sunset Saturday night; he always called his children together for prayers just as the sun was going down. Even the ordinary work of the household was omitted on Sunday until after sunset. He was held in the highest estimation all through his long and useful life by the people of the town, and his opinion on any public question of consequence had the effect of law. One Sunday morning a candidate for the pulpit had preached, and as the congregation were passing out at the close of the service a gentleman facetiously asked Comfort Beals, the bell-ringer, how he liked the sermon. "Oh, oh, I don't know, sir," he exclaimed; "I haven't seen Deacon Richards yet."

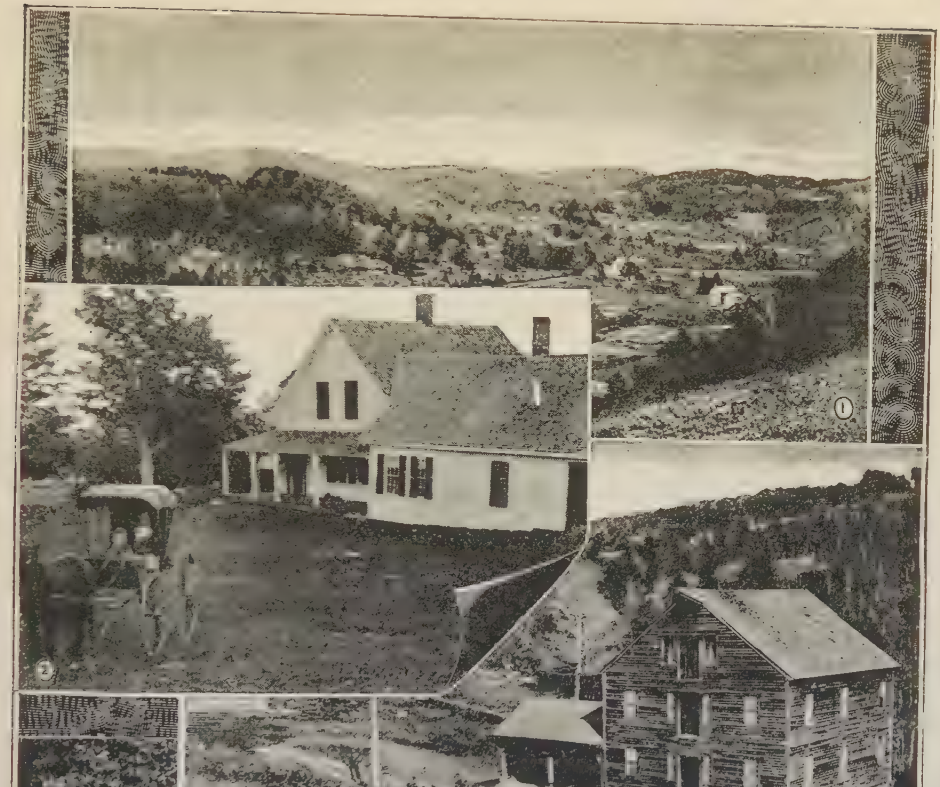
Among the few who built permanent homes in Plainfield about the same time as Deacon Richards was Jacob Nash, who had been a soldier through the entire War of the Revolution, although at the beginning only fifteen years of age; he married Joan Reade in 1788, whose English ancestors came to America in the *Mayflower*. Subsequently came others, of whom, in 1790, was John Hamlen, the founder of a large and influential family. He was a man of broad intelligence, was for nineteen years one of the selectmen of the town, and through ten sessions a member of the General Court at Boston. One of his sons, Deacon Freeman Hamlen, is still living in Plainfield; his wife is a descendant of the Plymouth Alden, and her four brothers, reared in Hawley, near Plainfield, of whom was Rev. Jeremiah Taylor, were all educated for the ministry and became eminent preachers.

In 1792 there were several important arrivals in the town, among whom was Josiah Shaw, the brother of Mrs. Deacon Richards. He was a young, energetic man of twenty-nine, who had prospected and purchased a tract of land, and then returned to Abington for his wife and three young children. The tedious journey to Plainfield was made in February, and Deacon Richards went out to meet them on the road as they approached, with a tempting luncheon for the whole party. Josiah Shaw was the father of Dr. Samuel Shaw, a notable figure in his day, of whom the reader will learn more on another page.

In the summer of the same year came the young pastor who had been secured for the infant church in Plainfield. He was ordained on the 11th of July. This was Rev. Moses Hallock, then thirty-two years of age, a graduate from Yale, and a minister who, in scholarly equipment for his life-work, and in simplicity and force of character, had few equals and no superior. He and Deacon Richards became the most ardent friends, and so continued to the end of their lives. Mr. Hallock's salary was small at the beginning, less than two hundred dollars a year, which was paid one-fourth only in cash, the rest in farm produce. But he was content. One neighbor presented him with sixty young apple-trees, and he planted an orchard, which soon yielded delicious fruit. He preached to the Plainfield people forty-five years, during which period revivals followed revivals, with more frequency and broader results than in any other individual church in the land. During one of the early years of his ministry it is recorded that "seventeen joined the church in one day;" and again, "thirty-one persons joined the church, twenty-four of whom adorned the aisle at one time."

In addition to his pastoral duties, Mr. Hallock opened a classical school in his dwelling-house, for the benefit of the sons and daughters of his parishioners. This attracted wide attention, and ere long many pupils came to him from other towns in the vicinity; during the three following decades he prepared a large number of young men for college and the higher walks and professions of life. In the records of Williams College it is said that for a long time, in the early struggles of that institution, the question of how many students were to enter at the beginning of each college year depended upon the number Mr. Hallock could furnish. Half the class were not infrequently from the Plainfield school. Among those who in boyhood learned their various lessons in the historic parsonage were the distinguished sons of Deacon Richards, before mentioned; Rev. Jonas King, the celebrated missionary to Greece, whose birthplace was in Hawley, the adjoining town; Rev. Pliny Fisk and Rev. Levi Parsons, early missionaries to Palestine, who brought that country nearer than ever before to Bible readers; William M. Ferry, United States Senator; Professor James Hayward, of Cambridge; Dr. Marcus Whitman, who took the first wagon over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon; John Brown, of Harper's Ferry notoriety; William Cullen Bryant, the poet, author, and editor, whose name is a household word wherever the English language is spoken, and whose home in Cumington was in sight, less than three miles away; together with the pastor's own four sons, of whom Rev. William A. Hallock, D.D., was the originator of the American Tract Society, and its accomplished secretary for upwards of half a century, residing in New York City; Gerard Hallock, who established the *Boston Telegraph* in 1825, united it with the *Boston Recorder* in 1826, become half proprietor of the *New York Observer* in 1827, and in 1828, in partnership with David Hale, founded the New York *Journal of Commerce*, and then conducted it with signal ability through the most important thirty-three years in the history of the newspaper press of America; Leavitt Hallock, a scholarly, public-spirited Christian gentleman, who settled in Plainfield, extended the most generous hospitality to missionaries, ministers, and college students, and gave all his children—both sons and daughters—a liberal education; and Homan Hallock, who went to Malta and Smyrna as missionary printer, and invented the new Arabic type in which the Bible has been so successfully and extensively printed. The learned pastor's school was famed for its excellent discipline quite as much as for its classic lore. Girls were not excluded—some forty-one in all are on the records—but they were chiefly the daughters of Plainfield citizens, who came to recite in the classes and dwelt in their own homes. During the early years of this century nearly every family in the town was watching over the higher education of some one or more of its promising members. The cost of board and tuition per week in the minister's institution was one dollar! But one pupil ever died while in his family, and it was the only death in the parsonage for forty years. A volume could be written with this picturesque old dwelling for a text, which even now looks very comfortable in its antiquity, surrounded by orchards and shade trees, although shorn of the roses and flowery shrubs which formerly beautified its front yard. If its walls could talk, a host of prominent characters who frequented it in the several decades of its history might be introduced to us. After Mr. Hallock's death it was sold, and became for many years the home of Mrs. Mack, a daughter of Deacon Richards, and her interesting family. Four of her sons went into the new country of Northern Ohio as pioneers, very much as her honored sire came to Plainfield. Of her five lovely daughters, one was married to the Rev. Dr. Paine of Holden, Massachusetts, another to Rev. H. L. Gaylord, of Delaware, a third to Henry Forsyth, son of Judge Forsyth of Ohio, and the youngest, Julia, on a beautiful summer morning, surrounded by a host of admiring friends gathered under this historic roof, to William Holmes Hallock, of New York, grandson of the revered Plainfield pastor, and then and for many years thereafter one of the editors of the *Journal of Commerce*, in partnership with his father, Gerard Hallock.

In architecture, nearly all the early Plainfield homes were of one pattern. The house of Deacon Richards, about a mile from the parsonage, was in the same style, except that it was painted red. The home of Rev. Solomon Clark, for twenty-eight years the Plainfield minister, but now retired, is more modern, as shown in the sketch, and yet is of much historical significance. It was here that Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York city, received, after finishing his preparatory studies, his first license to preach the gospel. Leavitt Hallock, the old minister's son, built a commodious and attractive home in the beautiful valley, a mile and a half west of the church, the roof dimly discerned among the distant trees in the picture; he married a



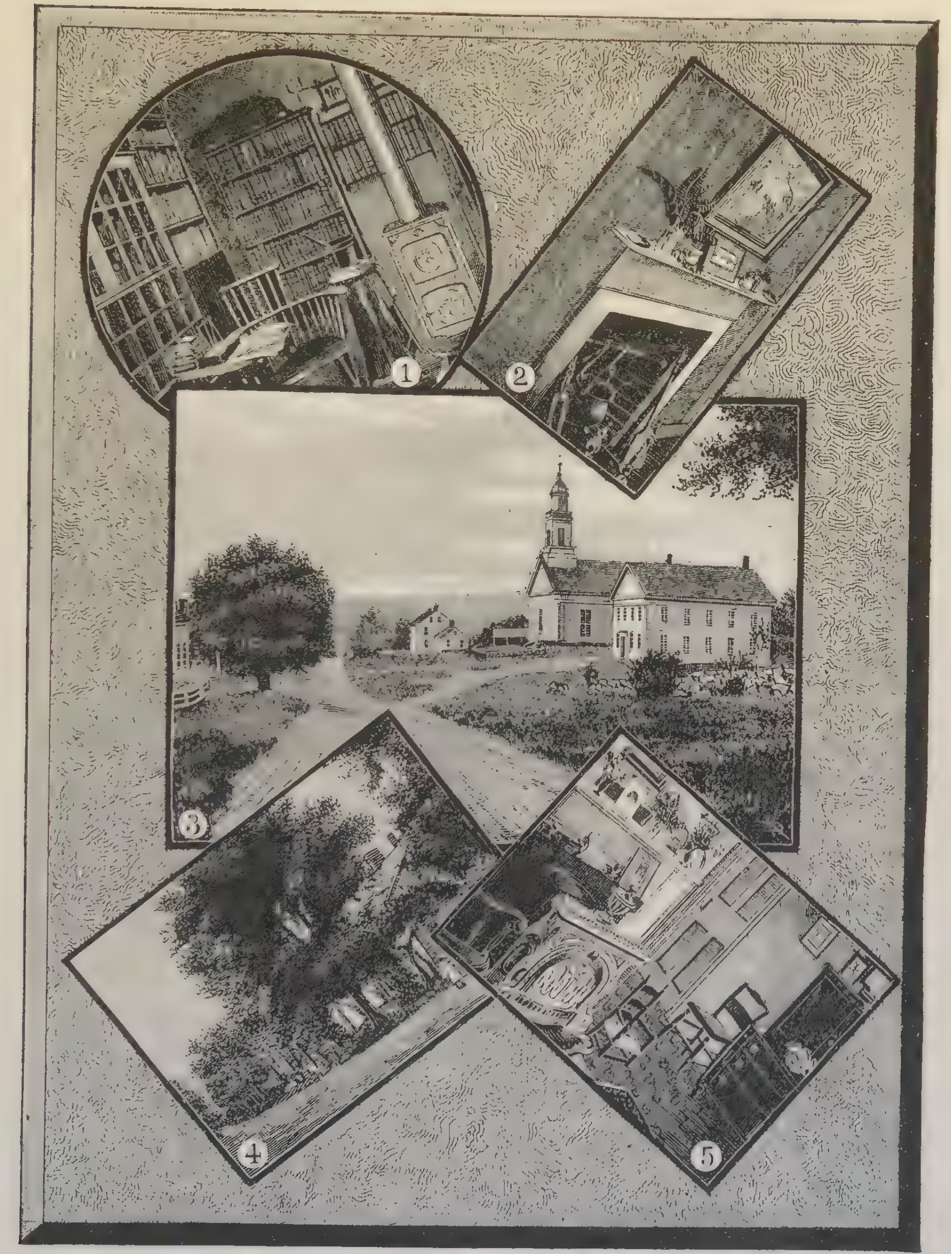
1. PLEASANT VALLEY, LOOKING WEST.
2. BIRTHPLACE OF CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.
3. THE "MOUNTAIN MILLER'S MILL."
4. HOME OF REV. SOLOMON CLARK.

cousin of William Cullen Bryant. His two sons became ministers, Rev. William A. Hallock, now of Bloomfield, Connecticut, and Rev. Leavitt Hallock, of Portland, Maine; and his two daughters married ministers. Near him in the same valley were the homes of the Roods and Pixleys, where were born and bred the Rev. David Rood and Rev. Stephen Pixley, both of whom studied for the ministry and are now active missionaries in Southern Africa. The homes of Homan Hallock—the minister's youngest son—and of Arvin Nash, the only son of Jacob Nash, were in the same neighborhood for many years. One of the daughters of Homan Hallock married the Rev. Dr. Byington, twenty years a missionary to Constantinople; and one of his sons, Samuel, inheriting the mechanical genius of his father, has been for sixteen years in Syria, engaged in the difficult work of preparing the molds or types for printing the Bible. Charles Hallock, youngest son of Gerard Hallock, of the *Journal of Commerce*, was the pioneer of sporting literature, founding and for some time editing the *Forest and Stream*. He has since been engaged in other journalistic ventures, and is a notable author.

The historic home of Dr. Samuel Shaw, for some forty years the Plainfield physician, stands in the shade of fine old trees on the corner of the two principal streets, a few rods above the old parsonage. He was one of the four sons of Josiah Shaw, the pioneer, all of whom were carefully educated. He studied medicine with Dr. Peter Bryant, the father of William Cullen Bryant, and subsequently became his partner in practice, and in 1821 married his daughter. This lady died in 1824, of consumption, at the age of twenty-two, which sad event inspired one of the most beautiful and best-known poems of her distinguished brother, William Cullen Bryant, entitled "The Death of the Flowers."

"In the cold moist earth we laid her,
  When the forests cast the leaf,
And we wept that one so lovely
  Should have a life so brief;
Yet not unmeet it was that one
  Like that young friend of ours,
So gentle and so beautiful,
  Should perish with the flowers."

In the library of this old mansion, which was the doctor's office, and appears in the sketch very much as he left it at his death, in 1870, the case of books and the mortar and pestle used in compounding medicines are relics doubly precious from the fact that they once belonged to Dr. Bryant, the



1. DR. SHAW'S LIBRARY. 2. SECTION OF DINING-ROOM. 3. PLAINFIELD CHURCH AND TOWN HALL.
4. HOME OF DR. SAMUEL SHAW. 5. SITTING-ROOM IN THE SHAW HOMESTEAD.

poet's father. The section of the dining-room presents one of the veritable old-time fireplaces of half a century ago, with its kettle on the crane; and the framed picture of Mount Vernon, embroidered in silk, on the wall above the mantel, is also an antique treasure. The glimpse afforded us of the cheerful sitting-room is equally suggestive, and brings former days with all their cozy comforts vividly into the foreground.

In 1830 Dr. Shaw married a second time, the lady being Elizabeth Owen Clarke, from Northampton, a direct descendant of Hon. Daniel Clarke of Windsor, Connecticut, one of the six patentees of that ancient town, whose second wife was Mrs. Martha Pitkin Wolcott, renowned in history as the widow of Simon Wolcott and mother of Governor Roger Wolcott, as well as the grandmother of Governor Matthew Griswold and great-grandmother of Governor Roger Griswold. Dr. Shaw's eldest son, Samuel Francis Shaw, studied medicine, and, as a surgeon in the navy for more than twenty years prior to his death, won high rank in his profession; and Dr. Shaw's youngest daughter married the New York physician, Dr. Darwin E. Hudson. One of Dr. Samuel Shaw's three brothers also entered the medical profession, and became a prominent physician in Barre, New York. "It runs in the family to be doctors, just as it does in some other families to be ministers," said one of the oracles of the town. The two remaining brothers of Dr. Shaw settled in Plainfield, and were among its most intelligent and respected citizens. One of the daughters of Josiah Shaw, the elder brother, is the wife of Judge Sawyer, now in Congress from Albion, New York.

An object of surpassing interest to strangers visiting Plainfield in summer is the "Mountain Miller's Mill," which appears in the picture on page 227. This was given great public prominence a little more than fifty years ago by Rev. Dr. William A. Hallock, who wrote a famous tract about Joseph Beals, the owner of the mill, entitled *The Mountain Miller*. It was the simple but effective story of the miller's religious zeal and work in trying to convert his neighbors and patrons, who would come to hear him talk and pray from great distances and at all hours. They would stand by him while he was at work grinding his grain in the mill, or sit at his feet near the cool spring, under the shade of some beautiful sugar-maples by the roadside—an historic spring that has beguiled travelers from time to time for three-fourths of a century into carving their names upon the trees above it. Within a year after Dr. Hallock's tract appeared, 140,000 copies were in circulation, and soon afterward an additional 170,000 copies were issued and read, the work going into every land, even to the ends of the earth. The streamlet which propels the old "mountain miller's" mill, sometimes called Mill Brook, runs through a deep, cool, shady, wild ravine of irregular formation, a most luxurious retreat on a hot day. This is at the base of the central hill, or a half-mile or so from the church. Beyond the ravine is the pleasant, open valley of the sketch, with its hills in the background, looking as innocent of concealed gold as if the suspicion had never fastened upon them—the highest ground being West Mountain, from the summit of which one of the finest landscape views in New England may be obtained. The picture is engraved from a photograph looking westward from a point just below the church, which, by the way, is not the primitive edifice built by the first settlers, with its quaint square pews and wonderful sounding-board over the pulpit—so well remembered by many persons living—but its modest successor, not yet much over forty years old.

The birthplace of Charles Dudley Warner, the accomplished editor and delightful author of many books, which appears in the sketch, is situated in the northern part of the beautiful plateau on the central hill-top, and the house is now the residence of Mr. Warner's cousin. In reply to an invitation last summer to be present at the centennial of the Plainfield Church, Mr. Warner wrote: "I was very young when I left Plainfield, and I have only occasionally visited it of late years. But it has an interest for me that no other place on earth has. The older I grow the more grateful I am that I was born in Massachusetts and in that particular hill-town. I think I owe to its pure air, its noble scenery, the early purity and simplicity of its manners, and the influence of an honorable, God-fearing ancestry, the best that is in my life. I was baptized by the splendid old Puritan pastor of that day, Parson Hallock. He was in the best sense the conscience of the town. Scholar, minister, pastor, counselor, who can measure the influence of such a man on his generation! There is the old red house. I should advise everybody to be born in a red house such as that in which I was born, with its rows of fruit-trees, its maple orchard, its sunny fields, and the stone walls that speak as a fence of wood never can of security and home."

It is not easy to say how much Plainfield gained in the beginning through its lack of luxuries, its rugged landscape beauties, and its isolation. But it cultivated no paupers, it gave no opportunity for idleness, and it was too far from the sea-coast to be troubled with fanatics. Its inhabitants were comfortable in worldly possessions, many of them became forehanded, and as a community they cherished a solid intellectual purpose. The environment was favorable for thought, and it was the fashion to be wise and well schooled. Men were not overworked, as in the larger towns and cities, but had leisure for meditation. The atmosphere was in itself a tonic, strengthening to the mental activities. To catalogue its children who have risen to distinction in the church, in letters, in history, in science, in art, and in journalism, would be an instructive lesson. But the list would fill a volume. The few mentioned in these pages must represent the many.

The immediate surroundings of Plainfield are alive with varied associations. Less than eight miles away, in a weird corner of Buckland, Mary Lyon first saw the light and grew into womanhood—"all intellect," they said of her. When she first went to the Sanderson Academy, at Ashfield, for one term, the scholars would drop their books and watch her bright, magnetic face every time she came forward to recite. Ashfield, which adjoins Plainfield, is the summer home of George William Curtis, the brilliant orator and scholar, and the genial editor of Harper's publications—a bland, courtly gentleman, of clerical appearance, with graceful figure and poetic face. His cottage is jealously guarded with handsome trees, and in its outward form is singularly in keeping with the restful beauty and spirit of the scenery. Through his influence, Ashfield has become a somewhat noted literary centre in summer, counting among its visitors and sojourners Professor Charles Norton, of Cambridge, former editor of the *North American Review*, James Russell Lowell, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Mr. Cable. During the later years of his life William Cullen Bryant spent a part of every summer at his old home, close by Plainfield, in Cumington, just above which the elegant dwelling of Hon. Parke Godwin, former editor of the New York *Evening Post*, looks down from one of the most picturesque heights in all the country thereabouts. Over the way, in Hawley, are descendants of Rev. John Robinson, the great preacher, with traditions and shoe-buckles sufficient for a complete chapter; and a descendant of Rev. Jonathan Edwards resides in Plainfield.

If the search for gold in this region should ever become general, which no one anticipates, or enterprise should seize the hills and the valleys and the streams and press them into service for sources of income, the field would naturally attract scientists who could probably solve the problem as to why every influence for a hundred years has tended toward the development of a taste for study among the inhabitants—and whether the structure and formations of this sequestered quarter of the earth have had anything to do with its human productions. Until then, let these charming Massachusetts hills be called the Golden Hills.

Martha J. Lamb

THE FIRST MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY

THOMAS WILLETT

It is somewhat singular that the first mayor of New York city was a resident of Plymouth Colony through his whole active life, was one of the "Assistants" in the government of that colony at the time of the English conquest of New Netherland, and now lies buried in a secluded corner of the State of Rhode Island.

Thomas Willett makes his first appearance on the historic stage in the narrative of Governor William Bradford, of Plymouth, in the year 1629. He was then about nineteen years old. The Plymouth colonists had joined with other parties in the establishment of trading-houses, for traffic with the Indians along the coast of Maine, at Kennebec and Penobscot. Not being quite satisfied with their agent there, named Ashley, they joined with him an "honest young man that came from Leyden—which young man being discreet, and one in whom they could trust, they so instructed him as kept Ashley in some good measure within bounds." * This young man was Thomas Willett.

He is commonly thought to have belonged to one of the families that took refuge in Holland from ecclesiastical persecution in England, and to have come over with the last of the Leyden company in 1629. His supposed connection with an eminent clergyman of the Church of England will be mentioned in a special note. All we know of his earlier life is, that he became well versed in the language and customs of Holland, and that, appearing on our shores in 1629, he bore a good name, and commanded confidence, notwithstanding his youth. For about ten years he appears to have divided his time between these trading-posts on the shores of Maine and his home in Plymouth. He was admitted freeman of Plymouth Colony in 1633. In 1635 a French fleet, under D'Aulnay, broke up his station at Penobscot, and drove him away; † he returned to Plymouth by way of Boston. In 1636 he married Mary, daughter of John Brown, a prominent man in Plymouth. There his children were born.

Winthrop records the following under the year 1639, but without assigning any date to the interesting incident: "At Kennebeck, the Indians wanted food, and there being store in the Plymouth trading-house, they

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* *Bradford's History*, p. 260. † *Idem*, p. 332.

conspired to kill the English there for their provision; and some Indians coming into the house, Mr. Willett, the master of the house, being reading in the Bible, his countenance was more solemn than at other times, so as he did not look cheerfully upon them, as he was wont to do; whereupon they went out and told their fellows that their purpose was discovered. They asked them how it could be. The others told them that they knew it by Mr. Willett's countenance, and that he had discovered it by a book that he was reading. Whereupon they gave over their design." *

This anecdote, preserved by Winthrop, gives us our latest glimpse of Willett as living among the trading-posts on the shores of Maine. Meanwhile, he had a home in Plymouth, where he resided most of the time from the last-named date till the year 1660. He became a ship-owner, and engaged in trade with the Dutch settlement at the mouth of the Hudson. According to Dr. Stiles, "he was a merchant, and had factories or Indian trading-houses from Kennebec to Delaware, particularly at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange." † He continued his special interest in the eastern traffic, and appears as one of the "farmers" or lessees of the same. As late as 1655 he joined with Governors Bradford and Prence in a seven years' lease of trade on the Kennebec; the rate to be thirty-five pounds a year, payable in money, moose, or beaver. ‡ He held various appointments which attest the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and rendered valuable service to the "old colony" and town. In 1647–48 he was appointed captain of the military company, and he bore that title ever after. He was one of the Assistants in the government of the Plymouth Colony, by annual election, from 1651 till 1665, at which time he was on public duty in New York. His name is often on record in connection with wills and the settlement of estates. Governor Bradford, the leading man of Plymouth, when near his death, in 1657, confided the management of his property to Willett and two others, with very ample discretionary powers. A few months later he was arbitrator between Plymouth and Rhode Island in regard to the ownership of Hog Island, in Narragansett Bay. He appears never to have served as one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, but at the annual election in Plymouth, in three successive years, he was "next in nomination," *i. e.*, I suppose was chosen as substitute.

The New England colonies and the Dutch settlements at New Netherland were in frequent collision. They were rivals in trade; their boundaries were ill-defined and sometimes overlapped; the parent countries were in a state of intermittent warfare, and difficulties arose from conflict of individual interests and the escape of fugitives. In 1650, Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Director of New Netherland, held a conference with the Commissioners of the United Colonies at Hartford. The object was to settle these mutual misunderstandings. Some diplomatic fencing had to take place. It was agreed that if the commissioners would forbear calling Hartford "in New England," Stuyvesant would not date his letters "in Connecticut in New Netherland."

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* *Winthrop's Journal*, Hartford, 1790, p. 194.

† *Holmes' Annals*, I., 339.

‡ *Plymouth Records*, III., 95.

It was at length determined "that all differences should be referred to two delegates from each side, who should prepare satisfactory articles of agreement." Curiously, both parties chose Englishmen for arbitrators. The New England Commissioners named Bradstreet of Massachusetts and Prence of Plymouth, while Stuyvesant selected Captain Thomas Willett and George Baxter, who had been his "English Secretary." This title of Baxter suggests one reason for the choice of these two men, viz., the value of a knowledge of both languages, Dutch and English, in these negotiations. To this knowledge Willett added a good reputation for fairness and integrity. The arbitrators assigned most of Long Island to the English, and marked out a boundary line on the mainland, reserving to the Dutch certain lands at Hartford, already occupied by them. The appointment of two referees on the Dutch side who were of English descent was naturally resented by Stuyvesant's countrymen in New Amsterdam. They complained that the Director had surrendered more territory than might have formed fifty colonies. The award did not stand long.*

Before the end of this year we find Willett in Plymouth again. A Jesuit missionary from Quebec, who had been laboring among the Indians on the Kennebec, and whose name was Druilletes, visited Boston and Plymouth. His object was to establish better relations between the French in Canada and the New England colonies, and if possible to gain aid from the latter against the threatening Mohawks. He was hospitably treated. He wrote in his journal, at Plymouth: "The governor of the place, by name John Brentford" (Wm. Bradford), "received me with courtesy, and appointed the next day for audience; and then invited me to a fish-dinner, which he ordered on my account, knowing that it was Friday. I met with much favor at this settlement, for the *farmers*, and among others Captain Thomas Willets, spoke to the governor for the good of my negotiations." This was in December, 1650.*

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* Later in the same year, Willett, then at New Amsterdam, bought at auction a ship which had been fitted out to carry colonists to settle Staten Island, and which Stuyvesant in one of his feuds with his countrymen had arbitrarily confiscated. She was named *New Netherland's Fortune.* Willett employed her in trade with Virginia and Holland.—Brodhead, *History of New York*, I., 518 *et seq.*, 524.

In 1654, England being at war with the Netherlands, the Protector, Cromwell, sent an expedition to operate against the Dutch on the Hudson, to be re-enforced from the New England colonies. Plymouth directed Willett to join the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and "to accompany them unto the Manhatoes, and to be assistant unto them in advice and council." The force to be sent from England was so delayed that before its arrival, after a long voyage, peace had been made. Roger Williams, who was then in England, and who gratefully remembered the kindness he had received from the Dutch in New Amsterdam, at his first return to his native land in 1643, has the credit of having aided in securing this auspicious delay. In February, 1659–60, Captain Willett first appears on the town records of Rehoboth, in the western part of Plymouth Colony, which then included the present area of several towns. Its southernmost part bore the Indian name of Wanamoisett, and here we next find Willett established, in what afterward became the town of Swansey. He bought land from the Indians, in connection with other leading men of Plymouth. In 1661, under authority from the colony of Plymouth and the town of Rehoboth, he bought from Wamsutta, son of Massasoit, the large tract called Rehoboth North Purchase, which included the present towns of Attleborough and Cumberland. Five years later he conveyed these lands to the authorities of the colony, by whom they were granted to the inhabitants of Rehoboth.

There are many indications that he gained the confidence of the sachems, and was useful as mediator between them and the whites. When, in 1662, Wamsutta was summoned to Plymouth on suspicion of hostile conspiracy, Willett was appointed to request his attendance; and after the chief had been surprised he gave as reason why he came not to the court before, that "he waited for Captain Willett's return from the Dutch, being desirous to speak with him first." And in December, 1664, when he had become a conspicuous man in New York, the town of Rehoboth voted to allow the "sum which Capt. Willet agreed to give Philip for growing corn in the Neck, and that Capt. Willet should agree with Philip for the year ensuing." †

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* For an account of the visit of Druilletes, see Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, p. 323 *et seq.* But this extract from his journal I found in W. S. Russell's *Pilgrim Memorials*, 1855, p. 197.

† *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XII., 16, 162, etc.

About the same time at which he became a resident of Rehoboth, Willett took share in a purchase of land on the western shore of Narragansett Bay, at Namcook or Boston Neck. He is not mentioned among the original shareholders in the Atherton purchase, which was made in the early summer of 1659, but his name (Captain Willett of Rehoboth) occurs in a list of proprietors in the Atherton company, dated October 13, 1660.* He became the owner of large tracts of land in the Narragansett country, which he left by will to his grandchildren. His son-in-law, John Saffin, represented the interest of the family in disputes that arose, and a portion of this property is still owned by the heirs of Willett's descendant, the late Willet Carpenter, Esq.

It is quite possible that, in removing from the seaport of Plymouth to land watered by a tributary of Narragansett Bay, Willett had it in view to look after his purchase on the shore of that bay. He appears, a few years after this, to have had some sort of residence in New Amsterdam; John Winthrop of Connecticut addresses a letter to Thomas Willett " of New Amsterdam," in July, 1663.

In 1664, the English conquest converted New Amsterdam into New York. In time of peace, and in violation of previous charters, Charles II. made a grant to his brother, Duke of York, which included all New Netherland and part of Connecticut. A fleet was sent to enforce the claims of the duke, and demand the surrender of the Dutch plantation. It was commanded by Nicolls, with whom three commissioners were joined. After reaching Boston, Nicolls wrote to Willett, asking him to meet the commissioners at the west end of Long Island. What followed is well known. The grim but impotent defiance of Stuyvesant, vowing that he will be carried out dead before he will surrender, stamping his wooden leg, and tearing up the letter which contained the moderate terms offered by the commissioners, makes a strong historic figure, which even the genius of Irving cannot render wholly ridiculous. Nicolls relied much on the advice of Willett, whom he found " more acquainted with the manners and customs of the Dutch than any Englishman in the country," and who acted with " discreet friendship " toward both parties. Willett, with Winthrop of Connecticut and a few other New Englanders, met Stuyvesant and his advisers in New Amsterdam, and offered favorable conditions on behalf of the commissioners. On September 8, 1664, the surrender took place, and New Amsterdam became New York city. Two days after, Nicolls sent one of his colleagues, Cartwright, up the Hudson, to secure and occupy the Dutch posts there, and to make friends with the Indians.

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* *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, November, 1885.

Nicolls requested some persons who had experience with the savages to accompany this expedition. One of these was Willett. He was thus present at the birth of Albany. His prudence in this expedition won the praise of Cartwright.*

By the following winter Willett had returned to his home in Rehoboth, and one of Nicolls' colleagues, Carr, visited him there, on his way to Boston, in January. He remained with Willett several days, obtained leave of absence for him from the Plymouth governor, and persuaded him to assist in remodeling the city government in New York, as he was more acceptable to both Dutch and English than any other person. In June, 1665, the forms of city government and names of offices were changed. Thomas Willett became mayor, assisted by five aldermen, three Dutchmen and two Englishmen, and a sheriff. The appointment was made by Nicolls, who was deputed by the duke to be Governor of his Province of New York. It was probably renewed by the same authority in 1666. The most prophetic sagacity could not then have foretold the magnificent growth of New York city. It consisted of a few narrow streets south of Wall Street, and of small thatched cottages, with some handsome buildings covered with Dutch tiles. But it already had a cosmopolitan character, as eighteen languages were spoken within its limits. The office of mayor called not for uncommon executive ability, but rather for aptness at conciliation, and a knowledge of men, especially of Dutchmen, their customs and language. The only spoken utterance of Willett that I have met with belongs to this period of his life. It shows that he could express himself in epigrammatic English. Of Nicholas Bayard, Stuyvesant's nephew, and Clerk of the Common Council, he said, "He is never in the way, nor ever out of the way."† Incomparable clerk!

In 1668 Governor Lovelace succeeded Nicolls, and Willett became a member of his council. On the temporary repossession of New York by the Dutch, in 1673, the property of all the Duke of York's officers and agents, Willett's included, was confiscated and put in the hands of commissioners. But he had quit that province, never to return. He came back to his home in Wanamoisett or southern Rehoboth. He there took part in the creation of still another town. In 1667, the Plymouth Court, on petition of Willett and others, established the township of Swansey. He was from the first its most prominent man. The court gave him liberty to "purchase what lands he can in behalf of the court, within the township of Swansey, *so as he do not too much straiten*

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* *Brodhead*, I., 743.

† *History of New York City*, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, I., 231.

the Indians."* The particulars of its incorporation present two curious points. Captain Willett and four others were appointed "to have the trust of admittance of town inhabitants, &c." The conditions of town membership were proposed by Willett, accepted and expounded in a church meeting, and adopted by the town. The first condition was, "that no erroneous person be admitted into the township, either as inhabitant or sojourner." This the church explained to apply only to damnable heresies, of which several are specifically mentioned; or to opinions inconsistent with the well-being of the place, such as denying the divine institution of the Christian Sabbath, or opposing those "civil respects that are usually performed according to the laudable custom of our nation each to other, as bowing the knee or body, &c.;" or to disrespect or non-support of the ministry. The exclusion did not apply to points not necessary to salvation, as pedobaptism, etc. The church's exposition bore hard on Quakers, but not on Baptists. Rev. John Myles, a Baptist clergyman, who had been disciplined at Rehoboth, became the minister of Swansey, and shared with Willett the honor of being its father. A more singular feature in the settlement of Swansey was the division of the inhabitants into three ranks. The division was made, first by the committee of which Willett was chairman, afterward by committees appointed by the town. They were, in fact, censors, with power to promote and to degrade. Their power was re-enforced by subsequent legislation. Those high in rank received more land and paid more tax.†

Captain Willett died on the 4th of August, 1674, less than a year before the outbreak of Philip's War. In that conflict the town he lived in, and with whose beginnings his name is most closely associated, was laid waste by fire, and his son was killed. Like Blaxton, who owned Shawmut, on which Boston was built, and who also was buried within a few miles of Providence, he was spared the distress of witnessing those scenes of destruction. His wife died before him, in January, 1669. Both were buried in a retired spot, in what is known as "Little Neck Burial-ground," near the head of Bullock's Cove, within the present limits of East Providence, Rhode Island. It is a sandy knoll, gleaming with modern marbles, and shaded by hemlocks and oaks. It is often visited, and the epitaphs, rudely cut, and badly "spelt by th' unlettered muse," have been copied. We present tracings from his head-stone and foot-stone.

John Saffin, who married Captain Willett's daughter Martha, and who

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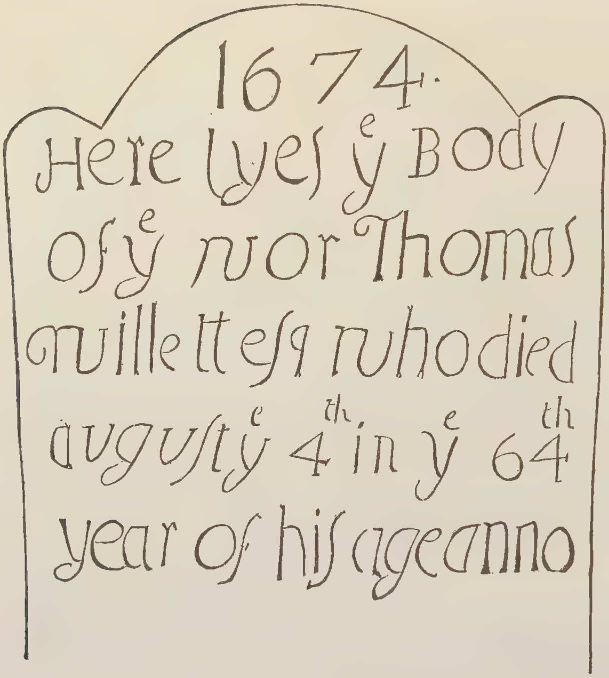
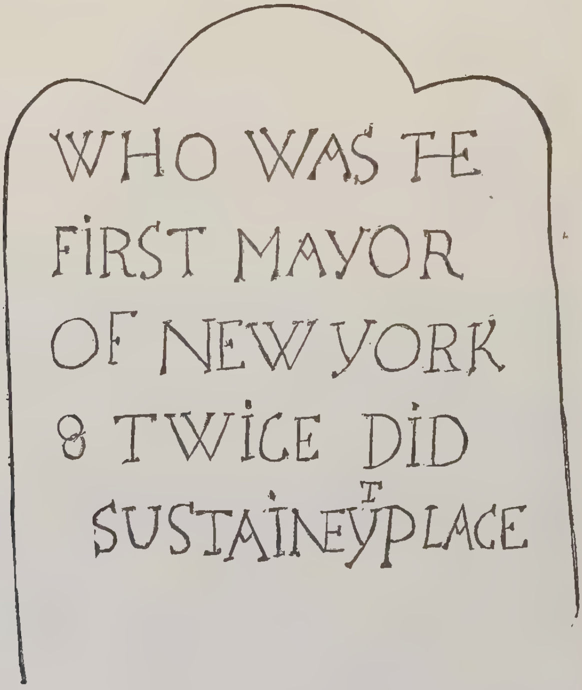
* *Plymouth Records*, IV., 176.

† Baylies' *Memoirs of Plymouth Colony*, II., 235, etc.



1674.
Here lyes y^e Body
of y^e nvor Thomas
willettesq whodied
augusty^e 4th in y^e 64th
year of his ageanno



WHO WAS TE
FIRST MAYOR
OF NEW YORK
& TWICE DID
SUSTAINEY^TPLACE

was fond of writing verses, composed the following "Epitaph" on the "Worshipful Thomas Willett, Esquire:"

"Here lies grand Willett, whose good name
Did mount upon the wings of Fame;
Who into place did not intrude,
When star of the first magnitude;
But 's prudence, piety and zeal
For God, in church and Commonweal,
His real worth and generous spirit,
Which constantly he did inherit,
His hospitality and love,
And courteous carriage like a dove,
Did so excel that all might see
He had attained to the first Three:
Now he's hence gone to his long home,
And taken from the ill to come;
Lived here desired, lamented died,
Is with his Saviour glorified."

Saffin's "Epitaph on that eminent and truly pious matron, Mrs. Mary Willett," expands into ten-syllable verse, and is not always restrained within the limits of that; as appears from the following couplet:

"Yea, Venus, Pallas, Diana, and the Graces
Compared with her should all have lost their places."

We resist the temptation to quote more.

I know no good reason for questioning the Willett pedigree which he quotes, though it is a surprise to find, in the young associate of the Pilgrims at Leyden, a son and grandson of dignitaries in the Church of England.* The dates harmonize, and the names Thomas and Andrew recur among the sons of Captain Thomas Willett. The Rev. Andrew Willett, D.D., was a distinguished writer on church history, scriptural interpretation, and

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* The following extract is from the BARTOW GENEALOGY, by the Rev. Evelyn Bartow, page 195. It implies that "Hon. Thomas Willett" was son of Rev. Andrew, and grandson of Rev. Thomas. "X. Rev. Thomas Willet, sub-almoner to Edward VI. He was Rector of Barley, Co. Herts, and Prebend of Ely, Co. Cambridge, d. 1597. His d. Rebecca, born 1558, m. Rev. Edward Francklin, Rector of Kelshull, Herts, and his son, IX. Rev. Andrew Willet, was b. at Ely, 1562, grad. at Cambridge, 1580, ordained Priest, 1584, Proctor of Cambridge College, 1585, and Prebend of Ely Cathedral, 1597. He was also Vicar of Childerby and Grantesden, Cambridgeshire, and of Barley, Co. Leicester, Chaplain to Prince Henry, and d. in London, 1621. He m. in 1597, Jane * * *, of Ely, by whom he had (among eleven sons and seven das.) 1. Andrew, Vicar of Reed. 2. Rebecca, d. y. 3. Thomas, d. y. 4. Thomas. 5. James. VIII. Hon. Thomas Willet, First Mayor of New York," etc.

"sacred emblems." His books are mentioned as in the possession of Plymouth and Massachusetts worthies. He is said to have been the author of more than forty treatises, the most celebrated being *Synopsis Papismi*, which was considered a severe blow to the papal system. It was a formidable missile, a folio of some thirteen hundred pages, and passed through eight editions.

The descendants of Willett have been numerous. Some settled in the Narragansett country; and are mentioned in Updike's *History of the Narragansett Church.* The most distinguished of the name, Marinus Willett, was conspicuous in the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars, and was also Mayor of New York city. Captain Thomas Willett's daughter Hester married the Rev. Josiah Flynt, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, and was the mother of Henry Flynt, for fifty-five years tutor in Harvard College; also of Dorothy Flynt, who married Edmund Quincy, and was the maternal ancestor of the Quincys, Jacksons, and Wendells of Massachusetts. Dorothy Q., the subject of a poem by Dr. O. W. Holmes, was the great-granddaughter of Thomas Willett, and the great-grandmother of the poet.

Charles W. Parsons.

AN INTERESTING INQUIRY

Editor Magazine of American History:—

Among the early benefactors of Harvard College was William Penoyer, an English gentleman, who, by will dated May 20, 1670, left a rent-charge upon a "messuage in Norfolke" for the maintenance of "two fellowes and two schollars," who were to be educated at the "College called Cambridge Colledge in New England." On the first day of August, 1671, a copy of the will was laid before the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and the clause relating to the scholarships which the testator wished to found was copied into the College Book, in which the records of the corporation meetings were kept. As this clause alone was copied from the will, the residence of Penoyer is not given. It appears from the transcript which is extended on the records of the college, that one of the scholarships thus founded was to be given, if possible, to some descendant of Robert Penoyer, and the other to some student from the "Colony of Nox or of late called New Haven Colony."

From the records of the corporation of Harvard College it appears that in the subsequent assignment of the Penoyer annuity, students from the "Colony of Nox" were occasionally numbered among the beneficiaries. For instance, the following is from the record of a meeting of the corporation held, September 3, 1694:

> "Whereas y^e treasurer has lately rec'd of Mr. Penoyer's money about y^e summe of seventy pounds in N. E. Money; seven pounds of y^e said money being formerly ordered to be paid to Mr. Noadiah Russell, formerly a Newhaven scholar; it is now ordered that ye Remainder of y^e said monies, ten pounds, be paid to Mr Wakeman [belonging to y^e Colony of Nox] etc., etc."

The apparent difficulty of the arithmetic of the record would be removed if for seventy we should read seventeen. Another reference to a student from Nox is to be found in the records under date of January 4, $172\frac{0}{1}$, when a "part of Mr. Penoyer's legacy" was awarded to "Sr. Gold of the Colony of Nox."

The "Colony of Nox" is not mentioned, so far as I know, in any historical publication which treats of the early history of Connecticut. Being desirous of finding out the meaning of the phrase, I wrote to several gentlemen who are especially familiar with that topic. None of my correspondents could help me. Returning to the records of the college, I examined them still further, and found another transcript of the Penoyer will, in which the phrase "the Colony of Nox or of late called New Haven Colony" was repeated word for word. In the margin of the record, opposite this second entry of the will, in a different handwriting from that of the person who made the main record, are the words "Now or of late called New Haven Colony." The writer was evidently of opinion that the language used in the original will was "of the Colony, now or of late, called New Haven Colony." New Haven had, in 1662, been included in the charter granted to Connecticut. It would have been perfectly natural in 1670 to say "Now or of late called New Haven." The same carelessness which converted "Now" into "Nox" might have inserted the superfluous "of" before "Now." If we accept this theory—and it certainly seems plausible—it will account for the fact that the "Colony of Nox" has nowhere been heard of except in the records of Harvard College. It will also explain why no mention of the colony is made in those records except in the Penoyer will, and in connection with the distribution of the income received from the "messuage in Norfolke." It involves, however, the hypothesis that the President and Fellows of Harvard College, even so late as fifty years after the date of the will, deliberately kept alive the fiction that New Haven Colony was called "the Colony of Nox," in order to keep on their records evidence that they were following the prescribed wishes of the testator.

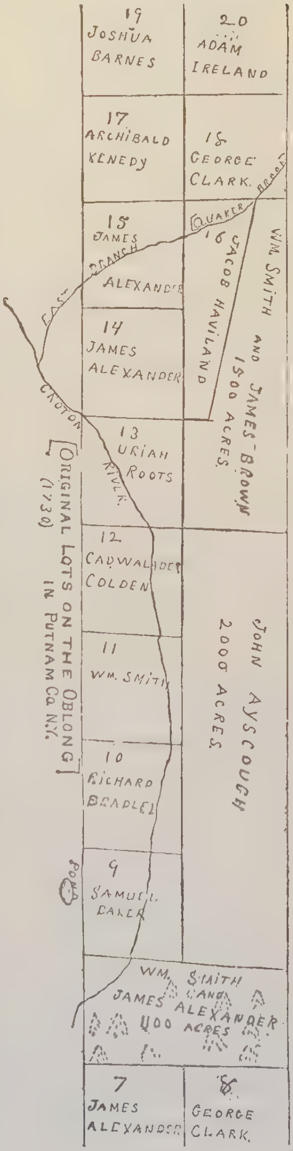
The original will, if in existence, would probably settle the question as to whether this hypothesis must stand. A search for the will would however have to be made in England, and under the disadvantage of no positive knowledge of the testator's residence. There may be other methods of determining this point which will suggest themselves to your readers. Will you kindly give this communication a place in your columns, and invoke assistance from those who can aid in settling the origin of the "Colony of Nox?"

Andrew McFarland Davis.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *January* 28, 1887.

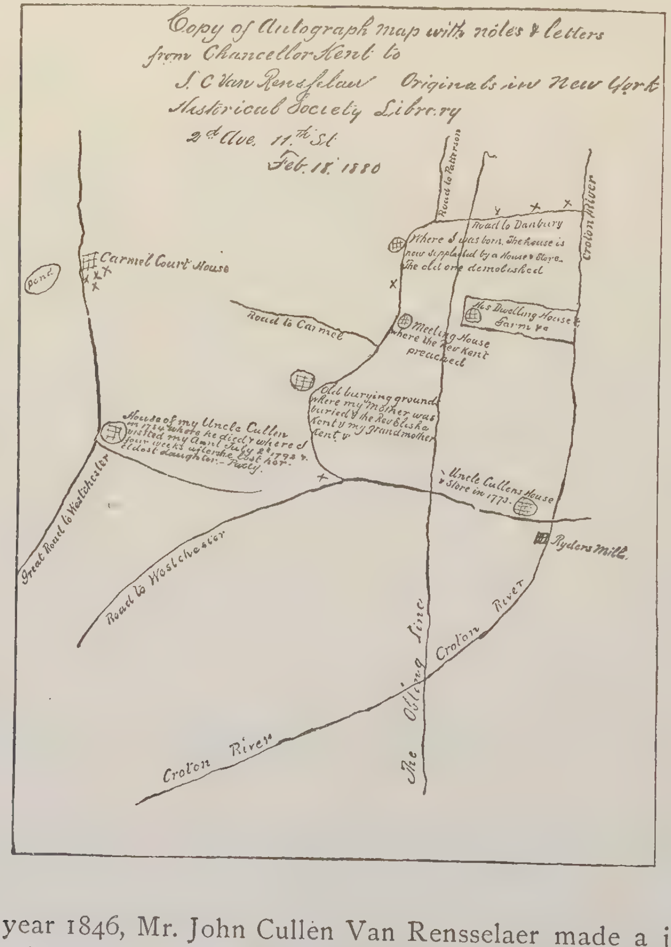
BIRTHPLACE OF CHANCELLOR JAMES KENT

HIS INTERESTING LETTER OF REMINISCENCE



James Kent, the famous jurist and chancellor of New York, was born at his father's house in Doanesburg, New York, July 31, 1763. When five years old he went to reside with his maternal grandfather, Rev. Joseph Moss, at Norwalk, Connecticut. In 1777, he entered Yale College, but in 1779, in consequence of the invasion of New Haven by the British troops, the students were dispersed. He graduated in 1781, and going to Poughkeepsie commenced the study of law under Hon. Egbert Benson, and was admitted to the bar as an attorney in 1785. His brilliant and successful career is well known; what Blackstone was to England, Chancellor Kent has been to America. It is enough to say of his great legal work, that until the present order of things shall be succeeded by a higher law or utter lawlessness, "Kent's Commentaries" must be the source from which the student will derive his first knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence.

The home of Moss Kent, the chancellor's father, stood on the west side of the street. In 1819, it was purchased by the Presbyterian Church and used as a parsonage. In 1824, the old house was torn down, and a new one erected on the site, which is now the property of Mr. Frederick S. Barnum, and highly prized by him on account of its interesting associations. Shortly before the destruction of the old edifice, Chancellor Kent made a visit to the home of his childhood. When he entered the house he seemed transformed once more into a boy. Requesting to be conducted to a certain room, he said to his astonished guide, "I want to crawl under the bed, and put my hand in a knot-hole where brother Moss and I used to amuse ourselves when boys in watching for a mouse." And suiting the action to the word, down dropped the grave and dignified chancellor of New York, and (not without difficulty) accomplished the feat which had been one of his boyish pleasures long years before.

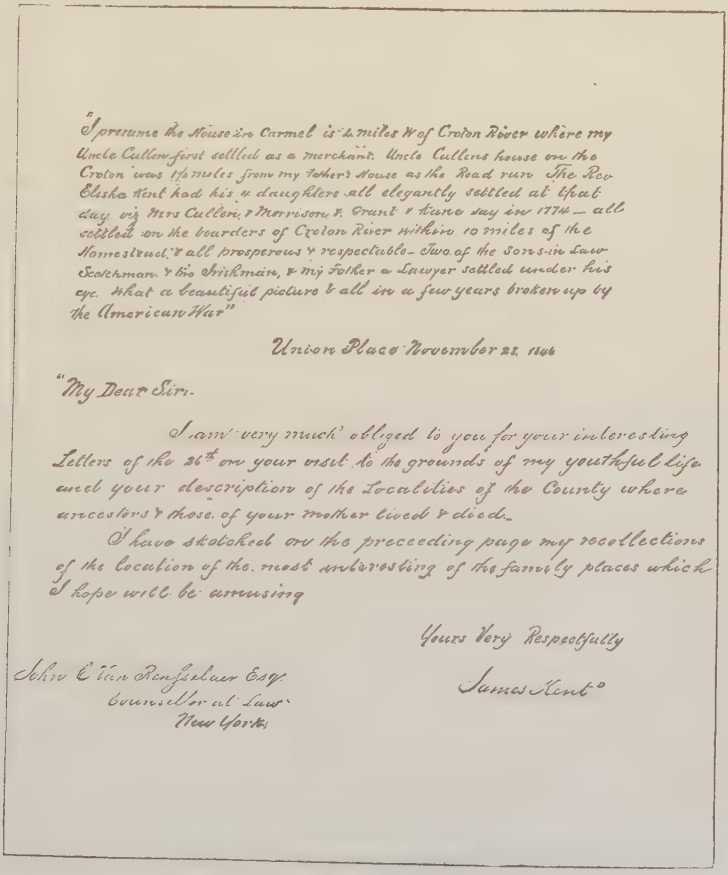

Copy of Autograph map with notes & letters
from Chancellor Kent to
J. C Van Rensselaer Originals in New York
Historical Society Library
2d Ave. 11th St
Feb. 18. 1880
Road to Patterson
Road to Danbury
Croton River
Where I was born. The house is now supplanted by a House & Store. The old one demolished
Carmel Court House
Pond
His Dwelling House & Farm &c
Road to Carmel
Meeting House where the Rev Kent preached
Old burying ground where my mother was buried & the Rev Elisha Kent & my Grandmother Kent &c
House of my Uncle Cullen in 1784 where he died & where I visited my Aunt July 2d 1792 & four weeks after she lost her eldest daughter:- Patty.
Uncle Cullens House & Store in 1773.
Ryders Mill.
Great Road to Westchester
Road to Westchester
Croton River
The Oblong Line
Croton River

In the year 1846, Mr. John Cullen Van Rensselaer made a journey to Doanesburg in search of a family Bible which had belonged to his grandmother, Lucy Cullen, daughter of Rev. Elisha Kent. Previous to starting on his journey, he addressed a letter to his cousin, Chancellor Kent, making some inquiries concerning the family, and in due time received the following characteristic reply:

26 Union Square June 1st, 1846.

Dear Sir

In answer to your interesting letter of Saturday I will now give the recollections I have respecting the parents of your mother. It is probable I am the only person now living who can give any information on the subject. Charles Cullen, your mother's father, was an Irishman, and educated well as a merchant. He wrote neatly, read the English Classics, and was of small stature and of polished manners. He was generous, amiable and hospitable and most kind to me in the early part of my life. He was married to Lucy, a sister of my father, Moss Kent, and youngest daughter of Rev. Elisha Kent, a Presbyterian minister, who was well educated at Yale College, and who became an ordained preacher and settled, say about 1740, on the Oblong, now the town of Southeast in Putnam County. I well remember being present at a Sunday evening with my father and mother, about the year 1768, at the wedding of my uncle Cullen and my aunt Lucy. She was a very sprightly brunette, with black eyes and hair, and was always most kind to me



"I presume the House in Carmel is 4 miles W of Croton River where my Uncle Cullen first settled as a merchant. Uncle Cullens house on the Croton was 1½ miles from my Father's House as the Road run The Rev Elisha Kent had his 4 daughters all elegantly settled at that day viz Mrs Cullen, & Morrison & Grant & Kane say in 1774 — all settled on the boarders of Croton River within 10 miles of the Homestead, & all prosperous & respectable — Two of the Sons-in Law Scotchman & two Irishmen, & my Father a Lawyer settled under his eye. What a beautiful picture & all in a few years broken up by the American War"

Union Place November 28. 1846

"My Dear Sir —

I am very much obliged to you for your interesting Letters of the 26th on your visit to the grounds of my youthful life and your description of the Localities of the County where ancestors & those of your mother lived & died.—

I have sketched on the preceeding page my recollections of the location of the most interesting of the family places which I hope will be amusing

Yours Very Respectfully

James Kent"

John C Van Rensselaer Esq.
Counsellor at Law
New York

and at the recollection of her and her delightful connections in my bright and joyous seasons of youth, I feel the tears of sympathy starting in my eyes. When I rode from Norwalk to my father's house in the town near my grandfather, on a Sunday evening Dec. 30th 1770, my aunt Lucy Cullen came out to the street and took me in her arms off the horse, for my blessed mother was then dying and did die in half an hour.

My uncle Cullen after his marriage settled as a merchant on the Croton River at what was called Ryder's Mills, about a mile south of my grandfather Kent's,* and of my own father's house. Uncle Cullen had a very pleasant, and for that day elegant, house and store, where he traded successfully, down to the American War. There was a very polished and delightful family connection all prosperous at that period. My father was a lawyer and lived within half a mile of my grandfather. Uncle Cullen lived a mile south. Uncle Morrison a Scotch merchant, who married another daughter of the Rev. Elisha Kent and was settled and did business prosperously, six miles north of my grandfather's place, at Fredericksburg.† Uncle Grant a Scotch officer, lived on his half pay, eight miles north of the same and married another daughter of my grandfather. He was a noble fellow and in the British service as a Major, fell at the storming of Fort Montgomery, on the 7th of October, 1777. Uncle Kane an Irish merchant married another of my father's sisters, and lived as a prosperous merchant in Pawlings Precinct, near Quaker Hill, about ten miles north of my grandfather Kent's.‡ Here then on a line of twelve miles, lived Uncle Cullen, next grandfather Kent next my father, next uncle Morrison, next uncle Grant, and next uncle Kane. Here was a polished and prosperous line of connections living from 1760 to 1776, most respectably and happy as a family circle; but alas the American War came on and dispersed them all and all of them were shipwrecked in their business and fortunes (my grandfather excepted who died in 1776) by the tempest of the Revolution.

My uncle Cullen remained and lived on his means, out of all business during the war. His resources were much exhausted and toward the latter end of the war, say in 1783, he removed to a farm about six miles west of his former place and built or repaired a very good house and farm. The town is called Carmel, and the farm was about 2 miles south of where the Court House in the County of Putnam now stands, and at this place my uncle and aunt Cullen both died—uncle Cullen about 1787.§ I do not know where he or his wife were buried, probably in some plain country burying ground, around there, for the country in that quarter was at that time and for some years very plain and poor. I do not believe any body can now tell where was the spot either was buried, or can designate the graves. The remains of my own father are dispersed to the winds and lost. He died in this city in 1794, and was buried in the Presbyterian Church yard in Wall Street, and when the ground was sold and built on, a few years ago, all the graves and their contents were removed without my knowledge and are gone forever. Probably the graves of your mother's parents, have remained undisturbed to this day. My aunt Cullen lost her eldest daughter, early in July 1792. She was about sixteen years of age and was spoken of as a very interesting and respectable young lady. It was a dreadful affliction, to her widowed mother. She was probably buried aside of her father. I rode down from Poughkeepsie, on the 30th, July 1792, to visit my aunt Cullen, in her desolate state and tarried a night with her. From 1781 to his death in 1787, I visited my uncle Cullen frequently. He was like a father to me and I loved him exceedingly. My father took great care of my aunt Cullen, while a widow, and as brother and sister they were affectionately intimate. I do not know exactly when she died. She died on the farm where her husband died, but I was not present at the funeral of either nor was my father. He lived up at Waterford and I at Poughkeepsie, at the time. I presume that your mother was born near Ryder's Mills, before my uncle Cullen removed to Carmel though I do not know her age exactly. The only family burying ground of my grandfather Kent's family, remains at Southeast Town near my grandfather Kent's house and meeting house. There his wife the mother of my aunt Lucy, died and was buried about 1750, and the 'rude memorial' of her grave in a coarsely carved stone, remains to this day.* I was on the spot and saw it the 31st, July 1844. My grandfather has a marble stone at his grave, put up by some of my cousin Kanes, and there is a grave stone of my blessed mother, and these are all the sepulchral monuments remaining of that once happy respectable and prosperous family circle. Some of these details may appear trifling but I thought they would not be unacceptable to your mother to whom I request you, when you write, to give her my love and respects. I am Dear Sir,

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* At Milltown in Southeast.

† Malcolm Morrison, lived in the present village of Patterson.

‡ John Kane was the occupant of a farm on the Gore in the town of Pawlings, now owned by Wm. H. Chapman.

§ This place was probably where the road from Carmel turns east to go to Gilead. The learned Chancellor was doubtless mistaken about the distance, for it is about a mile and a half from the Court House.

Yours Respectfully,
James Kent.

In an account of this journey to Doanesburg which Mr. Van Rensselaer sent to the writer, he says:

"The house of Rev. Elisha Kent, on the elevation back of the church, was in good condition when I saw it in 1846. With the exception of the portico in front, it was unchanged after the lapse of a hundred years. It was a large two-story house. Entering the front door I found a small passage about eight feet long by four or five feet wide; in the rear of this entrance was an immense chimney. The right-hand door opened to the family room, where old Mr. Kent used to hang his pipe. The room over it was his study where he used to retire to pray. The apartment to the left was a large handsome parlor, probably *the* room where my grandmother Lucy and the other daughters of Parson Kent were married. In the rear of all was an immense kitchen. The house was in every part of oak, even to the boarding on the outside, which accounts for its long and excellent preservation. It must have been considered in the olden days as very handsome and expensive. There was a farm attached to it, which the minister cultivated and which now belongs to Mr. Doane." But the old parsonage no longer stands; it was torn down in 1880. Its ruins are still to be seen, and are about twelve rods east of the present Presbyterian

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* She died in Jan. 1751.

Church of Doanesburg. This church was built in 1794, and stands on the site of the old sanctuary which was the scene of the life-long labors of Rev. Elisha Kent. Between the house and the church ran a stone wall, which was the original west line of the Oblong, but this has in recent years been removed. The place is now owned by Mr. Augustus Doane. Accompanying the letter sent by Chancellor Kent to Mr. Van Rensselaer was an interesting pen map made by him, showing the various localities and the site of his birthplace, which the reader will find on another page.

Putnam County, New York, includes the greater part of the "Highland Patent" granted to Adolph Philipse in 1697, which, at his death in 1749, reverted to his nephew, Frederick Philipse, as heir at law. The narrow strip of land known as the "Oblong," bounded this Patent on the east, and was granted to the province of New York by Connecticut in exchange for lands on Long Island Sound. The Oblong was surveyed and divided among its various owners about 1730, and many settlers came from eastern Massachusetts and purchased homes from it in preference to leasing farms and living as tenants on the Philipse Patent. As early as 1743, the population was sufficiently large to enable the people to establish a church and call a minister. A few of the settlers on the Philipse Patent united with them, and appointed commissioners to apply to the Eastern Association of Connecticut to send them a permanent pastor. It was in accordance with this request that Rev. Elisha Kent, then about forty years of age, was secured; and he bought a farm from William Smith, "a lawyer of New York," in what is now the village of Doanesburg. His wife was Abigail Moss, and their five children were Moss Kent (born March 25, 1733; died Feb. 4, 1794); Mary, wife of Malcolm Morrison; Lucy, wife of Charles Cullen; Sybil, wife of John Kane (ancestor of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the Arctic explorer); and Sarah, wife of Major Alexander Grant, who was killed at the taking of Fort Montgomery. Moss Kent, father of the chancellor, was a graduate from Yale, and admitted to the bar in 1756. His three children were James, Moss, and Hannah, wife of William P. Platt. Chancellor James Kent, after a life of honor and usefulness, died at his residence, No. 26 Union Square, New York, December 12, 1847, and was buried in the cemetery at Fishkill, by the side of his only son. His portrait hangs in the clerk's office of Putnam County, where his memory is cherished with affection; and of his greatness and his fame the country, as well as his native town, may well be proud.

William S. Pelletreau.

MINOR TOPICS

INCIDENTS IN SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S LIFE

Editor of Magazine of American History :—

In the third volume of his *Addresses and Speeches*, Robert C. Winthrop has given us a valuable contribution to history, that must be regarded as conclusive evidence that Sir Walter Raleigh made quite a long speech on the scaffold immediately before his execution. This speech—that has usually been called his "Confession"—has been discredited by some historians ; but Mr. Winthrop "found in the Common Place Book of Adam Winthrop, the father of the first governor of Massachusetts," among several accounts of historical events, "carefully copied from seemingly authentic sources, 'The Confession and execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.'" This copy, with unimportant variations only, agrees with the general version of the "Confession." Says Winthrop : "Sir Walter was executed in October, 1618, when Adam Winthrop was living at Groton, England, at seventy years of age, a magistrate of the old county of Suffolk, who, a few years before, had resigned the Auditorship of Trinity College, Cambridge, which he had held for sixteen or seventeen years. His son, who twelve years afterwards came over to New England as governor of Massachusetts, was then about thirty years old. Both of these men took an intelligent interest in public affairs, and might have personally witnessed the execution of Raleigh, had they chanced to be in London at the time." Mr. Winthrop, after considering it very fully, observes : "In conclusion, we can hardly doubt that this speech was made substantially as it has been reported."

Another incident in Sir Walter's life, hardly less important, and about which much more serious doubt has been thrown, is the statement that he destroyed material he had collected for a continuation of his *History of the World.* This appears in a book entitled *Celebrated Trials, Selected by a member of the Philadelphia Bar* (John Jay Smith, born 1798), and published by L. A. Godey, in 1836. In this book it is stated that Sir Walter, "some few days before he suffered, sent for Mr. Walter Burr, who formerly printed his first volume of the *History of the World*, whom taking by the hand, after some other discourse, he asked how it had sold? Mr. Burr returned this answer, 'It has sold so slowly that it has undone me.' At these words Sir Walter, stepping to his desk, took the other unprinted part of his history, which he had brought down to the times he lived in, and clapping his hand upon his breast, said, with a sigh, 'Ah! my friend, hath the first part undone thee? the second part shall undo no more ; this ungrateful world is unworthy of it!' and immediately going to the fireside, threw it in, and set his foot upon it till it was consumed. As great a loss to learning as Christendom could have sustained ; the greater, because it could be repaired by no hand but his."

Edward Edwards, author of a *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, published in 1868, said to be the best ever yet written of him, attributes this story of the bookseller to one Winstanley, who, it would appear from the context, was, says Edwards, "the author of a very worthless book, published in 1660"—forty-two years only after Sir Walter's execution—when, if not true, its falsity must have been known to thousands of his contemporaries then living. Was it denied at the time ? Edwards says, "It has neither authority nor corroboration," and thereupon enters into what seems to me a weak argument to convince his readers that, at any period, the destruction, irrevocably, of the result of long toil, on the faith of a statement like that given in the story of Walter Burr, smacks rather of fable than of history. "Strictly true (he continues) Winstanley's statement cannot be, since a second edition of the *History of the World* had actually appeared before the date assigned, with so much precision, to this conversation in the Tower between the author and bookseller." What, I venture to ask, does this prove ? Mind, it was not a "second *volume*" which had actually appeared, but a "second *edition*" of the *first* and *only* volume ever issued—the large octavo volume of 1614, a copy of which I have examined in our Congressional Library. Who knows that the bookseller's misfortune did not arise from undertaking a second edition, after the first, probably a small one, had been disposed of ? Look at these additional facts. This old volume, as already remarked, bears date 1614, two years before Sir Walter was released from the Tower to take charge of his last and fatal Guiana expedition. It comprises the whole of his *History of the World.* It is divided into five books, the fifth bearing this heading, "From the settled rule of Alexander's successors in the East untill the Romans (prevailing over all) made conquest of Asia and Macedon." Of course, this fifth and last book is plainly not "brought down to the times he lived in." Now mark : In the closing paragraph of his *History* he wrote : "Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calls itselfe '*The first part of the Generall Historie of the World,*' implying a *Second* and *Third* Volume, which I also intended and have hewne out ; besides many other discouragements perswading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed ; whose unspeakable and never enough lamented losse hath taught me to say with *Job*, *Versa est in Luctum Cithara mea & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*" *

What has become of the materials for these second and third volumes, thus "hewne out" ? Evidently, whatever the bookseller might reasonably have supposed was a complete "second part," was in fact only what had been "hewne out" for such volume ; and now that Sir Walter knew he was about to suffer death, what more natural, independently of any irritation from seeing that his great work was ill-appreciated, than that he should wish to destroy his undigested notes, in order to prevent their possible use in a manner to detract from his well-earned "fame to come, which (Edwards declares) he loved with a passion hardly second in intensity to the love of wife and children." Moreover, we have seen that his "Confession," as related, presumably, by the same writer who gives us the story of the bookseller, agrees in all essential particulars with the best-authenticated version thereof. Why, then, should that story, which Edwards says had been current "now for more than two centuries," be discarded as fabulous, since it forms a consecutive part of the author's account of the trial, conviction, and execution of Raleigh?

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* Chap. xxx. 31.

Finally, let it be remembered that Sir Walter was confined in the Tower for at least two months immediately preceding his death. Is it not reasonable, therefore, to suppose that he occupied more or less of this time in collecting materials for the continuation of his *History*. However this may be, we have his positive and undoubted assertion that he had "hewne out" a second and third volume; and unless these materials can be accounted for in some other way, there is the strongest presumptive evidence that he committed them to the flames in the presence of his publisher.

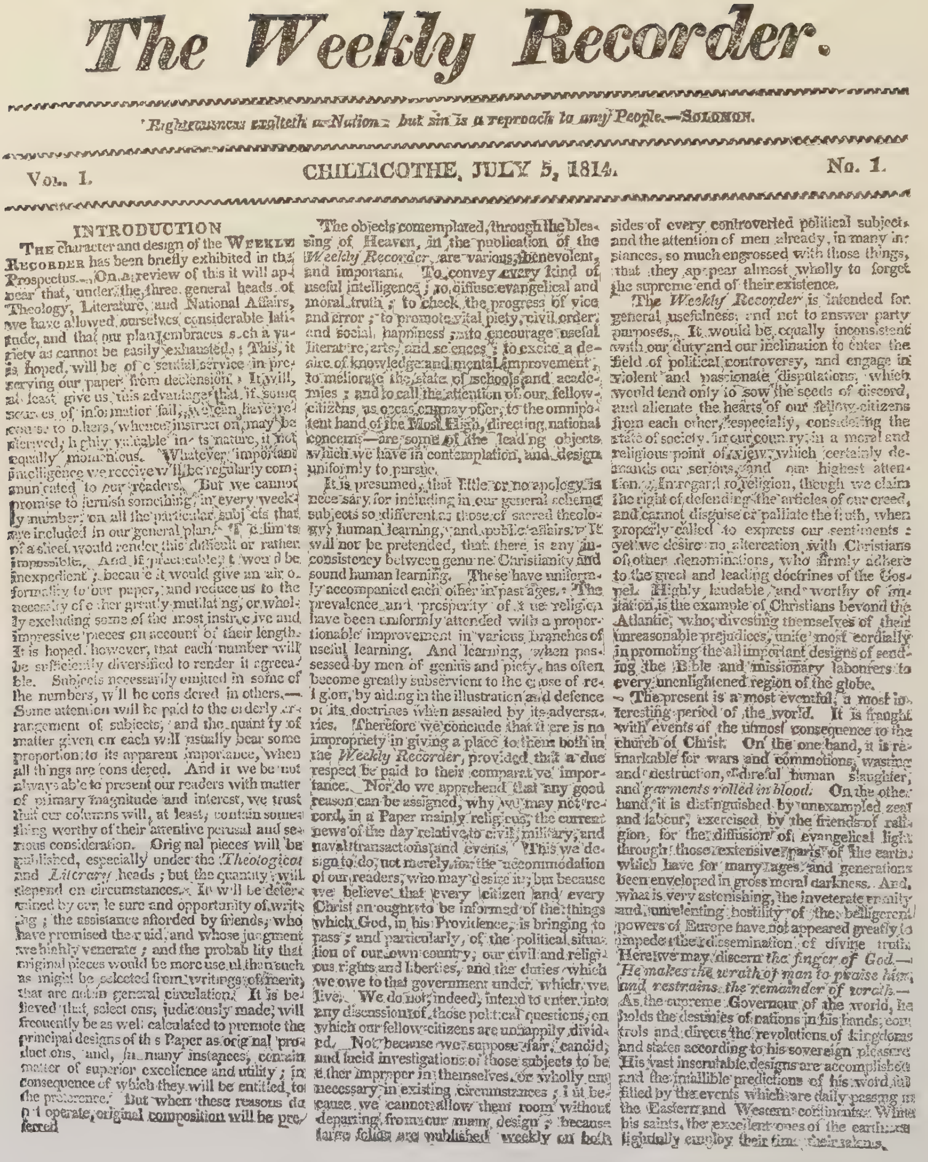
HORATIO KING.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE FIRST RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPER

On page 109 of the February number of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, in the valuable contribution of Hon. S. G. W. Benjamin upon "Notable Editors of the Early American Press," occurs the following: "The Willis mentioned above was Nathaniel Willis, senior, father of the founder of the *Boston Recorder*, the first distinctively religious newspaper in America, and grandfather of the poet and founder of the *Home Journal*, Nathaniel P. Willis—altogether a notable family in the history of American periodical literature."

Permit the correction of an error in the above statement, into which Mr. Benjamin has very naturally been betrayed by the oft-repeated assertion that "the *Boston Recorder* was the first religious newspaper in the world." A comparison of dates will easily settle this matter. The *Boston Recorder* was commenced in January, 1816. A family religious *news*-paper, as that term is now used, combining religious, literary, scientific, educational, secular, and miscellaneous intelligence, was commenced at Chillicothe, Ohio, by Rev. John Andrews, July 5, 1814, eighteen months before the issue of the first number of the *Boston Recorder*. Mr. Andrews entitled his paper the *Weekly Recorder*, and its weekly issue has continued without interruption, though with several changes of name and one change of place, being now the *Presbyterian Banner and Weekly Recorder*, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, now in its seventy-third volume. That the Pittsburgh journal is a



The Weekly Recorder.

Righteousness exalteth a Nation: but sin is a reproach to any People.—SOLOMON.

Vol. 1. CHILLICOTHE, JULY 5, 1814. No. 1.

INTRODUCTION

THE character and design of the WEEKLY RECORDER has been briefly exhibited in the Prospectus.—On a review of this it will appear that, under the three general heads of Theology, Literature, and National Affairs, we have allowed ourselves considerable latitude, and that our plan embraces such a variety as cannot be easily exhausted. This, it is hoped, will be of essential service in preserving our paper from declension. It will, at least, give us this advantage that, if some sources of information fail, we can have recourse to others, whence instruction may be derived, highly valuable in its nature, if not equally momentous. Whatever important intelligence we receive will be regularly communicated to our readers. But we cannot promise to furnish something, in every weekly number, on all the particular subjects that are included in our general plan. The limits of a sheet would render this difficult or rather impossible. And if practicable, it would be inexpedient; because it would give an air of formality to our paper, and reduce us to the necessity of either greatly mutilating, or wholly excluding some of the most instructive and impressive pieces on account of their length. It is hoped, however, that each number will be sufficiently diversified to render it agreeable. Subjects necessarily omitted in some of the numbers, will be considered in others.—Some attention will be paid to the orderly arrangement of subjects; and the quantity of matter given on each will usually bear some proportion to its apparent importance, when all things are considered. And if we be not always able to present our readers with matter of primary magnitude and interest, we trust that our columns will, at least, contain something worthy of their attentive perusal and serious consideration. Original pieces will be published, especially under the *Theological* and *Literary* heads; but the quantity will depend on circumstances. It will be determined by our leisure and opportunity of writing; the assistance afforded by friends, who have promised their aid, and whose judgment we highly venerate; and the probability that original pieces would be more useful than such as might be selected from writings of merit, that are not in general circulation. It is believed that, selections, judiciously made, will frequently be as well calculated to promote the principal designs of this Paper as original productions, and, in many instances, contain matter of superior excellence and utility; in consequence of which they will be entitled to the preference. But when these reasons do not operate, original composition will be preferred.

The objects contemplated, through the blessing of Heaven, in the publication of the *Weekly Recorder*, are various, benevolent, and important. To convey every kind of useful intelligence; to diffuse evangelical and moral truth; to check the progress of vice and error; to promote vital piety, civil order, and social happiness; to encourage useful literature, arts, and sciences; to excite a desire of knowledge and mental improvement; to meliorate the state of schools and academies; and to call the attention of our fellow-citizens, as occasion may offer, to the omnipotent hand of the Most High, directing national concerns—are some of the leading objects which we have in contemplation, and design uniformly to pursue.

It is presumed, that little or no apology is necessary for including in our general scheme subjects so different as those of sacred theology, human learning, and public affairs. It will not be pretended, that there is any inconsistency between genuine Christianity and sound human learning. These have uniformly accompanied each other in past ages. The prevalence and prosperity of true religion have been uniformly attended with a proportionable improvement in various branches of useful learning. And learning, when possessed by men of genius and piety, has often become greatly subservient to the cause of religion, by aiding in the illustration and defence of its doctrines when assailed by its adversaries. Therefore we conclude that there is no impropriety in giving a place to them both in the *Weekly Recorder*, provided that a due respect be paid to their comparative importance. Nor do we apprehend that any good reason can be assigned, why we may not record, in a Paper mainly religious, the current news of the day relative to civil, military, and naval transactions and events. This we design to do, not merely for the accommodation of our readers, who may desire it; but because we believe that every citizen and every Christian ought to be informed of the things which God, in his Providence, is bringing to pass; and particularly, of the political situation of our own country; our civil and religious rights and liberties, and the duties which we owe to that government under which we live. We do not, indeed, intend to enter into any discussion of those political questions, on which our fellow-citizens are unhappily divided. Not because we suppose fair, candid, and lucid investigations of those subjects to be either improper in themselves, or wholly unnecessary in existing circumstances; but because we cannot allow them room without departing from our main design; because large folios are published weekly on both sides of every controverted political subject, and the attention of men already, in many instances, so much engrossed with those things, that they appear almost wholly to forget the supreme end of their existence.

The *Weekly Recorder* is intended for general usefulness, and not to answer party purposes. It would be equally inconsistent with our duty and our inclination to enter the field of political controversy, and engage in violent and passionate disputations, which would tend only to sow the seeds of discord, and alienate the hearts of our fellow-citizens from each other; especially, considering the state of society in our country, in a moral and religious point of view, which certainly demands our serious, and our highest attention. In regard to religion, though we claim the right of defending the articles of our creed, and cannot disguise or palliate the truth, when properly called to express our sentiments; yet we desire no altercation with Christians of other denominations, who firmly adhere to the great and leading doctrines of the Gospel. Highly laudable, and worthy of imitation, is the example of Christians beyond the Atlantic, who, divesting themselves of their unreasonable prejudices, unite most cordially in promoting the all important designs of sending the Bible and missionary labourers to every unenlightened region of the globe.

The present is a most eventful, a most interesting period of the world. It is fraught with events of the utmost consequence to the church of Christ. On the one hand, it is remarkable for wars and commotions, wasting and destruction, of direful human slaughter, and *garments rolled in blood.* On the other hand, it is distinguished by unexampled zeal and labour, exercised by the friends of religion, for the diffusion of evangelical light through those extensive parts of the earth which have for many ages and generations been enveloped in gross moral darkness. And, what is very astonishing, the inveterate enmity and unrelenting hostility of the belligerent powers of Europe have not appeared greatly to impede the dissemination of divine truth. Here we may discern *the finger of God.*—*He makes the wrath of man to praise him, and restrains the remainder of wrath.*—As the supreme Governour of the world, he holds the destinies of nations in his hands, controls and directs the revolutions of kingdoms and states according to his sovereign pleasure. His vast inscrutable designs are accomplished, and the infallible predictions of his word fulfilled by the events which are daily passing in the Eastern and Western continents. While his saints, the excellent ones of the earth, [illegible] employ their time, their talents,

FAC-SIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE FIRST RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA.

year and a half older than the Boston one is manifest. But was it a religious newspaper? In reply, we quote from its prospectus, contained in its first number, as follows: "The objects contemplated, through the blessing of Heaven, in the publication of the *Weekly Recorder*, are various, benevolent, and important. To convey *every kind of useful intelligence;* to diffuse evangelical and moral truth; to check the progress of vice and error; to promote vital piety, civil order, and social happiness; to encourage useful literature, arts, and sciences; to excite a desire of knowledge and mental improvement; to ameliorate the state of schools and academies; and to call the attention of our fellow-citizens, as occasion may offer, to the omnipotent hand of the Most High, directing national concerns—are some of the leading objects which we have in contemplation, and design uniformly to pursue." Could language describe more comprehensively and accurately the precise field occupied by the best religious newspapers of the present day? Mr. Andrews had long contemplated the issue of just such a paper, at a time and in a region where a large majority of the families would take but one. His purpose was to make that *one* the vehicle of all the important *news* of the day, and to give the journal a decidedly religious tone and character—"to promote vital piety." That he fully succeeded in carrying out this purpose is abundantly evident in the bound volumes of the *Recorder*, which are open to the inspection of any visitor at the office of the *Banner*. Thus the Chillicothe paper was an older religious newspaper than the Boston one.

It may excite surprise that each of these papers bore the name *Recorder*. It does seem a remarkable coincidence. Possibly the following facts may suggest an explanation. Mr. Benjamin states that Nathaniel Willis, senior, was one of the publishers of the *Independent Chronicle* in Boston in 1776. In the recently published *Life of N. P. Willis* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) it is stated (page 6) that the grandfather of the poet went to Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1796, and established the *Scioto Gazette*, the *first* newspaper in what was then known as the Northwest Territory. Mr. Willis died on his farm near Chillicothe, April 1, 1831. He was, therefore, in all probability, publishing a secular newspaper at Chillicothe at the very time when Mr. Andrews commenced his *Recorder;* certainly was a resident of the town or its vicinity, and could not well have been ignorant of the existence of that journal. As his son was contemplating a similar enterprise in Boston, it would be extremely natural that the father, in corresponding with the son, should mention Mr. Andrews' paper, or possibly send him a copy. If this were not so, the mystery remains unexplained.

It has been contended that the *Religious Remembrancer*, which was commenced in Philadelphia, September 4, 1813, ten months earlier than the *Weekly Recorder*, was a religious newspaper. A reference to its bound volumes shows that it was NOT a *news*-paper in Mr. Andrews' sense, and according to the modern idea. It was almost exclusively religious, and it seems to have expired in 1823.

Another error in Mr. Benjamin's article (p. 122), may be noticed here.

"The *Pittsburgh Gazette* was already established in 1785." The first number of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* was issued July 29, 1786. On the same page Mr. Benjamin states that Mr. Maxwell's *Centinel*, published in Cincinnati in 1793, was the first newspaper published north of the Ohio River. This would destroy the claim for Mr. Willis, senior, that his *Scioto Gazette*, Chillicothe, 1796, was the *first* newspaper in the Northwestern Territory.

EDITORS PRESBYTERIAN BANNER.

PITTSBURGH, *February* 12, 1887.

A CRITICAL INQUIRY ABOUT WASHINGTON

Editor of Magazine of American History :—

The story of Braddock's expedition, his defeat and death, has been often told.

Washington, then (1755) twenty-three years old, accompanied him, by invitation, on his staff, with no command. On the retreat he arrived at Fort Cumberland on the 17th of July, quite ill, and wrote his friends he was not dead, as they had been informed. After resting a few days, "he arrived at Mt. Vernon on the 26th of July, in feeble condition from his long illness." (Irving, *Life of Washington*, vol. I., p. 308.) Colonel Dunbar, of the surviving officers, was highest in command, and marched the troops back to Fort Cumberland.

Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, that Colonel Dunbar meant to abandon the frontier, and go into *quarters* in Philadelphia. The governor at once wrote to him, appealing to his military pride: "As you now command all the forces that remain, are you not able to make a second attempt to protect the frontier?" (Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. I., p. 231.) In the *Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. I., p. 140, he writes of Colonel Dunbar: "Common sense would have prevailed not to leave the frontier exposed after having opened a road over the mountains to the Ohio, by which the enemy can the more easily invade us."

Mr. Irving (*ib.*, vol. I., p. 205) writes: "Colonel Dunbar from Fort Cumberland continued his hasty march or rather flight through the country until he arrived in Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him." On the 2d day of August Dunbar left Fort Cumberland for Philadelphia, and thence slowly on to Albany, and joined the northern army. "In November, 1755, he was superseded because of his injudicious retreat from Forts Duquesne and Cumberland." The news of Braddock's defeat reached Philadelphia on the 20th, and Boston, by express from New York, on the 23d, or three days before Washington reached Mt. Vernon. Washington, in a letter to Lord Loudoun, February, 1757, expressed his opinion of the effect of this abandonment thus: "The troops under Colonel Dunbar going into *quarters in July* (1755), . . . gave the French great room to exult, and the Indians little reason to expect a vigorous offensive war on our side." (Washington, *Writings*, vol. II., p. 218). This is the *proof* that has been on record for one hundred and thirty years.

In a recent work, *Outlines of Universal History*, p. 481, quite a new version of this last affair is given, viz.: "The remains of his (Braddock's) army were led by *Washington*, whose courage and presence of mind had been conspicuous, *to Philadelphia*," and nothing more is said of him or them. No explanation is given why he allowed himself to be drawn into, or how he was extricated from, this *cul de sac*. In view of the harmony of preceding writers, this account may be received *cum grano* etc.

ROANOKE.

WASHINGTON'S SWORD

Editor of Magazine of American History :—

Washington bequeathed a sword to each of five nephews. That which fell to Samuel, the son of Charles, was given to the nation in 1843 by Samuel T. Washington, the son of Samuel. By a provision of the joint resolution expressing the thanks of Congress for this relic, it was consigned for safe-keeping to the Department of State, where it is still preserved.

Mr. Summers, of Virginia, in his speech presenting the sword to Congress, stated that it was "worn by George Washington, first as a colonel in the colonial service of Virginia, in Forbes's campaign against the French and Indians, and afterwards during the whole period of the War of Independence, as Commander-in-Chief of the American Army. It is a plain *couteau* or hanger, with a green hilt and silver guard. On the upper ward of the scabbard is engraven, 'J. Bailey, Fish Kill.' It is accompanied by a buckskin belt, which is secured by a silver buckle and clasp, whereon are engraven the letters 'G. W.' and the figures '1757.'"

The expedition organized by the ill-fated Colonel Fry, and conducted under the command of Washington, took place in 1754, and the Braddock expedition in 1755; it is, therefore, likely that Mr. Summers, depending upon tradition, was misled in assigning the first employment of the sword to the earlier period.

It would be interesting to know whether J. Bailey, of Fishkill, whose name appears on the silver band of the scabbard, was a sword-maker or a worker in leather, and only responsible for the scabbard and belt.

Mr. Lossing mentions the sword twice in the *Field-Book of the Revolution*, on page 690 of vol. I., and on page 202 of vol. II. He states, in the first instance: "The war sword of Washington . . . was manufactured by J. Bailey, in Fishkill, and bears his name. His shop was yet in existence when I was there, but used as a stable. It was demolished in 1849."

Perhaps further facts concerning J. Bailey may be elicited by the publication of this note.

T. F. D.

WASHINGTON, *February* 12, 1887.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE CHICAGO MINISTERS

Conversing with Mr. Lincoln one night in the telegraph office of the War Department, he said that a peculiarity of his own life from his earliest manhood had been that he habitually studied the opposite side of every disputed question, of every law case, of every political issue, more exhaustively, if possible, than his own side. He said that the result had been that in all his long practice at the bar he had never once been surprised in court by the strength of his adversary's case —often finding it much weaker than he had feared. On the stump, as all who have heard him there will testify, he was just as ready to answer instanter the affirmations of his opponents as he was to present and vindicate his own.

This striking peculiarity of Mr. Lincoln's mental operations throws a flood of light upon the searching questions he propounded to the Chicago ministers, who called on him, in September, 1862, to demand of him a proclamation of emancipation. After listening to their appeal, he replied, pointedly :

" Now, gentlemen, if I cannot enforce the Constitution down South, how am I to enforce a mere Presidential proclamation ? Won't the world sneer at it as being as powerless as the Pope's bull against the comet ?"

They went away sorrowing, in the erroneous belief that he had decided the case adversely. Really he had already resolved two months before on what they were pleading for, and only nine days after the interview the proclamation was issued. He had felt embarrassed only on that one point, and, as they claimed that they had studied the subject from every possible stand-point, he presented it to them, hoping that they would furnish some apt solution to strengthen him in his already inflexible purpose. One of these ministers, as they were retiring, turned, saying :

"What you have said to us, Mr. President, compels me to say to you in reply, that it is a message to you from our Divine Master, through me, commanding you, sir, to open the doors of bondage that the slave may go free ! "

Mr. Lincoln replied, instantly, " That may be, sir, for I have studied this question, by night and by day, for weeks and for months ; but if it is, as you say, a message from your Divine Master, is it not odd that the only channel he could send it by was that roundabout route by that awfully wicked city of Chicago ? "—*Schuyler Colfax, in Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln, edited by Mr. Rice.*

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Private Intelligence of the Revolution.

From the Collection of the Hon. T. Romeyn Beek, M.D., of Albany, now in possession of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.

Lord Stirling to Rev. Dirck Romeyn, D.D.

Camp near Peeksill September 24h 1781

Dear Sir,

At this very critical moment it is of the highest importance that the commanding General of this department of the Army should be well informed of every important circumstance that happens to the Enemy and of their Motions as minutely as possible; your warm attachment to the Cause we are engaged in, your good sense and prudence, induce me to ask the favour of you to Collect every piece of intelligence you can of the situation of the Enemy at New-York, the disasters that have lately happened to their fleets and armies, the Arrivals there and embarkation from thence, and to reduce the whole to a daily journal which you will send twice or thrice a week directed to *General Heath, Head Quarters*, and for this conveyance of your Letters a man will call on you as often with a line from Captain Pray to whom you may safely intrust your letters which need not be signed but with the letters, M. Q. You will endeavour among the rest, to procure every newspaper you can from New-York and for these purposes the officers on the lines will give you their best assistance, I am

Mark your
letters No. 1, 2. 3. to 6
on the inside.

Your friend and
Most Humble Servant
Stirling

Governor George Clinton to Rev. Dirck Romeyn, D.D.

Pokeepsie Jany 20 1782

Reverend Sir,

I have been duly favored with your Letter of the 3d Instant and return you my Warmest Thanks for the Communication as the Intelligence it contains will help to unravel a scene of Iniquity in the perfect Knowledge of which the Safety of this State is materially concerned.—I shall be under Necessity of making a public use of the contents of it, but will be particularly careful to conceal such Parts of it and use it in such a Manner as not to discover the Channel thro' which the Intelligence is derived.—I have the honor to be

with the most perfect Respect & Esteem your most obt sert

Geo. Clinton

John Adams to Major Joseph Hawley.

Interesting Letter, never before published, from John Adams to Major Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, written a short time prior to the Stamp Act Congress.

[*In possession of Mr. Charles Lyman Shaw.*]

What measures are practicable and expedient? The sentiments of people are as various as the color of their clothes. Some are for petitions to the King, the Lords, the Commons. Some for all some for none. Some are for bolder counsels. Some for negotiations, some for building new governments, empires, and war. Others are for bold and spirited resolutions; some for economy, simplicity, frugality and non-importation, for American Manufactures, Companies for the encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce &c. It seems to me that the ideas of empire and negotiation are prevalent. I wish they were less so. It should be a principal object of our policy to avoid enmities and ruptures. The division would cost too dear a price and would be more than hazardous, it would be attended with almost a certainty of ruin. Measures to check and interrupt the torrent of luxury, if any such are feasible, are most agreeable to my sentiments at present.

A union of the colonies in sentiment and affection, in heart and hand is of indispensable importance. Every thought and expedient for cementing it ought to be cherished. Virginia and Rhode Island have recommended an Annual Congress. Nothing could be better calculated to strengthen and brighten the chain than this. Such an institution and the very idea of it will have an influence in England and all over Europe. The whole policy and force of the ministry will be bent against it no doubt. But I don't see how it is possible for them to prevent it or to hinder its effect. It would be a seminary of American Statesmen, a school of politicians, perhaps at no great distance of time equal to a British Parliament, in wiser as well as better ages.

I have thrown these thoughts upon paper, without any care, in the hurry of Circuit, but I beg your opinion as a very great favor.

I am, with great esteem and regard

Your friend and humble servant,

John Adams

Major Hawley

NOTES

THE HOME OF JOHN ROBINSON, THE FATHER OF CONGREGATIONALISM.—The Rev. Daniel Van Pelt has recently contributed an article of exceptional interest to the *Christian Intelligencer*, from which we make the following extract:

"The writer of this enjoyed the privilege of standing before the house occupied by John Robinson while in Leyden, a few months ago. We had read somewhere that in a garden wall, opposite St. Peter's Church, was to be found a stone tablet with the inscription that we shall soon mention. Such a garden wall we had looked for in vain. But the tablet and inscription were found, nevertheless. Two or three stone steps led up to the front door of the large house that had attracted our attention. To the right of these steps, as we stood facing the house, and but little above the level of the threshold, a large rectangular block of a dark, blueish gray stone, was set into the brick wall directly beneath a window. Upon this severely simple, entirely unadorned mural tablet were engraved, in characters by no means very distinct, the following words:

ON THIS SPOT LIVED
TAUGHT AND DIED
JOHN ROBINSON
1611–1625.

Now there is every probability that the house before which we stood, as we read this exceedingly impressive announcement, is the one really occupied by John Robinson, or, to be more exact, stands upon the 'spot' where stood the one he did live in. From all accounts Robinson's house must have been a dwelling of goodly size. Bancroft quotes Edward Winslow as follows: 'When the ship was ready to carry us away, the brethren that stayed at Leyden . . . feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house, being large.' Another authority informs us that when the Pilgrim Fathers settled in Leyden, 'no special building was set apart for their worship. Meetings were held at the commodious house of John Robinson.'

But we ascertained a matter of great value in throwing light upon the relation of the present house to the former one. Over the front door already mentioned we read another inscription, not in English but in Dutch. Perhaps the interest attaching to everything belonging to a spot like this, as well as the importance of the information it conveys, will warrant us in transcribing what we saw exactly, and, therefore, in the original Dutch. According to an almost universal custom of the country in cases of this kind, the legend is composed of verses that are made to rhyme, and the result here, as elsewhere, is execrable, viewed as poetry. The literary taste of the majority of our readers, however, will not be offended by its transcription, and therefore we submit it as follows:

"'Dus ziet men uit het puin van een bouwvallig nest
Een braaf Gebouw gesticht door vruchtlooze Echtgenooten
Voor veel-behoeftigen, schoon vreemden, die verstooten
Zyn uit hun Vaderland, en veilig hier gevest.
Gesticht door
JEAN PESYN
en zyne huisvrouw
MARIE DE LANNOY.'

We will venture no higher than plain prose in a literal translation: 'Thus is here seen erected, out of the remains (or *debris*) of a dilapidated nest, a brave building, by a childless pair, for those in needy circumstances, although foreigners who have been driven from their fatherland, and are safely settled here. Founded by Jean Pesyn, and his wife, Marie de Lannoy.'

The date is placed beneath the lines, and is 1683. This, then, is the story told by the inscription: In 1683, nearly sixty years after Robinson's death, his house was in a dilapidated condition. The building we look upon is not the actual one in every respect which he occupied; but neither is it wholly different. The parts that were too far gone may have been broken away and replaced by new material; but those that were only weak must have been simply strengthened, and there is no doubt that the foundations are the same as before, and cover the same amount of surface. This, then, is an item of great satisfaction in regard to the present house. It brings us the nearest possible to realizing the actual appearance of the building which was the 'cradle of American nationality,' and the home of 'the father of Congregationalism.'"

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS—The following is not a new paragraph, but there is such an infinite amount of force and suggestion in it, that it has the effect of newness every time it is read.

"A lecture on 'The Ten Commandments' was recently delivered in a Western town, and the local paper spoke of it as a novel and brilliantly original code of morals, which will be likely to make a stir in the world when it becomes widely known."

A SONG ON SINGING—The following beautiful lines are from George Lansing Raymond's recently issued *Ballads of the Revolution and Other Poems*:

"How oft of old, when reigned the wrong,
And rare and regal rose in song,
The call sublime that roused the strong
From hut and hamlet springing,
Like avalanches launched in might,
Where thunder shakes an Alpine height,
Resistless down its path of white,
Has right been led by singing.

Nor less the power of song, when peace
Has dawned apace, and dangers cease,
Or men in thrall have found release,
Their fetters from them flinging.
Oh, what could make their thanks complete,
Did crowds exultant fail to meet
In great Town Hall, or village street,
And shout their joy in singing!

A shadeless waste, a shoreless sea,
Were earth without its songs of glee;
And what would Heaven beyond it be
Without the praises springing
From voices there, where funeral knells,
Seem sweeter far than marriage bells
To love call'd hence, that ever dwells
Within the sound of singing!"

AMERICAN HISTORY—The first problem of importance which historians of the discovery of America have to solve (for the apparently authentic but resultless voyages of the Northmen, the semi-mythical adventures of the Zuni, etc., are little worth a laborious investigation) is a psychological matter—it is simply the personal character of Columbus himself, on the interpretation of which not only much of his biography, but not a little of the history of his discoveries must be based. . . . The history of the first discovery and exploration of the New World comprises a series of narratives fully as interesting, when first told, as the 'Thousand Nights and One Night,' and more improving to study, it may be plausibly alleged, than even the unexpurgated version of that venerable body of romance. And had the new world, once discovered and partially known, relapsed into darkness and the way across the sea been forgotten, the *Quatuor Navigations* of Vespucci (if ever written) might have taken the place of the seven voyages of Sinbad the Sailor, and gossiping Peter Martyr of Anghiera might have been the Western Scheherazade. It is difficult for us who know already what coasts and rivers the early explorers were to find, to realize the feelings of the generation that read the letters of Columbus and Cortez. The wonders of travel in yet unexplored parts of the earth can never have for us the same freshness as to men who knew little of the laws of nature and human history ruling in their own hemisphere, and had no confident assurance that the laws they knew would hold good in the New World.

Accurate and scientific historical labor is often accused of making its productions dull, and some of those who promote scientific study have too rashly accepted the charge as a necessary truth. Undoubtedly impartial and rigorous investigation tends to diminish the picturesqueness of historical narrative. It reduces alike the greatness of heroes, the goodness of saints, and the blackness of villains, and shows, as a rule, that particular individuals were responsible for much less than is popularly credited them. This process has the disadvantage of depriving those who like violent contrasts of their beloved dramatic or rather melodramatic effects; but to those who desire to study real life, it is far more interesting as well as more scientific, to treat of historical events as resulting from the probable interaction of conceivable characters and causes. The general result of inquiry and criticism applied to the history of American discovery has been, as elsewhere, to level down the heroes and saints, and level up the knaves and fools, without, however, altering their traditional characters completely.—*A. R. Ropes' Early Explorations of America, Real and Imaginary*, in the *Historical Review*.

QUERIES

SENECAS—The name Seneca, as denoting a tribe of the Iriquois, I do not find explained by Morgan. He says they called themselves Nundawaonos, meaning *big-hill people*. These Indians in all early French books I have noticed are called Tsonnontuans. Is Seneca a corruption of that name? and what is the etymology of the aboriginal name? When is it first met with?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

PUBLIC LAND—*Editor Magazine of American History:* Was the "Township of public land" presented to Lafayette by Congress during his visit to this country in 1824 ever located? If so, where?

WM. COBLEIGH

GRAFTON, DAKOTA.

HORSE CHESTNUT—What is the origin of this name as applied to a tree?

WILMOT

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY.

WHALEY, THE REGICIDE—Can any one give me the following particulars concerning Colonel Whaley, the regicide, who at the Restoration fled to this country? (1) The date of his arrival. (2) Where he settled. (3) Date of death. (4) Names of his male issue. ANTHONY AMOUX

NEW YORK, *February* 9, 1887.

REPLIES

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—"BRITISH MUSEUM" [xvii. 174]—Will find in the *Statesman's Manual*, Vol. IV., p. 1511 (N. Y., 1853), in the *American Almanac* for 1834, p. 98, and in *Poore's Political Register and Congressional Directory*, N. Y., 1878, the list of members of the Continental Congress of which he is in quest. A. O. C. GRIFFIN

BOSTON, *February* 8, 1887.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS [xvii. 174]—At the end of Vol. II., *History of the American Revolution*, by David Ramsay, M. D., of South Carolina, London, 1793, is "An Alphabetical List of the Members of Congress who attended from the several States from 5th November, 1774, to the 3d of March, 1789." The November in this title is, of course, a misprint for September. ROBT. H. HALL

OMAHA, NEBRASKA, *February* 5, 1887.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH [xvii. 77] *Editor of Magazine of American History:* In reply to the question regarding the visit of Sir Walter Raleigh to America, we quote the following extract from Smith's works, London edition, 1629, p. 99, which shows that the statement has some foundation: "In the year of our Lord, 1586, Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates prepared a ship of a hundred tuns, fraughted plentifully of all things necessary; but before they set sayle from *England* it was Easter. And arriving at Hatorask they after some time spent in seeking the Collony up in the Country, and not finding them returned with all the provision again to England."

The context seems to prove that the progressive Raleigh made an effort to recover his lost colony by a trip to America, and the fact that the name of no other commander is mentioned in connection with that expedition, leads to the belief that Raleigh himself commanded. EDWARD INGLE

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

JOHN C. SPENCER [xvii. 128]—It was misprinted, the statement that he was Secretary of the "Navy"; he was Secretary of War under President Tyler from October, 1841, to March, 1843, when he was transferred to the Treasury Department. EDITOR

COMMANDER MACKENZIE [xvii. 128]—Young Philip Spencer was a graduate of Union College. He had a classmate and intimate friend, young Charles Borland, of Montgomery, Orange County, to whom he said when they graduated: "Now, Charlie, a short life and a merry one." We had this fact from young Borland, in a letter, soon after young Spencer was hung. W. J. BLAKE

CARMEL, NEW YORK.

SOCIETIES.

THE NEW YORK GENEOLOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting at 64 Madison Avenue, on the evening of January 13. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, Gen. James Grant Wilson; first vice-president, Dr. Ellsworth Eliot; second vice-president, Dr. Henry R. Stiles; corresponding secretary, Rufus King; recording secretary, Thomas G. Evans; treasurer, Dr. George H. Butler; librarian, Samuel Burhans, Jr.; register of pedigrees, Clarence W. Bowen; executive committee, Dr. Ellsworth Eliot, Frederick D. Thompson, Thomas G. Evans, Dr. Thomas A. Fletcher; publication committee, Rev. Beverley R. Betts, Dr. Henry R. Stiles, Charles B. Moore, Dr. Samuel S. Purple, Gen. James Grant Wilson; committee on bibliographical biography, Mr. Chas. B. Moore, Mr. T. B. Bleecker, Jr.

General Wilson then read an interesting paper on "Richard Henry Dana," who was born in Cambridge in 1815. After touching upon the events of his early life, the orator said: "During the years 1859-60 Mr. Dana made a tour around the world, visiting California a second time, the Hawaiian Islands, China, Japan, India and Egypt, returning through Europe. Six years later, by request of the family of Henry Wheaton, he engaged in the preparation of a new edition of *Wheaton's International Law*, bringing up that standard work from 1848, when Mr. Wheaton died, to the time of the publication of the revised book. The task, which in some respects Mr. Dana performed successfully, entailed upon him much subsequent annoyance. Some of his original annotations were regarded with particular favor, and his note on the neutrality laws of the United States and Great Britain was translated by order of our Government to be used by the arbitrators at Geneva in 1872."

The President also called attention to the progressive condition of the Society, which has added largely to its membership during the past year, and, through the efforts of its building committee, is hoping soon to have a home of its own, where its valuable library will be arranged in more appropriate quarters.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its sixty-fifth annual meeting on the 11th of January. The vice-president, Dr. Charles W. Parsons, in the chair. The meeting was occupied with the reading of reports, and the annual address of President Gammell. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, William Gammell; first vice-president, Francis Brinley; second vice-president, Dr. C. W. Parsons; secretary, Amos Perry; treasurer, Richmond P. Everett; committee on nominations, A. V. Jenks, William Staples, W. Maxwell Greene; committee on lectures, Amos Perry, William Gammell and B. B. Hammond; committee on buildings and grounds, Isaac H. Southwick, Henry J. Steere and Royal C. Taft; committee on library, Charles W. Parsons, William B. Weeden, Stephen H. Arnold.

The Society also held a meeting on the 25th of January, vice-president Dr. Charles W. Parsons in the chair. The essay read on the occasion was by Dr. F. G. Clark, the subject being "Sanitary Science in Rhode Island," which pointed strongly to the inestimable advantage derived from strict quarantine laws and their enforcement. There was a great number of details presented concerning this branch of Rhode Island history, and the tracing of the legislative history especially was minute. At the close Dr. Reuben A. Guild moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Clark, and Dr. Parsons spoke concerning the great advance in sanitary and medical skill during the time covered by the paper.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN, at its annual meeting in January, was obliged to accept with much regret the resignation of Lyman C. Draper, LL.D., the corresponding secretary of the Society since 1854, a period of thirty-three years. His successor, Reuben G. Thwaites, is eminently fitted by education, taste, and experience for the responsible position, a gentleman who has been for the past ten years on the editorial staff of the *State Journal.* The meeting was one of great interest throughout. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, Hon. John A. Rice Merton; vice-presidents, Hon. Harlow S. Orton, LL.D., Madison; Hon. Morgan L. Martin, Green Bay; Hon. James T. Lewis, LL. D., Columbus; Hon. James Sutherland, Janesville; Hon. M. M. Davis, Baraboo; Chauncey C. Britt, Esq., Portage City; Hon. John H. Rountree, Platteville; Hon. Simeon Mills, Madison; Hon. J. F. Potter, East Troy; Samuel Marshall, Esq., Milwaukee; Hon. John T. Kingston, Necedah; Gen. David Atwood, Madison; Hon. Moses M. Strong, Mineral Point; Hon. C. L. Colby, Milwaukee; Hon. J. J. Guppey, Portage City; and John E. Burton, Geneva Lake. Honorary vice-presidents, Hon. Cyrus Woodman, Massachusetts; F. L. Billon, St. Louis; Robert Clarke, Ohio; Benson J. Lossing, LL. D., Dover Plains, N. Y.; Hon. L. J. Farwell, Missouri; W. H. Wyman, Cincinnati; Charles Fairchild, Massachusetts; Col. S. V. Shipman, Illinois; Hon. Amasa Cobb, Nebraska; Col. R. T. Durrett, Louisville; Samuel H. Hunt, Newton, N. J.; and Simon Gratz, Pennsylvania. Corresponding secretary, Reuben G. Thwaites; recording secretary, Elisha Burdick; treasurer, Frank F. Proudfit; librarian, Daniel S. Durrie.

THE ALBANY HISTORICAL AND ART SOCIETY—The success of the Loan Exhibition in Albany during the bi-centennial celebration in the summer of 1886 has resulted in the organization of this Society on a substantial basis. Its incorporators are: J. Townsend Lansing, Albert Vander Veer, John T. Norton, William Bayard Van Rensselaer, J. Howard King, John Boyd Thacher, William O. Stillmann, Erastus D. Palmer, Wheeler B. Melius. Robert C. Pruyn, William Winslow Crannell, Jacob H. Ten Eyck, Abraham Lansing, John H. Van Antwerp, Walter D. Nicholas, Richard Varick De Witt, Walter Dickson, Clarence A. Walworth, Duncan Campbell, Irving Browne, John V. L. Pruyn, Maurice E. Viele, Amasa J. Parker, Jr., John E. McElroy, Garret A. Van Allen, Douw H. Fonda, Robert H. Waterman, S. N. D. North, Henry

James Ten Eyck, Harmon P. Read, George D. Feary and James H. Manning. The president of the Society is J. Townsend Lansing; vice-president, Albert Vander Veer; treasurer, William Bayard Van Rensselaer; recording secretary, John T. Norton. The work of the Society is divided into six departments, viz.: fine arts, bric-à-brac, books and manuscripts, furniture and old dress, military and Indian relics, ceramics and ivories. Members are classed as annual, life, non-resident and honorary. Annual members pay an annual fee of five dollars, and may become life members on the payment of fifty dollars.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY at its annual meeting elected the following officers for the ensuing year: president, E. H. Roberts; first vice-president, Dr. I. S. Hartley; second vice-president, D. E. Wager; third vice-president, John F. Seymour; recording secretary, Dr. M. M. Bagg; corresponding secretary, Gen. C. W. Darling; librarian, F. C. Ingalls; treasurer, W. C. Rowley; executive committee, Alexander Seward, chairman; George C. Sawyer, Daniel Batchelor, S. G. Visscher; councillors, Ward Hunt, R. S. Williams and A. T. Goodwin.

Reports and general business occupied the entire session. In the evening the Society assembled in Library Hall and listened to the annual address by Professor F. M. Burdick, of Hamilton. His subject was, "Is Local History Worth Studying?" and from his able and elegant arguments, one is easily led to believe that there are no bounds to be set to the study of local history. It can proceed indefinitely and with incalculable usefulness.

In the course of his discourse he said: "One of the most striking contrasts afforded by our local institutions is that between the New England town and the Virginia county. The old explanation of the difference was that New England was settled by Puritans and Virginia by cavaliers A careful study of early local history shows that this explanation does not explain. The New England township is seen not to be an original creation of Puritan political genius, and the Virginia county not the result of cavalier perversion. When the Puritan settlers organized their petty self-governing communities they reproduced, in the main, an institution of the mother country. The officers, the laws, the customs of these new towns were mostly copies, not inventions. Even the three constables, who by the town laws of Salem were to be at the three doors of the church to keep the boys in and the dogs out, were performing the same duties assigned to English constables. The history of the Puritan settlements in Virginia and Maryland shows that Puritans, like cavaliers, were unable to evolve the township in colonies when soil and climate made the cultivation of vast estates by slave labor profitable. Another view of the town which is seen to be mistaken is that presented by Mr. Palfrey; that the town was borrowed by the other colonies from Massachusetts. Mr. Irving Elton has shown that the Dutch villages along the Hudson originated not as imitations of the Massachusetts towns, but in local municipal institutions of Holland."

The Cayuga County Historical Society held its annual meeting in Auburn, New York, on the evening of February 8; General William H. Seward in the chair. The annual election resulted in the choice of the following officers: president, William H. Seward; vice-president, Benjamin B. Snow; corresponding secretary, Frank W. Richardson; recording secretary, David M. Dunning; treasurer, Nelson B. Eldred; librarian and custodian, John H. Osborne; historical secretary, Darius Warren Adams.

President Seward's annual address was a review of the profitable work accomplished by the Society during the year, and a congratulatory message on the prosperity of the institution. He made several recommendations to the trustees in the line of progress, among them the opening of the rooms to the general public, the exhibition of archives, etc.

President Seward presented a paper on "Hobbies, and those we have ridden in 1886;" which revealed the value of hobbies in history as originating many great movements in the world's civilization. He made a plea for the legitimacy of hobbies in every community, and advocated the choice by every citizen of at least one good hobby, contending that the riding of one would bring profit not only to its rider, but to the people among whom he lived. The writer reviewed particularly the hobbies that had been active in Auburn during the past year, the results accomplished by them, and their value to the community. The paper was interesting and full of practical suggestions.

It was announced that Publication No. 5, containing Mayor Wheeler's paper on "Ancient and Modern Sewers," would be issued at an early day.

The Georgia Historical Society held its forty-eighth annual meeting on the evening of February 14, at Hodgson Hall, Savannah. There was no anniversary address, but reports were read, and officers for the ensuing year elected, as follows: president, Hon. Henry R. Jackson; vice-presidents, General G. Moxley Sorrel, General Alexander R. Lawton; corresponding secretary, Captain Robert Falligant; treasurer, William S. Bogart; librarian, William Harden; curators, Colonel Charles H. Olmstead, A. Schwaab, W. D. Harden, Colonel John Screven, R. J. Larcombe, W. H. Baker, Colonel George A. Mercer.

The report of Mr. William Harden, who has been the Society's librarian for eighteen years, was most interesting. He stated the accessions to the library during the past year to have been five hundred and seventy-nine bound volumes, and five hundred and eighty-four pamphlets. He said the visitors to the library were constantly increasing. Among other things, he earnestly recommended the publication, either in full or in part, of the Society's yearly transactions.

In response to an inquiry concerning the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Director Brandt made a very interesting report in regard to what is being done there and in regard to the art school which he has recently established.

BOOK NOTICES

COLLECTIONS OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA. Vol. I., 8vo, pp. 431. New York. 1886. Published by the Society.

This elegantly printed and carefully edited initial volume of a collection that will unquestionably prove a most valuable contribution to American history, is particularly rich in exact reprints of the church registers of births, marriages, and deaths, the bulk of the work being devoted to this material. The introduction is from the pen of Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, pastor of the Church du St. Esprit, who gives an elaborate history of this representative Huguenot church in New York from its first formation to the present time. He divides his sketch into four nearly equal periods, the first of which extends from 1628 to 1688; the second, from 1688 to 1750; the third, from 1750 to 1804; and the fourth, from 1804 to 1886. One of the features of curious interest in his engaging narrative is the affair of Rev. Louis Rou in 1724, a clergyman who had been invited by the French Protestants of New York to cross the Atlantic and become their pastor, and who soon became involved in a dispute that grew into a quarrel of no small magnitude. He was, according to Smith, the historian, a man of learning, but proud, pleasurable, and passionate, whatever that means; and his successor, for whom he was set aside, was distinguished chiefly for dullness and goodness. Cadwallader Colden, in commenting upon Smith's phraseology, says that Mr. Rou "was bookish and, as such men frequently are, peevish and had nothing of the courtly, polite Frenchman. The game of chess was the only amusement he took, and perhaps was too fond of it. It was said that he wrote a treatise on that game." The trouble between the church and pastor became of so grave a character that the governor and council interfered in favor of the latter, which served to fan the fire of contention until it exercised a powerful influence over public affairs. The appendix to the work contains nineteen historical documents relating to the French Protestants in New York, and an index of family names. The illustrations include engravings of the second French Protestant church in New York erected in 1703; the third, of Sing Sing marble, built in 1832; and the present Church du St. Esprit, in West Twenty-second Street, completed in 1863. The volume is issued in sumptuous style and in excellent taste; it is substantially bound in green cloth and red parchment.

STUDY OF THE ENGLISH CLASSICS. A Practical Handbook for Teachers. By ALBERT F. BLAISDELL, A.M. 16mo, pp. 303. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The revised fourth edition of a work on the English classics indicates certainly that there is a pronounced revival of a branch of literary study that had a few years ago fallen largely into the background. Nor is the present the only volume of its class that teaches the same lesson. One can hardly take up a publisher's list without finding other indications that the fathers of English literature are receiving more consideration from their children than they have been accustomed to of late. The author of this handbook has devoted many years to work in the same direction. His "Shakespeare Speaker," "Memory Quotations," and annotated editions of "Christmas Carol," "Sketch Book," "Vicar of Wakefield," etc., have found their way into the hands of many teachers and scholars. The first edition of the present work was published when the study of English classics was just beginning to be recognized as a branch of public school education, and, no doubt, the revised form will commend itself to many who have hitherto trusted to their own ingenuity, supplemented by general knowledge of the standard authors. One of the author's fundamental ideas is to require students to translate into their own language some well-known poem, such as "The Battle of Blenheim," "The Inchcape Rock," or "The Wreck of the Hesperus," expanding, contracting, and changing the phraseology so as to express in original terms the substance of the poem. Such exercise must cultivate a knowledge of the elasticity of the English tongue in a degree hardly to be attained by any other method. This is but one of a hundred suggestions which, in the hands of an intelligent teacher, must go far to lighten the labors of the class-room and stimulate an interest in all that is best in literature. Such hints, with copious selections for memorizing and other exercises, make up the body of the book, which concludes with a large number of questions to be asked, the answers to which must be largely drawn from individual research.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF EASTON, MASSACHUSETTS. By WILLIAM L. CHAFFIN. 8vo, pp. 838. Cambridge. 1886. John Wilson & Son.

The practical value of the minute study of local history can never be over-estimated. Apart from its relation to general history, it quickens public interest in names and deeds and controversies that otherwise would pass into oblivion, and gives to a community a sense of self-respect which could never be attained without attention to its own annals. Mr. Chaffin, in his admirable work before us, has performed a service of the first importance to his townsmen and to the general reader. Commencing with the topography of Easton, his narrative moves forward easily, touching with elaborate care upon the original purchase of Taunton, the boundary-line controversy, and the individuality of the first settlers. Prior to 1725, fifty-nine families had settled in the place. The origin of the Easton Church, and a sketch of its first minister, Elder William Pratt, form the subject of the fourth chapter. The eight years' ministry of the Rev. Matthew Short, with quotations from some of his sermons, is another quaintly interesting feature of the book. When he died, a proposition was made in town-meeting to pay eighteen pounds, eleven shillings, sixpence, for his funeral charges, but only about half of it was voted. Then comes the ministry of Rev. Joseph Belcher, who was called to the parish in 1731. The sum of fourteen pounds was voted to defray the expenses of the ordination. The author says: "Ordination services were important affairs in those days. Not only were the most impressive religious services held, but there was also a great deal of hearty feasting, and not infrequently considerable money was spent for good liquors as well as food. In some places, though perhaps never in Easton, an ordination was a two days' affair and was ended with a ball, at which were music and dancing. It is well to think of these things when we are tempted to fall into the too common cant of condemning our early fathers as so rigidly austere and gloomy."

The fourteenth chapter is devoted to "Easton in the Revolutionary War," and is noteworthy in many respects. The public schools as well as the churches are traced in their development in subsequent pages, also the foundation of eight libraries, which shows the intellectual bent of the population. The Ames Free Library has a handsome building a picture of which appears among the illustrations. It contains upward of eleven thousand books, and a large number of papers and periodicals supply the needs of the beautiful reading-room. Mr. Chaffin's volume is fully and excellently illustrated with maps, views, and portraits. It is printed in large, clear type on fine paper and substantially bound. We have rarely met with a work of this character where every part of it exhibited such painstaking and conscientious research, or where scattered material has been chosen and brought into use with more judgment, skill, and perfect success.

THE LITTLE MASTER. By J. T. TROWBRIDGE. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 230. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Mr. Trowbridge's many stories are so familiar to the public, and so exceptionally popular withal, that there is almost nothing to say concerning a new one, except that, like all its predecessors, it is a bit of real life related with a charming straightforward simplicity that leaves little to be desired. The perplexities of a young schoolmaster and his first insight into village politics and the ways of the world afford the motive for this tale, which is as entertaining to grown-up people as it must be to the boys and girls for whom it is intended.

THE HAKES FAMILY GENEALOGY. By HARRY HAKES. 8vo, pp. 87. 1886. Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania.

The name Hakes in the United States is supposed to have originated with Solomon Hakes, who settled in Stonington, Connecticut, about 1709. Ever since that time, some of the family have continued to reside in that town, keeping alive to some extent the legends of their ancestors. The author of this volume has not been able to ascertain any facts about the ancestry of the family beyond Solomon, but has gathered into genealogical tables a goodly list of names since the period in which that personage lived. The investigation will undoubtedly be stimulated through Mr. Hakes' efforts, and we predict he will obtain further information in a variety of directions involving a revised edition of this genealogical study.

SIMPLICITY AND FASCINATION. By ANNE BELL. 16mo, pp. 499. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The fact that this novel is English and lengthy and stupid is the only apparent reason for its republication on this side the Atlantic. While the international copyright law remains in the future, we must expect the not infrequent infliction of such books as this. It is at least a satisfaction, though a meagre one, that a few American compositors and binders have been paid for their work in securing its publication.

ANCESTRY OF WILLIAM SHIPLEY HAINES, with some account of the descendants of John and Joseph Haines and Colonel Cowperthwait. Compiled by WILLIAM FRANCIS CREAGAR. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 81. Philadelphia. 1887. Patterson & White, Printers.

These researches, the author tells us, were commenced with the object of preparing an account of one branch of the Haines family, but other information coming to his notice concerning several other related families, he thought it wise to incorporate the same into these pages. In all cases he has given his authorities, which are chiefly wills, surveys, conveyances, and church and meeting records. The work includes, with others, the Hollingshead, Cowperthwait, Hancock, and Engle genealogies, although the larger space is given to the descendants of Richard and Margaret Haines, of Aynhoe-on-the-Hill, in the County of Northampton, England. who, in April, 1682, sailed, with three sons, for New Jersey. Their eldest son had already settled in Burlington County, whom they joined on their arrival. An index of nearly nine hundred names adds materially to the value of the pamphlet, which seems to have been prepared with notable accuracy.

HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN NEW BERN, N. C., with a Resumé of Early Ecclesiastical Affairs in Eastern North Carolina, and a Sketch of the Early Days of New Bern, N. C. By Rev. L. C. VASS, A. M. 8vo, pp. 196. Richmond, Virginia. 1886. Whittet & Shepperson, Printers.

The general character of the early settlers of North Carolina forms one of the most important features of the opening chapter of this excellent work. There were, it seems, many highly educated citizens in different parts of the province, who lived in considerable style; there were honest. diligent and hospitable farmers; and there was also a vast amount of ignorance and shiftlessness. Religious worship, vestries, churches and glebes were first established by public taxation in 1701. The clergy, however, were reluctantly supported, and their small supplies often withheld. Bitter complaints were made, and some that might have been unreasonable. One minister writes, the author tells us, "I never received the value of a bushel of corn since I was concerned here, but what I got by weddings." Another says, "I did once hope to have pork and bacon of my own, but shall not have a morsel to eat save wheat I feed with Indian corn, which is very scarce with me. . . . I have nothing to buy with, let one's wants be what they will: swamp water goes down worse in winter than in summer." The Mecklenburg declaration in 1775, a sketch of Hugh Williamson, and the Presbyterian settlements, occupy several prominent pages. But the chief portion of the volume is devoted, as the title indicates, to the history of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern. The town was laid out in 1710, and received its name in compliment to Bern, the birthplace of the two principal leaders of the colony; it was made a township, covering two hundred and fifty acres, in 1723, and soon became the capital of the colony. The palace of Governor Tryon, begun in 1767 and completed in 1770, is described in detail; Judge Martin says it was superior to any dwelling of the kind at the time in British North America. From the rear of the palace a terrace sloped down to the Trent River, and the views from its windows were very fine. The palmy days of New Bern were between the close of the war of 1812 and about 1825. The edifice of the Presbyterian Church was completed and opened for worship in 1822. Biographical sketches of its entire succession of pastors since that date are given. Mr. Vass, the present pastor, since 1866, was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia; his father was a grandson of the Laird of Sluis, belonging to the historic Highland clan of "Cumming," in Scotland. The book displays a large amount of careful research, and its tone is elevated, graceful, and highly instructive. The author has rescued from oblivion much important data, and placed it in compact and permanent form for future reference.

AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1607-1885. Vol. I. The Development of American Thought. By CHARLES F. RICHARDSON. 8vo, pp. 535. New York and London, 1887: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

We quite agree with Professor Richardson in his expressed opinion that no critical task is more difficult and delicate than that of estimating the rank and analyzing the achievements of American authors. The critic must have wide learning. a great facility for reading much in a short time, a clear insight into the methods of thought and the subjects treated by writers, and the soundest of judgment, without prejudice or partiality. And then, if he essays to grasp the great whole and illustrate in one volume the various phases in the rise and development of American thought during two hundred and seventy-five years of progress, what more is to be expected than a just and comprehensive survey? The book is intensely interesting. Professor Richardson is a charming writer, his style magnetic and inspiring, always taking the reader forward rapidly. He introduces a few representative authors in each decade or generation as he proceeds, and holds them up to view, sometimes with a clear-cut analysis of their intellectual qualities and works, and again with only a bald statement of their relative rank in literature. The volume is crowded with information, and while we do not always agree with the author in his conclusions, he is, nevertheless, to be warmly congratulated on having so nearly achieved a true perspective in the result of his personal and indefatigable studies. He says, among other good things: "Wars have done little for American literature; peace has done much and will do more." Concerning different parts of this country he says, "The seeds of American literature were most effectively sown in New England, but its growth has been subject to complex influences in other parts of the country—influences sometimes favorable and sometimes injurious. . . . New York city and State have affected American literature in a broader and more cosmopolitan, but less earnest and powerful, manner than have Boston and New England. The local characteristics of this distributing centre, are modified more and more by the steady influx of intelligent men and women from other parts of the country, who go to New York as they would go from Edinburgh to London. New York, and not Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, or San Francisco, is able to present some picture of the country as a whole. It is not, and will not be, to the United States just what London is to England or Paris to France, but its general relation is similar to that of the two great European literary capitals. And it should not be forgotten that from New York and Pennsylvania, not from Massachusetts or Virginia, came those books which first gave to America a literary name in Europe."

In discussing Edward Everett, Professor Richardson says: "He possessed neither massive strength nor intense fire. He was, in truth, an academic orator; bearing many marks of similarity to John Quincy Adams. He was a pleasant winsome speaker, whose chief error was that, too often, he only praised or expounded, when he might have added blame to his commendations and analyses. He was not a great creator, not an irresistible destroyer. . . . On the 19th of November, 1863, was dedicated, in the presence of a large and distinguished company, the national cemetery on the battle-field of Gettysburg, the turning-point of the civil war. By a natural choice, Everett was selected to deliver the principal oration, as being the most eminent living orator in the United States. His speech was in his most felicitous style, and well represented the oratorical school to which he belonged. The language was choice, the classical allusions were apt, the modern descriptions were poetic yet just, and the spirit, though saddened, was hopeful for the future nation. Everett's words were those of the American orator of the middle period—after the Revolution and the making of the nation, and before the new time of freedom from conventional rules. On the same day President Lincoln delivered his famous Gettysburg address. The contrast between these two well-known funeral orations could not have been more marked. Everett's was long, Lincoln's short; Everett's drew allusions from classic history, Lincoln's went no farther back than the record of American nationality; Everett's displayed the culture of the Boston university man and the European resident; Lincoln's was the plain speech of an unlettered native of Kentucky and citizen of Illinois. The range and ultimate direction of American literature—to which both orators clearly belong—could not have been better illustrated than by their variant methods and similar results."

CHARACTER PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON, as delineated by Historians, Orators, and Divines. Selected and arranged in chronological order, with Biographical Notes and References. By W. S. BAKER. Square 8vo, pp. 351. Philadelphia, 1887: Robert M. Lindsay.

This work is decidedly refreshing. It has become so painfully the fashion among a certain class of American writers to disparage Washington and affect originality by attempting to teach the rising generation that he was only an ordinary man, not even a hero or a great general, that the heartiest welcome should be extended to Mr. Baker's book. He has gathered into its handsome pages, with no little skill, sound judgment, and critical good taste, a series of personal sketches of Washington by contemporaries and travelers, and tributes to him from illustrious writers both in this country and Europe. In every instance the extract is accompanied with an adequate notice of the author, and we have in all cases the exact date of the production. Samuel Stanhope Smith, the son-in-law of Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, for instance, writes of Washington in 1800: "His whole character was consistent. Equally industrious with his plow, as with his sword, he esteemed idleness and inutility the greatest disgrace of man, whose powers attain perfection only by constant and vigorous action, and who is by Providence in so many social relations, only to do good." Chateaubriand, the celebrated French author, writes in 1828, drawing forcible comparisons between Washington and Bonaparte: "Washington and Bonaparte sprang from the bosom of a republic, both born of liberty, the one was faithful to it, the other betrayed it. Washington raises his nation to independence; a retired magistrate he sinks quietly to rest beneath his paternal roof, amid the regrets of his countrymen and the veneration of all nations. Bonaparte robbed a nation of its independence; a fallen emperor, he is hurried into exile. The republic of Washington exists; the empire of Bonaparte is destroyed." The character of Washington is a national possession. Many of the books and periodicals which Mr. Baker has laid under contribution are rare, or at least not generally known and accessible; and even careful students of American history will find much that is new to them in his compilation.

Henry Ward Beecher

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Vol. XVII APRIL, 1887 No. 4

TRANSITION PERIOD OF THE AMERICAN PRESS

LEADING EDITORS EARLY IN THIS CENTURY

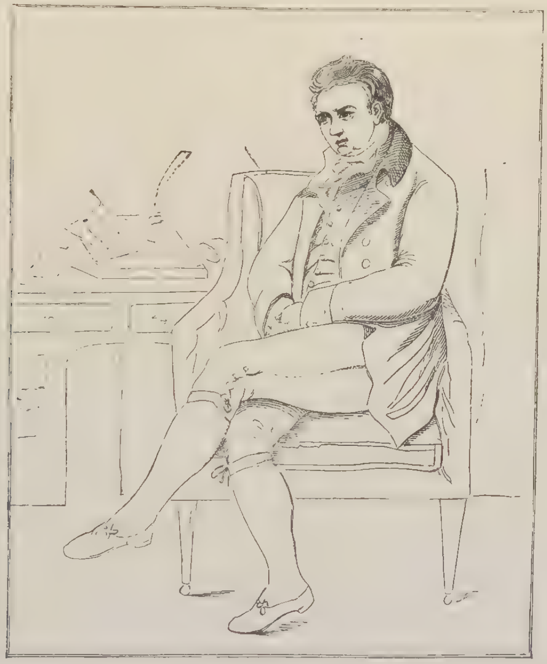
IN the year 1807, an English gentleman, Charles William Janson, Esq., gave to the world, in a fat and foolish folio from the press of Cundee, of Ivy Lane, his "Observations on the Genius, Manners, and Customs of the United States, made during a long Residence in that Country," in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of this century. "The stranger in America," as he styled himself, found nothing in this land to please him. His fine feelings were forever affronted, his dignity rumpled, by all with whom he came in contact, from the "pert virgin" demanding admiration, to the "sullen Yankee" harboring resentment. "Among the lower orders," he querulously complains, "in spite of his endeavors to adapt his behavior to their satisfaction he was regarded as proud and haughty; while a distant kind of envious obsequiousness tinctured with an affectation of superiority was but too evident in the majority of his equals." He becomes lachrymose over "their persistent rancour against the mother country; so pointed also in their press." With the power and the excesses of that press he is impressed, with real reason, for nothing in the history of the time is so striking as its coarseness and cruelty, its venomous vigor of invective, its contempt for all that should be sacred in political warfare and in private life.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the two hostile political parties fell to fighting each other with the same ferocity, even if not with the same arms, used of late against their common enemy. These two forces were the Federalists—devoted to the constitution and to the administration, led by Hamilton; and the Anti-Federalists or Republicans—dubbed in derision Democrats, generaled by Jefferson, devotees of the French Revolution, of its pernicious practices as well as its sublimest sentiments. Besides the living issues and the undying hatred that made perpetual conflict possible between these two camps, there sprang up, during these days of which I speak, many minor matters to beget unheard-of and ludicrous virulence of feeling and of language, such as, the intrigues to remove the seat of government from town to town, finally finishing at Washington; the restoration of the Tories to their former rights of citizenship; the Alien and Sedition laws of 1798; the demand for the suppression of that blameless body, the Society of the Cincinnati, on the ground that it was fated to lead us to a "military nobility;" the furious electoral struggle between Burr and Jefferson for the Presidency in 1801; Burr's trial at Richmond in 1807 for attempted treason "at a certain place called and known by the name of Blennerhassett's Island;" the furious outcry for the strengthening of our navy, too feeble to protect our fast-growing sea trade; the rights of search enforced by the British on our vessels, in all waters, even within sight of our shores; the pitiable affair of the *Chesapeake* in June, 1807; the famous proclamation of President Madison, the Embargo, the imbittered negotiations, and all the causes that led to the War of 1812.

In these discussions, in journals and in frequent pamphlets, men lashed themselves into a foaming fury, hounded on, if need be, by the powers behind—politicians, place-hunters, patriots—whose patriotism, in too many cases, was covered completely by Dr. Johnson's dictum, as "the last refuge of a scoundrel." Too many of these editors and writers were, in the words of gentle old Isaiah Thomas, "destitute at once of the urbanity of gentlemen, the information of scholars, and the principles of virtue." They raged madly at one another as "vermin and foxes," as "minions of sedition," as "notorious Jacobins." Bache, of Philadelphia, was styled "the greatest fool and the most stubborn *sans-culotte*" in the land. His *Aurora* spoke of Washington as "the man who is the source of all misfortunes to the country," and coarsely quoted, when he went to Mount Vernon, after Adams' inauguration, "'Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation,'" exultant that "the name of Washington from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity and to legalized corruption." Major Benjamin Russell, in his *Centinel*, was equally hysterical in lamentation over Jefferson's election. Callender spoke of President Adams as "a hoary-headed incendiary—the scourge, the scorn, the outcast of society." Editors exchanged fraternally even more touching amenities, so that suits for slander—wherein sometimes the defendant had only to read aloud in court the plaintiff's own writings, to be acquitted—street brawls with fists and pistols, duels, and murders were not at all infrequent.

This astoundingly shabby spectacle ceased to exist only toward the end of the second war with England, when our various victories ashore and on sea were hailed with equal exultation by the opposing portions of the press and people. So parties came closer together, their partisan poison grew attenuated in the body politic, and, with the election of Monroe, Federalism as a force faded away, "the era of good feelings coming in," as Major Russell phrased it.

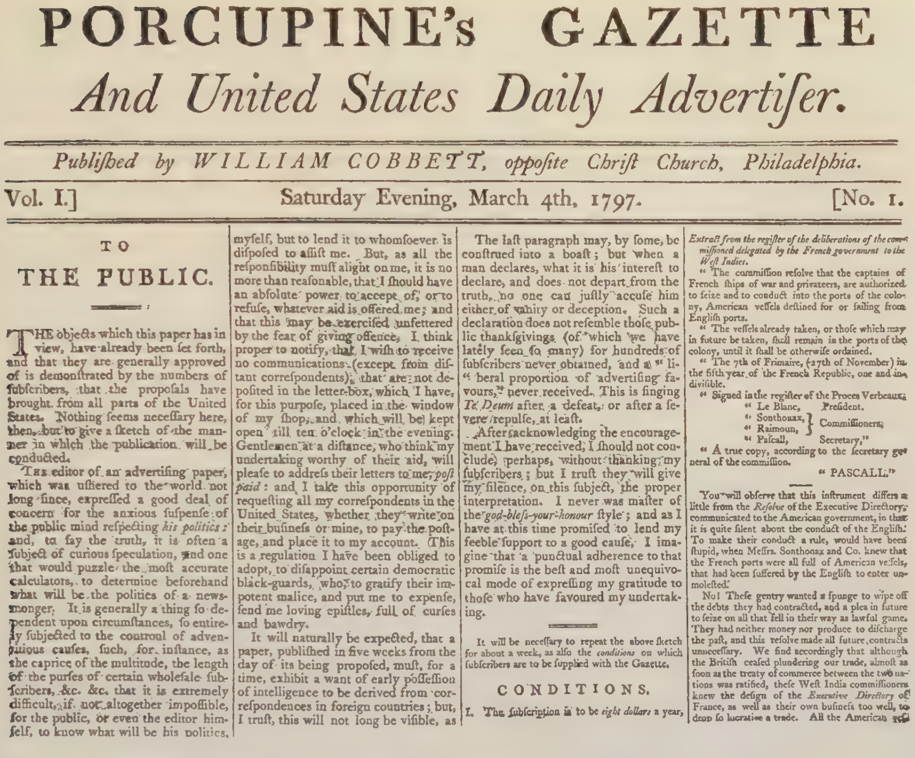
Among the figures prominent in the early years of this warfare of types, not one stands out more vividly and more distinctly than that of William Cobbett—alien and stranger even throughout his sojourn among us, less by



William Cobbett Esq

From a rare print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

his British birth than by his persistent opposition to the spirit of the people with whom he found a home. The character and career of this great political writer are notable in all aspects: in some, respectable and praiseworthy, in others exciting suspicion and censure. Born near Farnham, Surrey, in March, 1756, the son of a small farmer, his grandfather having been but a day-laborer, he and his brothers were forced, from an early age, to work in the fields. Even then he studied in the evenings; and later, when a gardener, when an attorney's drudge in London, when a private soldier in barracks at Chatham, when a corporal at twenty, and sergeant-major of his regiment in Nova Scotia and at St. John's—always and everywhere he read and studied. Leaving the army in 1791, he spent a few months in France, but, disgusted with the "accursed revolution," as he calls it, he came to Philadelphia in 1792, and there, for over two years, he taught French, as well as English to French *émigrés*. Just then Dr. Priestley, the learned Unitarian philosopher, landed from England and was widely and warmly welcomed as a martyr to British persecution; and Cobbett attacked him, and those who befriended him, in his first political pamphlet, entitled, *The Tartuffe Detected: or, Observations on the Emigration of a Martyr to the Cause of Liberty*. This squib he shortly followed by a steady series of political pamphlets, all denouncing the doings of the Democrats, deploring the dangers of democracy, and all showing significantly his scorn of our institutions, and his sympathy with British rule and the British monarch. These writings attracted keen attention, caused comments of every sort; but there was only one voice as to the power of the writer, then and always the leader of all pamphleteers in this land, in originality of thought, aptness of epithet, vigor of invective, and lucidity of language. In some of his satire he seems to me to fall not far below Swift. He was induced by his success—and it may be by Federalist influence and coin—to start a daily paper, *Porcupine's Gazette*: "the best diurnal print in America," says our stately Mr. Janson again. It is easy to see its charm for him in its devotion to his monarch—a devotion offensively shown in Cobbett's shop-window, also, wherein was a gratuitously aggressive display of monarchical portraits and emblems. This attitude, with its coupled contempt for all things and all men in this country, the lusty egotism with which he vented his views, the vicious vilification in his *Gazette* of those whom he opposed politically—all this made the public tire of him. They would have been glad to put him in the pillory, as was done with De Foe; or to cut off his ears, as in Prynne's case. Some of us find a certain solace, after reading his ribaldry, in sympathizing with the aspirations of that public, misguided though they were. President Jefferson tried to send Cobbett out of the country, but found it impossible to do so legally. The "Porcupine" was finally brought to bay by Dr. Benjamin Rush, whom he had brutally attacked for having claimed certain success in the cure of yellow fever. This suit went against him: and the fines thereof were so heavy, his business had been so broken up, his former friends so fallen off from him, that he determined to quit the country. He sailed for England in June, 1800. With his career there, and his after return here, this chron-



PORCUPINE's GAZETTE

And United States Daily Advertiſer.

Publiſhed by WILLIAM COBBETT, oppoſite Chriſt Church, Philadelphia.

Vol. I.] Saturday Evening, March 4th, 1797. [No. 1.

TO

THE PUBLIC.

THE objects which this paper has in view, have already been ſet forth, and that they are generally approved of is demonſtrated by the numbers of ſubſcribers, that the propoſals have brought from all parts of the United States. Nothing ſeems neceſſary here, then, but to give a ſketch of the manner in which the publication will be conducted.

THE editor of an advertiſing paper, which was uſhered to the world not long ſince, expreſſed a good deal of concern for the anxious ſuſpenſe of the public mind reſpecting *his politics*: and, to ſay the truth, it is often a ſubject of curious ſpeculation, and one that would puzzle the moſt accurate calculators, to determine beforehand what will be the politics of a newsmonger. It is generally a thing ſo dependent upon circumſtances, ſo entirely ſubjected to the controul of adventitious cauſes, ſuch, for inſtance, as the caprice of the multitude, the length of the purſes of certain wholeſale ſubſcribers, &c. &c. that it is extremely difficult, if not altogether impoſſible, for the public, or even the editor himſelf, to know what will be his politics.

myſelf, but to lend it to whomſoever is diſpoſed to aſſiſt me. But, as all the reſponſibility muſt alight on me, it is no more than reaſonable, that I ſhould have an abſolute power to accept of, or to refuſe, whatever aid is offered me; and that this may be exerciſed unfettered by the fear of giving offence, I think proper to notify, that I wiſh to receive no communications (except from diſtant correſpondents), that are not depoſited in the letter-box, which I have, for this purpoſe, placed in the window of my ſhop, and which will be kept open till ten o'clock in the evening. Gentlemen at a diſtance, who think my undertaking worthy of their aid, will pleaſe to addreſs their letters to me, *poſt paid*: and I take this opportunity of requeſting all my correſpondents in the United States, whether they write on their buſineſs or mine, to pay the poſtage, and place it to my account. (This is a regulation I have been obliged to adopt, to diſappoint certain democratic black-guards, who, to gratify their impotent malice, and put me to expenſe, ſend me loving epiſtles, full of curſes and bawdry.

It will naturally be expected, that a paper, publiſhed in five weeks from the day of its being propoſed, muſt, for a time, exhibit a want of early poſſeſſion of intelligence to be derived from correſpondences in foreign countries; but, I truſt, this will not long be viſible, as

The laſt paragraph may, by ſome, be conſtrued into a boaſt; but when a man declares, what it is his intereſt to declare, and does not depart from the truth, no one can juſtly accuſe him either of vanity or deception. Such a declaration does not reſemble thoſe public thankſgivings (of which we have lately ſeen ſo many) for hundreds of ſubſcribers never obtained, and a "liberal proportion of advertiſing favours," never received. This is ſinging *Te Deum* after a defeat, or after a ſevere repulſe, at leaſt.

After acknowledging the encouragement I have received, I ſhould not conclude, perhaps, without thanking my ſubſcribers; but I truſt they will give my ſilence, on this ſubject, the proper interpretation. I never was maſter of the *god-bleſs-your-honour* ſtyle; and as I have at this time promiſed to lend my feeble ſupport to a good cauſe, I imagine that a punctual adherence to that promiſe is the beſt and moſt unequivocal mode of expreſſing my gratitude to thoſe who have favoured my undertaking.

It will be neceſſary to repeat the above ſketch for about a week, as alſo the *conditions* on which ſubſcribers are to be ſupplied with the Gazette.

CONDITIONS.

I. The ſubſcription is to be *eight dollars* a year,

Extract from the regiſter of the deliberations of the commiſſioned delegated by the French government to the Weſt Indies.

" The commiſſion reſolve that the captains of French ſhips of war and privateers, are authorized to ſeize and to conduct into the ports of the colony, American veſſels deſtined for or ſailing from Engliſh ports.

" The veſſels already taken, or thoſe which may in future be taken, ſhall remain in the ports of the colony, until it ſhall be otherwiſe ordained.

" The 7th of Frimaire, (27th of November) in the fifth year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

" Signed in the regiſter of the Proces Verbeaux;
" Le Blanc, Preſident.
" Sonthonax, } Commiſſioners;
" Raimoun, }
" Paſcall, Secretary,"

" A true copy, according to the ſecretary general of the commiſſion.

" PASCALL."

You will obſerve that this inſtrument differs a little from the *Reſolve* of the Executive Directory, communicated to the American government, in that it is quite ſilent about the conduct of the Engliſh: To make their conduct a rule, would have been ſtupid, when Meſſrs. Sonthonax and Co. knew that the French ports were all full of American veſſels, that had been ſuffered by the Engliſh to enter unmoleſted.

No! Theſe gentry wanted a ſpunge to wipe off the debts they had contracted, and a plea in future to ſeize on all that fell in their way as lawful game. They had neither money nor produce to diſcharge the paſt, and this reſolve made all future contracts unneceſſary. We find accordingly that although the Britiſh ceaſed plundering our trade, almoſt as ſoon as the treaty of commerce between the two nations was ratified, theſe Weſt India commiſſioners knew the deſign of the *Executive Directory* of France, as well as their own buſineſs too well, to drop ſo lucrative a trade. All the American veſ

Fac-simile of heading of the original, in possession of the New York Society Library.

icle cannot concern itself, but takes leave, with slight sorrow, of this "hectoring bully," to use Lockhart's apt label for him later.

Of the numerous newspapers in existence at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War only nine lived until the year 1810, and of these nine, strangely enough, not one was published in New York. In the meantime, however, many new weeklies, semi-weeklies, and dailies had sprung up, some soon expiring, some living long: until, between January and July, 1810, I find that of these various issues over three hundred and fifty papers were published, twenty-seven of them being dailies—printing in all, on careful computation, at the rate of 22,222,200 copies by the yearly count. These figures are amazing, and show a larger proportion of political journals to the population than the world had ever witnessed: the more amazing when we bear in mind that the great body of this reading and criticising public was employed in daily labor. At no time and in no land had the masses hitherto had access so easily and so cheaply to the information and discussions of the public prints; and they were bent on improving their opportunities at no matter what cost to the publishers. When unable to pay in current coin they paid in all sorts of odd merchandise, and distant subscribers were supplied on credit: "which accounts," says a naïve chronicler of the period, "for the large circulation of some journals!"

Let us now look at the quality of this quantity of printed matter, and at some of the men notable for supplying it. Among these editors and writers, on whom I cannot here dwell in detail, are: Nathaniel S. and Washington Pierce, of the *New Hampshire Gazette;* Ebenezer Rhoades and Benjamin Austin, of the *Boston Chronicle;* Thomas C. Cushing and John Dabney, of the *Salem Gazette;* William Carlton, the Rev. William Bentley, and Judge Story, of the *Salem Register*, a journal to-day of a respectable age; Warren Dutton and Henry Ingraham, of the *New England Palladium;* William Hoyt, of the *American Patriot*, in New Hampshire; Thomas Ritchie and William Wirt, of the *Richmond Enquirer;* Charles Hammond, of the *Cincinnati Gazette;* and, in New York city, John Fenno, of the *United States Gazette*, and his son, John Ward Fenno, who succeeded him; Henry Wheaton, of the *National Advocate;* Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, who established the *Quarterly Medical Repository* in 1797; and Charles Hope, of the *Columbian*. It was in this last-named journal that Fitz-Greene Halleck first appeared in print, with a poem sent surreptitiously and signed, "A Connecticut Farmer's Boy:" the authenticity of which signature was sapiently doubted by the editor, "for the verses are too good to be original," he said, in printing them.

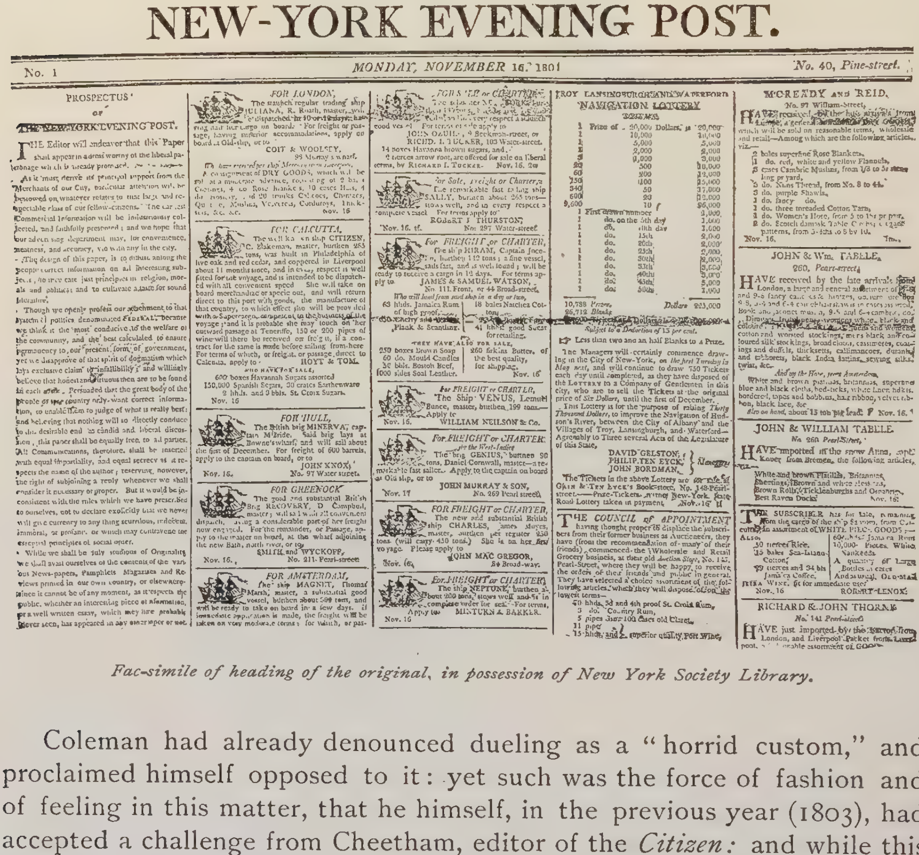
William Coleman issued the first number of the *New York Evening Post* on Monday, November 16, 1801. There had been previous *Evening Posts* in the town, each of feeble and fleeting existence; but this new journal—still very much alive—had, from the first, a character of its own, placing it above all its contemporaries. Its editor was born in Boston in 1766, bred to the bar, practiced for a while, served as a soldier against Shay's Rebellion, and for two years in the Massachusetts Legislature. Coming to New York at the age of thirty-one, he was associated with Aaron Burr during a short period, then served as reporter of the Supreme Court of New York. He was the first editor of this new *Evening Post*, and managed it until his death in 1829, being, indeed, its sole editor during the last twenty years, and was pronounced, in his day, "one of the most able and celebrated conductors of a public journal in the United States." In politics, his *Post* was devoted to Federal principles until the end of the War of 1812; he having been a warm friend of Hamilton. It was one of his earliest and saddest editorial duties, on November 28, 1801, to announce the death of young

Philip Hamilton in a duel with one Eacker, and to give an authentic statement of the whole wretched affair, which his family regretted had been permitted to appear at all in the papers.

WILLIAM COLEMAN, 1766-1829.

From a rare print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

In the issue of the *Post* for July 12, 1804, at the head of the leader column was printed a short note for the purpose of allaying the universal anxiety concerning the condition of Alexander Hamilton, then lying in the Bayard mansion in Greenwich village, wounded by Burr's bullet. It states that he is still living, " but fast sinking, and a few hours more must close the scene for ever. Would to God we could add that there is room for the most distant hope of his recovery!" On the following day came the announcement of his death, followed by a noble lamentation for his loss, and a touching tribute to the man. This copy is heavily columned in black, printed only on one side, and I am struck by an error in its date, *June* 13th, instead of July: a misprint passing undetected by type-setter, proof-reader, and editor, in curious proof of the perplexity with which men's minds were perturbed on that day.



NEW-YORK EVENING POST.

No. 1 *MONDAY, NOVEMBER* 16.ᵗʰ 1801 *No. 40, Pine-street.*

PROSPECTUS

OF

THE NEW-YORK EVENING POST.

THE Editor will endeavor that this Paper shall appear in a dress worthy of the liberal patronage which is already promised.

As it must derive its principal support from the Merchants of our City, particular attention will be bestowed on whatever relates to that large and respectable class of our fellow-citizens. The earliest Commercial Information will be industriously collected, and faithfully presented; and we hope that our advertising department may, for convenience, neatness, and accuracy, vie with any in the city.

The design of this paper, is to diffuse among the people correct information on all interesting subjects, to inculcate just principles in religion, morals and politics; and to cultivate a taste for sound literature.

Though we openly profess our attachment to that system of politics denominated FEDERAL, because we think it the most conducive to the welfare of the community, and the best calculated to ensure permanency to our present form of government, yet we disapprove of that spirit of dogmatism which lays exclusive claim to infallibility; and willingly believe that honest and virtuous men are to be found in each party. Persuaded that the great body of the people of this country only want correct information, to enable them to judge of what is really best; and believing that nothing will so directly conduce to this desirable end as candid and liberal discussion, this paper shall be equally free to all parties. All Communications, therefore, shall be inserted with equal impartiality, and equal secrecy as it respects the name of the author; reserving, however, the right of subjoining a reply whenever we shall consider it necessary or proper. But it would be inconsistent with the rules which we have prescribed to ourselves, not to declare explicitly that we never will give currency to any thing scurrilous, indecent, immoral, or profane, or which may contravene the essential principles of social order.

While we shall be duly studious of Originality we shall avail ourselves of the contents of the various News-papers, Pamphlets, Magazines and Reviews printed in our own country, or elsewhere; since it cannot be of any moment, as it respects the public, whether an interesting piece of information, or a well written essay, which they have probably never seen, has appeared in any other paper or not.

FOR LONDON,

The staunch regular trading ship JULIANA, R. Roath, master, will be dispatched in 10 or 12 days; having half her cargo on board. For freight or passage, having superior accommodations, apply on board at Old-slip, or to

COIT & WOOLSEY,
93 Murray's wharf.

Who have received per ship Mercury from Liverpool,

A consignment of DRY GOODS, which will be sold at a moderate advance, consisting of 2 bales Coatings, 4 do Rose blankets, 10 cases Hats, 4 do hosiery, and 20 trunks Calicoes, Chintzes, Quiltinge, Muslins, Velverets, Corduroys, Handkerchiefs, &c. &c. Nov. 16

FOR CALCUTTA,

The well known ship CITIZEN, C. Blakeman, master, burthen 285 tons, was built in Philadelphia of live oak and red cedar, and coppered in Liverpool about 11 months since, and in every respect is well fitted for the voyage, and is intended to be dispatched with all convenient speed. She will take on board merchandize or specie out, and will return direct to this port with goods, the manufacture of that country, to which effect she will be provided with a Supercargo, competent to the business of the voyage; and it is probable she may touch on her outward passage at Teneriffe, 150 or 200 pipes of wine will there be received on freight, if a contract for the same is made before sailing from here. For terms of which, or freight, or passage, direct to Calcutta, apply to HOYT & TOM.

WHO HAVE FOR SALE,
600 boxes Havannah Sugars assorted
150,000 Spanish Segars, 30 crates Earthenware
2 hhds. and 9 bbls. St. Croix Sugars.
Nov. 16

FOR HULL,

The British brig MINERVA, captain M'Bride. Said brig lays at Bowne's wharf, and will sail about the first of December. For freight of 600 barrels, apply to the captain on board, or to

JOHN KNOX,
Nov. 16. No. 97 Water street.

FOR GREENOCK

The good and substantial British Brig RECOVERY, D. Campbell, master; will sail with all convenient dispatch, having a considerable part of her freight now engaged. For the remainder, or Passage, apply to the master on board, at the wharf adjoining the new Bath, north river, or to

SMITH and WYCKOFF,
Nov. 16. No. 211 Pearl-street.

FOR AMSTERDAM,

The ship MAGNET, Thomas Marsh, master, a substantial good vessel, burthen about 300 tons, and will be ready to take on board in a few days. If immediate application is made, the freight will be taken on very moderate terms; for which, or pas-

FOR SALE or CHARTER,

The schooner [illegible] burthen 137 tons, [illegible] in every respect a staunch good vessel. For terms of sale apply to

JOHN OAKLEY, 9 Beekman-street, or
RICHD. I. TUCKER, 103 Water-street.

14 boxes Havanna brown sugars, and
2 tierces arrow root, are offered for sale on liberal terms, by RICHARD I. TUCKER. Nov. 16. 2w

For Sale, Freight or Charter,

The remarkable fast sailing ship SALLY, burthen about 265 tons—stows well, and in every respect a complete vessel. For terms apply to

ROBERT I. THURSTON,
Nov. 16. tf. No. 297 Water-street.

For FREIGHT or CHARTER,

The ship HIRAM, Captain Jocelin, burthen 142 tons; a fine vessel, sails fast, and is well found; will be ready to receive a cargo in 12 days. For terms apply to JAMES & SAMUEL WATSON,
No. 111 Front, or 44 Broad-street.

Who will land from said ship in a day or two,

63 hhds. Jamaica Rum of high proof,	18 bales Natchez Cotton
650 Cherry and [illegible] Plank & Scantling.	[illegible] 41 hhds. good Sugar for retailing.

THEY HAVE ALSO FOR SALE,

250 boxes Brown Soap	260 firkins Butter, of the best quality, for shipping.
60 do. Mould Candles	
30 bbls. Boston Beef,	
1000 sides Soal Leather.	

Nov. 16

For FREIGHT or CHARTER,

The Ship VENUS, Lemuel Bunce, master, burthen 199 tons—Apply to
Nov. 16. WILLIAM NEILSON & Co.

For FREIGHT or CHARTER,
for the West-Indies

The brig GENIUS, burthen 90 tons, Daniel Cornwall, master—a remarkable fast sailer. Apply to the captain on board at Old slip, or to

JOHN MURRAY & SON,
Nov. 17 No. 269 Pearl street.

FOR FREIGHT or CHARTER,

The new and substantial British ship CHARLES, James Moyes, master, burthen per register 250 tons (will carry 450 tons.) She is on her first voyage. Please apply to

JOHN MAC GREGOR,
Nov. 16. 84 Broad-way.

For FREIGHT or CHARTER,

The ship NEPTUNE, burthen about 200 tons, stows well and is in complete order for sea. For terms, Apply to MINTURN & BARKER.
Nov. 16

TROY, LANSINGBURGH AND WATERFORD
NAVIGATION LOTTERY
SCHEME.

1	Prize of	20,000 Dollars, is	20,000
1		10,000	10,000
1		5,000	5,000
1		2,000	2,000
3		1,000	3,000
20		500	10,000
60		200	12,000
150		100	15,000
340		50	17,000
600		20	12,000
9,600		10	96,000
1	First drawn number		1,000
1	do. on the 5th day		1,000
1	do.	10th day	1,000
1	do.	15th	2,000
1	do.	20th	2,000
1	do.	25th	2,000
1	do.	30th	2,000
1	do.	35th	3,000
1	do.	40th	3,000
1	do.	45th	5,000
1	do.	50th	1,000
10,788	*Prizes.*	*Dollars*	225,000
26,712	*Blanks*		

[illegible] Dollars [illegible]

Subject to a Deduction of 15 per cent.

☞ Less than two and an half Blanks to a Prize.

The Managers will certainly commence drawing in the City of New-York, on *the first Tuesday in May next*, and will continue to draw 750 Tickets each day until completed, as they have disposed of the LOTTERY to a Company of Gentlemen in this city, who are to sell the Tickets at the original price of *Six Dollars*, until the first of December.

This Lottery is for the purpose of raising *Thirty Thousand Dollars*, to improve the Navigation of Hudson's River, between the City of Albany and the Villages of Troy, Lansingburgh, and Waterford—Agreeably to Three several Acts of the Legislature of this State,

DAVID GELSTON,
PHILIP TEN EYCK, } *Managers*
JOHN BORDMAN,

The Tickets in the above Lottery are for sale at GAIN & TEN EYCK'S Book-store, No. 148 Pearl-street.——Prize-Tickets in the New-York State Road Lottery taken in payment. Nov. 16 tf

THE COUNCIL *of* APPOINTMENT having thought proper to displace the subscribers from their former business as Auctioneers, they have (from the recommendation of many of their friends) commenced the Wholesale and Retail Grocery business, at their old *Auction Store*, No. 145, Pearl-Street, where they will be happy to receive the orders of their friends and public in general. They have selected a choice assortment of the following articles, which they will dispose of on the lowest terms—

50 hhds. 3d and 4th proof St. Croix Rum,
3 do. Country Rum,
5 pipes and 100 cases old Claret,
11 pipes
15 hhds. and } superior quality Port Wine,

M'CREADY AND REID,
No. 97 William-Street,

HAVE received, by the late arrivals from Europe, a general assortment of DRY GOODS, which will be sold on reasonable terms, wholesale and retail—Among which are the following articles, viz.—

2 bales superfine Rose Blankets,
1 do. red, white and yellow Flannels,
3 cases Cambric Muslins, from 1/3 to 5s sterling pr yard,
5 do. Nuns Thread, from No. 8 to 44.
3 do. purple Shawls,
1 do. fancy do.
1 do. three threaded Cotton Yarn,
1 do. Women's Hose, from 5 to 15s pr pair,
2 do. Scotch damask Table Cloths, elegant patterns, from 5-4ths to 8 by 10.
Nov. 16. 1m.

JOHN & Wm. TABELE,
260, *Pearl-street*,

HAVE received by the late arrivals from London, a large and general assortment of [illegible] and 9-8 fancy calicoes & chintzes, cotton [illegible] 9-8, 5-4 and 6-4 [illegible] shawls in cases assorted, Book and jaconet muslin, 9-8 and 6-4 cambric, [illegible] Dimity, Indiapenes, worsted white, black and coloured [illegible] mens and womens cotton and worsted stockings, mens black and coloured silk stockings, broadcloths, cassimeres, coatings and duffils, thicksetts, callimancoes, durants and tabborets, black India satins, sewing silks, twist, &c.

And by the Hope, from Amsterdam,

White and brown platillas, britannias, superfine blue and black cloths, bed-ticks, white Linen hdkfs. bordered, tapes and bobbins, hair ribbon, velvet ribbon, black lace, &c.

Also on hand, about 15 ton pig lead. Nov. 16.

JOHN & WILLIAM TABELE
No 260 *Pearl-Street*,

HAVE imported in the snow Anna, capt. Kover, from Bremen, the following articles, viz.—

White and brown Platillas, Britannias,
Sheetings, Brown and white Hessians,
Brown Rolls, Ticklenburghs and Osnaburgs,
Best Raven Ducks. Nov. 16.

THE SUBSCRIBER has for sale, remaining from the cargo of the ship [illegible], from Calcutta, an assortment of WHITE PIECE GOODS;—ALSO,

50 tierces Rice,	60 hhds. Jamaica Rum
15 bales Sea-Island Cotton,	10,000 Pieces White Nankeens
99 tierces and 34 bls Jamaica Coffee,	A quantity of Large Bottles in cases
	And as usual, Old-stock

[illegible] WINE, fit for immediate use.
Nov. 16 ROBERT LENOX.

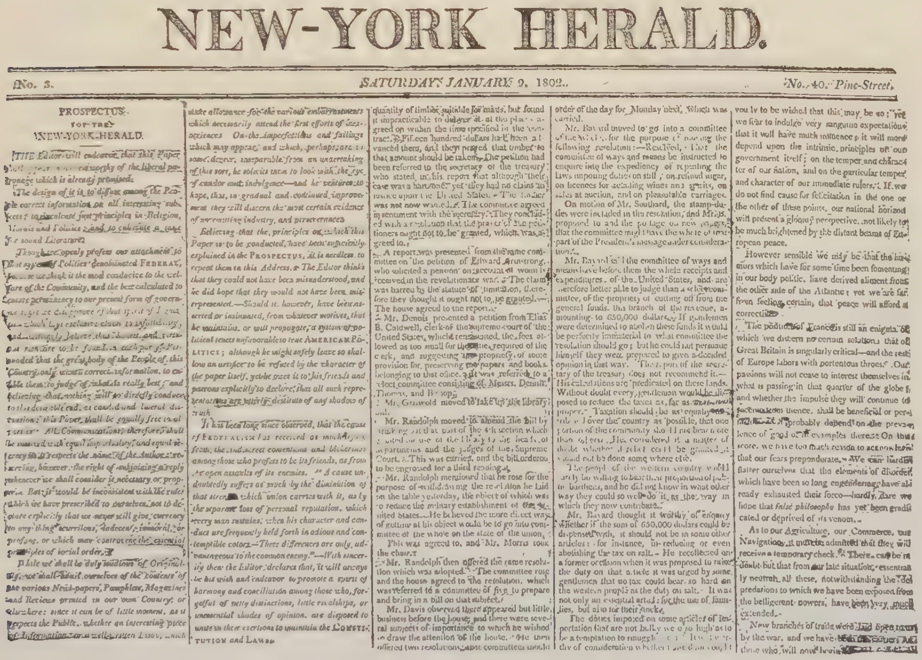
RICHARD & JOHN THORNE
No. 141 Pearl-street

HAVE just imported by the [illegible] from London, and Liverpool Packet from Liverpool, a [illegible] assortment of GOODS

Fac-simile of heading of the original, in possession of New York Society Library.

Coleman had already denounced dueling as a "horrid custom," and proclaimed himself opposed to it: yet such was the force of fashion and of feeling in this matter, that he himself, in the previous year (1803), had accepted a challenge from Cheetham, editor of the *Citizen:* and while this duel fell through, it led to a cruel murder on the dueling-ground of a third person, in which it is almost certain both of these men were implicated.

Coleman and Cheetham were life-long enemies, and well matched in their persistent political warfare. Coleman was as fearless as he was able, and could see no good in any opponent of any sort: and, stubborn in his perversity, contended among other queer conceits that the republic had been benefited in no way whatever by the Democrats, that Napoleon had no merits as a soldier, and that Dr. Priestley had done the world much more harm than good! He started out with the determination to keep the columns of the *Post* free from "personal virulence, low sarcasm, and verbal contentions with printers and editors:" and promised in his prospectus "to never give currency to anything scurrilous, indecent, immoral, or profane." Yet, full of fighting as he was, he soon fell foul of Cheetham, and sharply referred to the "insolent vulgarity of that base wretch;" while Duane, of the *Aurora*, he dubbed "a base-born foreigner!" In the *History of the City of New York* I find the following pithy and pointed parallel between these two great rivals, carefully contrasting, too, their characters: "Cheetham was some years younger than Coleman, and gloried in encountering difficulties. He appeared in public with bold face and majestic bearing. Coleman was smaller, of delicate structure, and looked grave and pensive. Cheetham had cultivated his mind with historical reading, and was familiar with the poets; his writings were curt and concise, Coleman's often ver-



NEW-YORK HERALD.

No. 3. SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 1802. No. 40, Pine-Street.

Fac-simile of heading of the original, in possession of New York Society Library.

bose. Cheetham could fell at one blow; Coleman delighted in protracted torture. Neither was deficient in pointed epithets and lacerating remarks. Cheetham was ardent, passionate, and forgiving. Coleman was self-poised, cold, and long harbored an imaginary injury. Each delighted in the prostration of a victim, but Coleman was the more politic and prudent of the two." And Dr. Francis, in his *Old New York*, speaks these pleasant words of them: "With all their faults they diffused much truth as well as error; they advanced the power of the press in talents and in improved knowledge; and they aided the progress of literary culture."

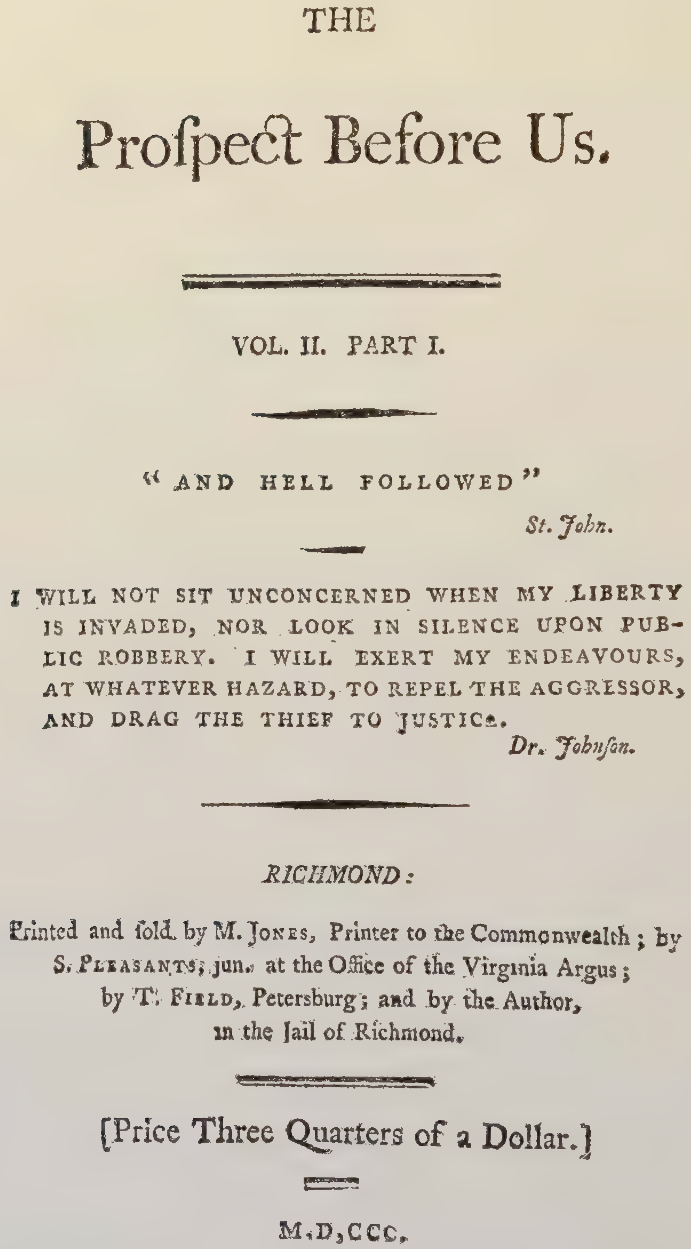
The truth of this last statement was proved at once to me as far as it regards the *Evening Post*, on looking over its files. It is a small folio, twelve inches by twenty, well printed and well arranged. It contains numerous advertisements of new publications and of imported books; the first regular and judicious theatrical criticisms given by our press, signed by "Thespis," with occasional long reviews of his criticisms by "Laelius;" able leaders and letters of interest on various topics; and there is a distinct literary flavor unwonted to journalism at that day. Our grandparents were addicted to prose selections and to poetical effusions, and these were collected and arranged with taste by Coleman, who, albeit a capital critic, wrote poor poetry himself.

In his issue of January 24, 1806, he gives a delightful narrative of his meeting with John Howard Payne, who was then—not yet fourteen years old—the boy-editor of the *Thespian Mirror*. Coleman had fallen on the fourth number of this production, and was so pleased with its contents that he sent word to its editor that he would be glad to notice him and his paper. Payne replied reluctantly, for his literary work was a secret from his family, done outside his enforced daily labors in a counting-house, and he begged that he might not be harshly judged on account of his "extreme youth, being under the age of fourteen." Coleman was incredulous until he gained an interview, which drove away all doubts as to the boy's "strength and maturity of intellect," and he writes, "I found it required an effort on my part to keep up the conversation, in as choice a style as his own." He goes on to praise warmly the productions of this "prodigy," and asserts that "nothing in the youthful efforts of Cowley, Milton, Pope, or Chatterton" are finer. He asks, "What encouragement do such talents in such a boy deserve?" The answer came in an offer from a wealthy citizen to educate and befriend the lad—thus happily helped by the exposure instead of harmed, as he had dreaded. Shortly after the boy sailed up the Hudson in a sloop with his friend, Charles Brockden Brown, and at Schenectady entered Union College.

A few years later Coleman published in the *Post* those humorous original odes called the "Croaker pieces," written by Joseph Rodman Drake, who was helped in their composition, a little later, by Fitz-Greene Halleck, and the firm became famous as "Croaker and Co." Halleck's *Recorder* also first saw light in the columns of the *Evening Post*.

On the 2d of January, 1802, was issued the first number of the *New York Herald*, called "our country paper," by the proprietors of the *Post*, and a copy of it in size, shape, and type. It was a semi-weekly, containing but few advertisements, and much reading matter: its news, criticisms, leaders, conveyed from the daily, while its literary contents were taken wherever found to be good, in accordance with this naïve declaration amid the stately sentiments and pompous promises of the prospectus: "While we shall be duly studious of Originality, we shall avail ourselves of the Contents of the various Newspapers, Pamphlets, Magazines, and Reviews, printed in our own Country, or elsewhere; since it can be of little moment, as it respects the Public, whether an interesting piece of Information, or a well-written Essay, which they have probably never seen, has appeared in any other paper or not."

James Cheetham was an English radical—"an Englishman and a hatter," he was once contemptuously styled in a fellow-journalist's affidavit here—who had fled from the Manchester riots in 1798, and found his way to New York, with some money in his purse it would seem, for he soon after bought two newspapers from the widow of Thomas Greenleaf. These had been called *The Argus*, a daily; and *Greenleaf's New York Journal*, a semi-weekly. Cheetham re-christened the former *The American Citizen*, the latter *The American Watchman*. They were admirably written and conducted, and soon became the leaders of the radical press of the country, devoted to Jefferson's administration and to the most daring democratic doctrines. Cheetham was a great master of biting invective, and I find much in his manner resembling Junius, in his carefully cultivated capabilities of commination. His rare resources of this style were also shown in his historic reply to "Aristides," and in many a pamphlet. His life of "Tom Paine" shows him in a sinister aspect, being written with studied malignity toward the man for whom he had formerly professed friendship. "The author's revised private copy," intended for a second edition, with corrections in his own hand, is now in the library of the Historical Society of New York, and is curious reading. He claims that it is a "life, not a panegyric," but it is really a relentless record of only the lowest and worst in the man who—however deep the degradation of his later life, with its loathsome habits and its vulgar jests—had yet



THE

Proſpect Before Us.

VOL. II. PART I.

"AND HELL FOLLOWED"

St. John.

I WILL NOT SIT UNCONCERNED WHEN MY LIBERTY IS INVADED, NOR LOOK IN SILENCE UPON PUBLIC ROBBERY. I WILL EXERT MY ENDEAVOURS, AT WHATEVER HAZARD, TO REPEL THE AGGRESSOR, AND DRAG THE THIEF TO JUSTICE.

Dr. Johnſon.

RICHMOND:

Printed and ſold by M. JONES, Printer to the Commonwealth; by
S. PLEASANTS, jun. at the Office of the Virginia Argus;
by T. FIELD, Petersburg; and by the Author,
in the Jail of Richmond.

[Price Three Quarters of a Dollar.]

M,D,CCC.

Fac-simile of title-page, from original in the library of New York Historical Society.

been a phenomenal force at the most critical moment in our early history, and had wrought with his *Common Sense* an effect "rarely produced by types and paper in any age or country."

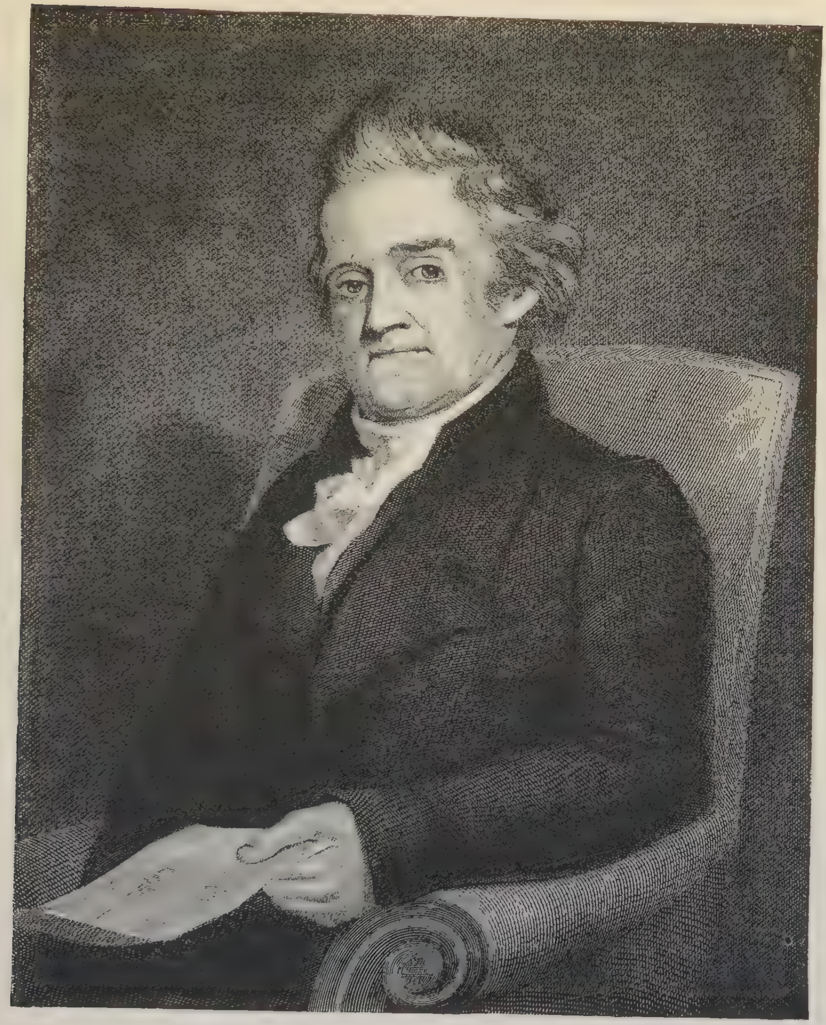
Cheetham died in delirium, with congestion of the brain, in the hot summer of 1809: his last words to his sons were, "Boys, study Bolingbroke for style, and Locke for sentiment!"

James Thompson Callender is a name of note during these times—notorious rather than famous. He, too, was a political refugee, forced to flee from punishment in Scotland for his radical utterances, and appearing in this country in a *rôle* new then to our manners—a soldier of fortune, wielding well a trenchant blade, under no concern on which side or for what cause he should draw it, but bargaining with the best bidder. He found his way to Philadelphia and into the Jeffersonian camp and purse, and for several years did effective scavenger work, producing, from 1794 to 1797, an annual *Political Register*, a racy re-hash of all the party scandal, slanders, lies, libels, scurrility. For a while, during Bache's absence, he edited the *Aurora*, and proved himself a noble brother of Bache in blackguardism. Compelled to quit the city, he next appeared in Richmond, as manager of the new Republican paper, the *Richmond Examiner;* and later in his career he wrote for and edited the *Richmond Recorder.* He is better known, however, as the author of *The Prospect Before Us:* a thick pamphlet in three numbers, whose design it was "to exhibit the multiplied corruptions of the Federal government, and more especially the misconduct of the President, Mr. Adams." It is, indeed, one long-drawn curse on the living Adams and on the dead Washington—the basest thoughts put fitly into the bitterest words—an unequaled instance of insolence and ignoble imprecation. In reply to the copy sent him Mr. Jefferson wrote his thanks and praises, saying that "it cannot fail to produce the best effects." And it did so, though not as he meant: for it landed Callender in Richmond jail, condemned to nine months' imprisonment, a fine of $200, and to give security for good conduct for two years. It is cheering to learn that no one was heard to grieve over his punishment. But, when Jefferson became President, he had the fine returned and the security remitted—yet found no more work for his *protégé.* Thereupon, Callender turned against him with all his venom, shamelessly proclaiming Jefferson's previous patronage and pay as his praiseworthy motive for present abuse. I am unable to find one good word to speak of this man, with all his great ability. He was a journalistic janizary, his pen always for sale on any side, a hardened and habitual liar, a traitorous and truculent scoundrel; and the world went better when he sank out of sight beneath the waters of the James River to his grave in congenial mud.

A far worthier type of man is seen in Joseph Gales, also driven from England by reason of his opinions. He had founded the *Sheffield Register*, in that town wherein he was born and then resided; for hot words spoken in which, during the frenzied days of 1792, he escaped punishment only by flying to Germany. While there he sold his journal to one of his clerks, James Montgomery by name, famous afterward as Montgomery the poet. Gales reached Philadelphia in 1793, and there became printer and later editor of the *Independent Gazette*, a Republican journal; wherein he gave the first short-hand reports of congressional debates. Founding the *Raleigh Register* a little later—holding fast to the name of his early choice—he remained its editor and publisher for the last forty years of his busy and blameless life.

His son Joseph was seven years old when his father brought him to this country, and seems to have lived and worked with his parents until he came of age. In 1807 he began to do reporter's work on the *National Intelligencer*, of Washington; of which journal he became part proprietor in 1810; and in 1812 he and his brother-in-law, William Winston Seaton, were the sole owners and editors. They were for many years, also, its sole stenographic reporters, one in the Senate, the other in the House. It is to these two that we owe all the accurate annals of our early congresses, and all the reliable records of the great speeches. In 1813 they made a daily paper of the *Intelligencer:* and in their hands it became famed as an able, fair, and influential organ of the Whigs, notable, especially in those days, for its constant candor and courtesy.

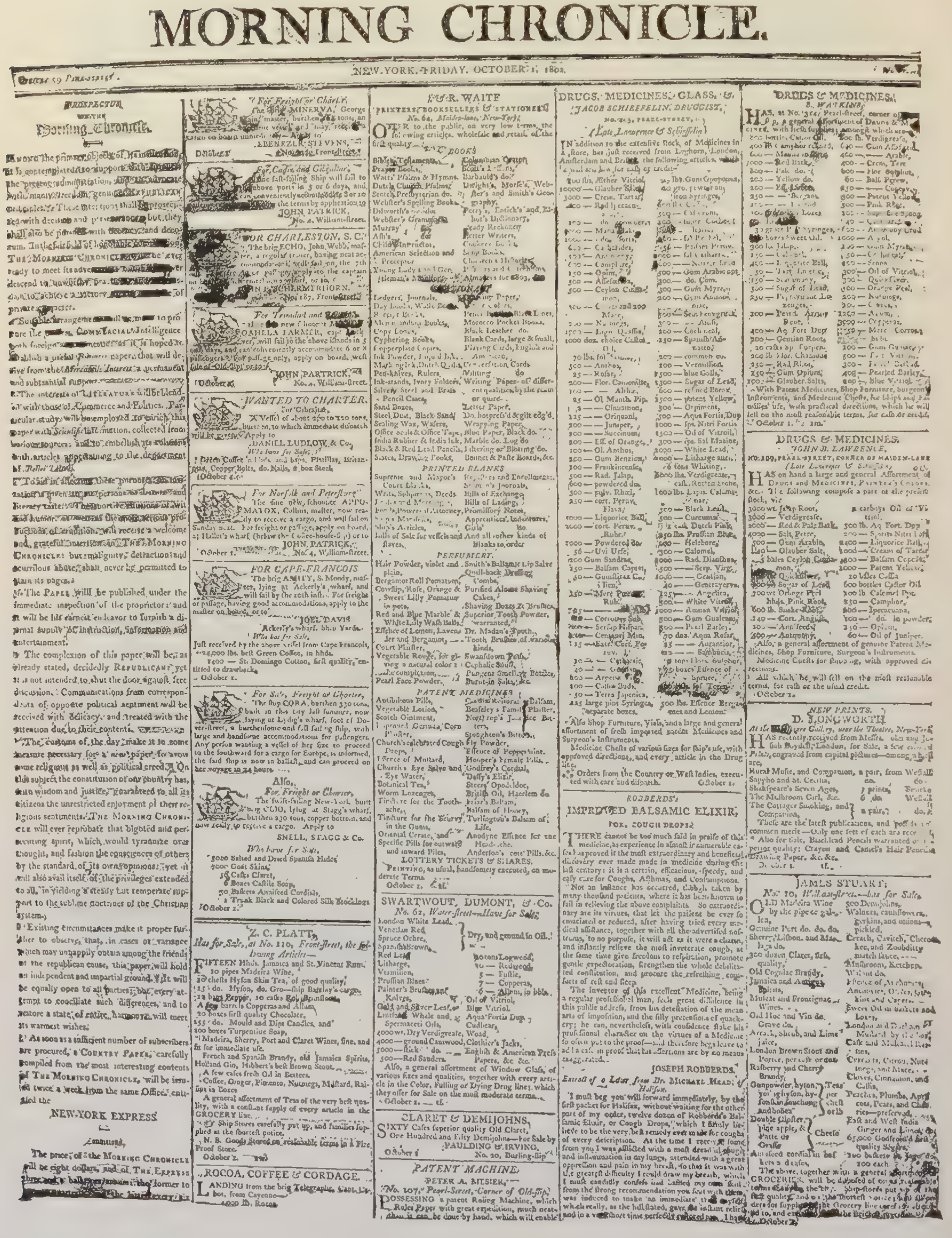
Noah Webster is not so well and widely known as an editor, as for his spelling-book and his dictionary, but he did signal service in the former field between 1793 and 1798. As school-teacher, as lecturer, as essayist on the English language and on American polity, he had made himself an intellectual power in the young nation, and thus came to be called from his law-office in Hartford to the editorial chair of *The Minerva.* Such was the name of a new journal established in New York in December, 1793, as a strong administration organ—"Patroness of Peace, Commerce, and the Liberal Arts." Mr. Webster announced, at the outset, that his journal would be the "Friend of Government, of Freedom, of Virtue, and every species of Improvement." He carried out his promise, insomuch that he elevated the character of his fellow-journals by the influence and the example of his own, making it more than a mere mercantile organ, and giving and inviting discussion on topics of national moment. There



N Webster

From the original painting in possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Gordon L. Ford.

would seem to have been contention between the managers and the proprietors of *The Minerva* about 1797, and it soon after was changed in plan, management, and name, and known as the *New York Commercial Advertiser:* known as such to this day, in its vigorous and youthful old age.



MORNING CHRONICLE.

Office 59 Pine-ſtreet. NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1802. No. 1.

PROSPECTUS
OF THE
Morning Chronicle.

AMONG the primary objects of this inſtitution, it is contemplated to ſupport [illegible] the preſent adminiſtration, and to advocate with manly freedom, genuine REPUBLICAN principles. Theſe intentions ſhall be proſecuted with deciſion and perſeverance, but they ſhall alſo be purſued with decency and decorum. In the field of honorable controverſy, THE MORNING CHRONICLE will be ever ready to meet its adverſaries; but will never deſcend to unworthy [illegible] to achieve a victory [illegible] of private character.

Suitable arrangements will be made to procure the [illegible] COMMERCIAL Intelligence both foreign and domeſtic as it is hoped to eſtabliſh a uſeful Buſineſs paper, that will derive from the Mercantile Intereſt a permanent and ſubſtantial ſupport [illegible].

The intereſts of LITERATURE will be blended with thoſe of Commerce and Politics. Particular ſtudy will be employed to enrich this paper with Scientific information, collected from various ſources; and to embelliſh its columns with articles appertaining to the department of Belles Lettres.

To aid in effecting theſe purpoſes, an invitation is given to all perſons of talents and literary taſte. The ſportive effuſions of wit and humor, as well as the more ſerious productions of erudition, will receive a welcome and grateful inſertion in THE MORNING CHRONICLE: but malignity, detraction and ſcurrilous abuſe, ſhall never be permitted to ſtain its pages.

The PAPER will be publiſhed under the immediate inſpection of the proprietor; and it will be his earneſt endeavor to furniſh a diurnal ſupply of inſtruction, information and entertainment.

The complexion of this paper will be, as already ſtated, decidedly REPUBLICAN; yet it is not intended to ſhut the door againſt free diſcuſſion. Communications from correſpondents of oppoſite political ſentiment will be received with delicacy, and treated with the attention due to their contents.

The cuſtoms of the day make it in ſome meaſure neceſſary for a new paper to avow ſome religious as well as political creed. On this ſubject the conſtitution of our country has, with wiſdom and juſtice, guaranteed to all its citizens the unreſtricted enjoyment of their religious ſentiments. THE MORNING CHRONICLE will ever reprobate that bigoted and perſecuting ſpirit, which would tyrannize over thought, and faſhion the conſciences of others by the ſtandard of its own opinions: yet it will alſo avail itſelf of the privileges extended to all, in yielding a ſteady but temperate ſupport to the ſublime doctrines of the Chriſtian ſyſtem.

Exiſting circumſtances make it proper further to obſerve, that, in caſes of variance which may unhappily obtain among the friends of the republican cauſe, this paper will hold an independent and impartial ground. It will be equally open to all parties; but every attempt to conciliate ſuch differences, and to reſtore a ſtate of entire harmony, will meet its warmeſt wiſhes.

As ſoon as a ſufficient number of ſubſcribers are procured, a COUNTRY PAPER, carefully compiled from the moſt intereſting contents of THE MORNING CHRONICLE, will be iſſued twice a week from the ſame Office, entitled the

NEW-YORK EXPRESS.

Conditions.

The price of the MORNING CHRONICLE will be eight dollars, and of THE EXPRESS three and a half dollars per annum; the former to [illegible] the latter every ſix

For Freight or Charter,
The Brig MINERVA, George Bain, maſter, burthen [illegible] tons, an excellent veſſel, and may receive a cargo on board immediately—Apply to
EBENEZER STEVENS,
October 1. No. [illegible] Front-ſtreet.

For Cadiz and Gibraltar,
The faſt-ſailing Ship will ſail to the above ports in 5 or 6 days, and can conveniently accommodate 8 or 10 paſſengers, the terms by application to
JOHN PATRICK,
No. 4, William-ſtreet.

FOR CHARLESTON, S. C.
The brig ECHO, John Webb, maſter, a regular trader, having neat accommodations, will ſail on the 7th [illegible] For freight or paſſage, apply to the captain on board, [illegible] wharf, or to
[illegible] SCHERMERHORN.
No. 187, Front-ſtreet.

For Trinidad and [illegible]
The new ſchooner MONONGAHELA FARMER, capt. [illegible], will ſail to the above iſlands in 5 or 6 days, and can conveniently accommodate 6 or 8 paſſengers. For paſſage only, apply on board, weſt ſide of Old-ſlip, or to
JOHN PARTRICK,
October 1. No. 4, William-ſtreet.

WANTED TO CHARTER.
For Gibraltar,
A Veſſel of about 250 to 320 tons, burthen, to which immediate diſpatch will be given. Apply to
DANIEL LUDLOW, & Co.
Who have for Sale,
Green Coffee in hhds. and bags, Platillas, Britannias, Copper Bolts, do. Nails, & box Steel.
October 1.

For Norfolk and Peterſburg,
The fine new ſchooner APPOMATOX, Collins, maſter, now ready to receive a cargo, and will ſail on Sunday next. For freight or paſſage, apply on board, at Hallet's wharf, (below the Coffee-houſe-ſlip) or to
JOHN PATRICK,
October 1. No. 4, William-ſtreet.

FOR CAPE-FRANCOIS
The brig AMITY, S. Moody, maſter, lying at Ackerly's wharf, and will ſail by the 10th inſt. For freight or paſſage, having good accommodations, apply to the maſter on board, or to
JOEL DAVIS
Ackerly's wharf. Ship Yards.
Who has for Sale,
Juſt received by the above veſſel from Cape Francois,
24,000 lbs. beſt Green Coffee, in hhds.
1400 — St. Domingo Cotton, firſt quality, entitled to drawback.
October 1.

For Sale, Freight or Charter,
The ſhip CORA, burthen 330 tons, built in this city laſt ſummer, now laying at Lydig's wharf, foot of Dover-ſtreet, a burthenſome and faſt ſailing ſhip, with large and handſome accommodations for paſſengers. Any perſon wanting a veſſel of her ſize to proceed to the ſouthward for a cargo for Europe, is informed, the ſaid ſhip is now in ballaſt, and can proceed on her voyage in 24 hours.

Alſo,
For Freight or Charter,
The faſt-ſailing New-York built brig CLIO, lying at Stagg's wharf, burthen 230 tons, copper bottom, and now ready to receive a cargo. Apply to
SNELL, STAGG & Co.
Who have for Sale,
8000 Salted and Dried Spaniſh Hides,
4000 Goat Skins,
58 Caſks Claret,
6 Boxes Caſtile Soap,
30 Baſkets Anniſeed Cordials,
1 Trunk Black and Colored Silk Stockings
October 1.

Z. C. PLATT,
Has for Sale, at No. 110, Front-ſtreet, the following Articles—
FIFTEEN Hhds. Jamaica and St. Vincent Rum,
10 pipes Madeira Wine,
30 cheſts Hyſon Skin Tea, of good quality,
125 do. Hyſon, do. Gro—ſhip Bateley's cargo,
12 bags Pepper, 10 caſks Roll Brimſtone,
A few barrels Copperas and Allum,
20 boxes firſt quality Chocolate,
155 do. Mould and Dipt Candles, and
100 boxes Turpentine Soap,
Madeira, Sherry, Port and Claret Wines, fine, and fit for immediate uſe.
French and Spaniſh Brandy, old Jamaica Spirits, Holland Gin, Hibbert's beſt Brown Stout.
A few caſes freſh Oil in Bottles.
Coffee, Ginger, Pimento, Nutmegs, Muſtard, Raiſins in Boxes
A general aſſortment of Teas of the very beſt quality, with a conſtant ſupply of every article in the GROCERY line.
Ship Stores carefully put up, and families ſupplied at the ſhorteſt notice.
N. B. Goods Stored on reaſonable terms in a Fire Proof Store.
October 1.

COCOA, COFFEE & CORDAGE.
LANDING from the brig Telegraphe, Capt. [illegible], from Cayenne—
4020 lb. Cocoa.

E. & R. WAITE
PRINTERS, BOOKSELLERS & STATIONERS,
No. 64, Maiden-lane, New-York,
OFFER to the public, on very low terms, the following articles, wholeſale and retail, of the firſt quality—

BOOKS.
Bibles, Teſtaments,
Prayer Books,
Watts' Pſalms & Hymns.
Dutch Church Pſalms,
Scotch Preſbyterian do.
Webſter's Spelling Books,
Dilworth's [illegible]
Webſter's Grammar,
Murray's do
Aſh's do
Child's Inſtructor,
American Selection and Preceptor
Young Lady's and Gentleman's Monitor,
Columbian Orator,
Scott's Leſſons,
Barbauld's do.
Dwight's, Morſe's, Webſter's and Smith's Geography,
Perry's, Entick's and Elliot's Dictionary,
Ready Reckoner,
Letter Writers,
Cookery Books,
Song Books,
Children's Hiſtories,
Primers and Catechiſms,
Almanacs for 1803, &c.

STATIONARY.
Ledgers, Journals,
Day Books, Waſte Books,
Receipt Books,
Memorandum Books,
Copy Books,
Cyphering Books,
Copperplate Copies,
Ink Powder, Liquid Ink,
Marking Ink, Dutch Quills,
Pen-knives, Rulers,
Ink-ſtands, Ivory Folders,
Silver, Steel and Braſs Pencil Caſes,
Sand Boxes,
Steel Duſt, Black Sand,
Sealing Wax, Wafers,
Office ſeals & Office Tape,
India Rubber & India Ink,
Black & Red Lead Pencils,
Slates, Drawing Books,
[illegible] Paper,
[illegible]
Pencils [illegible] Black Lines,
Morocco Pocket Books,
Black Leather do.
Blank Cards, large & ſmall,
Playing Cards, Engliſh and American,
Converſation Cards
Viſiting do
Writing Paper of different qualities, by the ream or quire,
Letter Paper,
Do. hotpreſs'd & gilt edg'd,
Wrapping Paper,
Blue Paper, Black do.
Marble do. Log do
Filtering or Blotting do.
Bonnet & Paſte Boards, &c.

PRINTED BLANKS
Supreme and Mayor's Court Blanks,
Writs, Subpoenas, Deeds
Leaſes and Mortgages,
Bonds, Powers of Attorney,
Ships Manifeſts,
Ship's Articles,
Bills of Sale for veſſels and ſlaves,
Regiſters and Enrollments,
Seamen's Journals,
Bills of Exchange,
Bills of Lading,
Promiſſory Notes,
Apprentices' Indentures,
Girls' do.
And all other kinds of Blanks to order

PERFUMERY.
Hair Powder, violet and plain,
Bergamot Roll Pomatum,
Cowſlip, Roſe, Orange & Sweet Lilly Pomatum in pots,
Red and Blue Marble & White Lilly Waſh Balls,
Eſſence of Lemon, Lavender and Bergamot,
Court Plaiſter,
Vegetable Rouge, for giving a natural color to the complexion,
Pearl Face Powder,
Smith's Balſamic Lip Salve
Quill-back Dreſſing Combs,
Purified Almond Shaving Cakes,
Shaving Boxes & Bruſhes,
Superior Tooth Powder, warranted,
Dr. Madan's Tooth,
Tooth Bruſhes of various kinds,
Swanſdown Puffs,
Cephalic Snuff,
Pungent Smelling Bottles,
Burnt-in Salts, &c.

PATENT MEDICINES
Antibilious Pills,
Vegetable Lotion,
Scotch Ointment,
Improved German Corn Plaiſter,
Church's celebrated Cough Drops,
Eſſence of Muſtard,
Church's Eye Salve and Eye Water,
Botanical Tea,
Worm Lozenges,
Tincture for the Tooth-ache,
Tincture for the Scurvy in the Gums,
Oriental Cerate, and Specific Pills for outward and inward Piles,
[illegible] Balſam,
Beaſeley's Family Plaiſter,
Northrop's Juſtice Bitters,
Stoughton's Bitters,
Fly Powder,
Eſſence of Peppermint,
Hooper's Female Pills,
Godfrey's Cordial,
Daffy's Elixir,
Steers' Opodeldoc,
Britiſh Oil, Haerlem do
Friar's Balſam,
Balſam of Honey,
Turlington's Balſam of Life,
Anodyne Eſſence for the Head-ache,
Anderſon's [illegible] Pills, &c.

LOTTERY TICKETS & SHARES.
PRINTING, as uſual, handſomely executed, on moderate Terms
October 1.

SWARTWOUT, DUMONT, & Co.
No. 62, Water-ſtreet—Have for Sale,
London White Lead,
Venetian Red,
Spruce Ochre,
Spaniſh Brown, } Dry, and ground in Oil.
Red Lead
Litharge,
Vermilion,
Pruſſian Blues,
Painter's Bruſhes and Knives,
Gold and Silver Leaf,
Linſeed, Whale and Spermaceti Oils,
4000 wt. Dry Verdigreaſe,
4000—ground Camwood,
5000—ſtick do.
500—Red Sanders.
40 tons Logwood,
40 — Redwood,
5 — Fuſtic,
7 — Copperas,
6 — Allum, in bbls.
Oil of Vitriol,
Blue Vitriol,
Aqua Fortis Dup.
Cudbear,
Woad,
Clothier's Jacks,
Engliſh & American Preſs Papers, &c &c.
Alſo, a general aſſortment of Window Glaſs, of various ſizes and qualities, together with every article in the Color, Fulling or Dying Drug lines, which they offer for Sale on the moſt moderate terms.
October 1.

CLARET & DEMIJOHNS.
SIXTY Caſes ſuperior quality Old Claret, One Hundred and Fifty Demijohns—For Sale by
PAULDING & IRVING,
October 1 No. 20, Burling-ſlip.

PATENT MACHINE.
PETER A. MESIER,
No. 107, Pearl-Street, Corner of Old-ſlip,
POSSESSING a patent Ruling Machine, which Rules Paper with great expedition, much neater than it can be done by hand, which will enable

DRUGS, MEDICINES, GLASS, &c.
JACOB SCHIEFFELIN, DRUGGIST,
No. 193, PEARL-STREET,
(Late Lawrence & Schieffelin)
IN addition to the extenſive ſtock of Medicines in ſtore, has juſt received from Leghorn, London, Amſterdam and Briſtol, the following articles, which [illegible] for caſh or credit—
100 lbs. Æther Vitriol,
10000 — Glauber Salts,
3000 — Crem. Tartar,
400 — Rad Ipecacuan.
100 — do. powdered,
[illegible] — Manna Flake,
1000 — do. Sorts,
600 — Cantharides,
[illegible] — Antimony,
600 — Camphire,
150 — Opium,
300 — Aſſafœtida,
500 — Ceylon Cinnamon,
[illegible] — Cloves and 200 Mace,
[illegible] — Nutmegs,
1700 — Lign. Quaſſia,
1000 doz. choice Caſtor Oil,
70 lbs. [illegible],
500 — Anthos,
25 — Roſar,
200 — Flor. Camomille,
100 — — Alba,
25 — Ol Menth. Pip.
[illegible] — — Cinnamon,
125 — — Origani,
200 — — Juniper,
100 — — Succinum,
200 — Eſſ. of Orange,
100 — Ol. Anthos,
250 — Gum Benzion,
700 — Frankincenſe,
500 — Rad. Jalap,
600 — powdered do.
300 — pulv. Rhei,
250 — cort. Peruv. Flava,
1000 — Liquorice Ball,
2000 — cort. Peruv. Rubr.
1000 — Powdered do.
56 — Uvi Urſe,
200 Gum Sandrac,
150 — Balſam Capivi,
50 — Gum [illegible] Lien,
250 — Merc. Præcip. Rub.
[illegible] — — Alb.
[illegible] — Corroſive Sub.
[illegible] — Serſap Hiſpan,
[illegible] — Centaurj Min.
125 — Extr. Cort. Peruv.
30 — — Cathartic,
40 — — Gentian,
600 — [illegible]
100 — Caſſia Buds,
50 — Terra Japonica,
225 large pint Syringes, ſeparate boxes.
[illegible] lbs. Gum Opoponax,
40 gro. pewter and iron Syringes,
[illegible]
500 — Caſtoreum,
400 — ſuper Cochineal,
[illegible]
[illegible] — Sal [illegible],
[illegible] — Balſam Peruv.
[illegible] — Sal Cathartic,
[illegible] — Nitre, refined
500 — Gum Arabic opt.
300 — do. Com.
300 — Gum Myrrh,
200 — Gum Ammoniac,
500 — Sem Feenugreek,
300 — — Aniſi,
200 — Cochineal,
250 — Spaniſh Annatto,
200 — common do.
100 — Vermillion,
1500 — blue Galls,
1300 — Sugar of Lead,
600 — refined Borax,
1500 — patent Yellow,
300 — Orpiment,
500 — Aqua Fortis, Dup
1000 — ſpt. Nitri Fortis
1500 — Oil of Vitriol,
300 — ſpt. Sal Marine,
2000 — White Lead,
4000 — Litharge aur.
6 tons Whiting,
2000 lbs. Verdigreaſe,
[illegible] caſk Rotten Stone,
1000 lbs. Lapis Calaminar,
300 — Black Lead,
500 — Curcuma,
[illegible] caſk Dutch Pink,
250 lbs. Pruſſian Blue,
300 — Helebore,
300 — Calomel,
1000 — Rad. [illegible],
500 — — Serp. Virg.
1000 — — Gentian,
40 — — Contrayerva,
125 — — Angelica,
500 — White Vitriol,
1000 — Roman Vitriol,
500 — Gum Guaicum,
500 — Pearl Barley,
30 doz. Aqua Roſar,
35 — — Aurantior,
[illegible] — — Sambucus,
[illegible] tons Flor. Sulphur,
[illegible] boxes Eſſence of Spruce,
[illegible] of Terpentine,
500 lbs. Eſſence Bergamot and Lemon.
Alſo Shop Furniture, Vials, and a large and general aſſortment of freſh imported patent Medicines and Surgeon's Inſtruments.
Medicine Cheſts of various ſizes for ſhip's uſe, with approved directions, and every article in the Drug line.
Orders from the Country or Weſt Indies, executed with care and diſpatch. October 1.

ROBBERDS'S
IMPROVED BALSAMIC ELIXIR,
OR, COUGH DROPS;

THERE cannot be too much ſaid in praiſe of this medicine, as experience in almoſt innumerable caſes has proved it the moſt extraordinary and beneficial diſcovery ever made made in medicine during the laſt century: it is a certain, efficacious, ſpeedy, and eaſy cure for Coughs, Aſthmas, and Conſumptions.

Not an inſtance has occurred, though taken by many thouſand patients, where it has been known to fail in relieving the above complaints. So extraordinary are its virtues, that let the patient be ever ſo emaciated or reduced, after having tried every medical aſſiſtance, together with all the advertiſed noſtrums, to no purpoſe, it will act as it were a charm, and inſtantly relieve the moſt inveterate cough, at the ſame time give freedom to reſpiration, promote gentle expectoration, ſtrengthen the whole debilitated conſtitution, and procure the refreſhing comforts of reſt and ſleep.

The inventor of this excellent Medicine, being a regular profeſſional man, feels great diffidence in this public addreſs, from his deteſtation of the mean arts of impoſition, and the filly pretenſions of quackery; he can, nevertheleſs, with confidence ſtake his profeſſional character on the virtues of a Medicine ſo often put to the proof—and therefore begs leave to add a caſe in proof that his aſſertions are by no means exaggerated.

JOSEPH ROBBERDS.

Extract of a Letter from Dr. MICHAEL HEAD, Halifax.

"I muſt beg you will forward immediately, by the firſt packet for Halifax, without waiting for the other part of my order, twelve dozen of Robberds's Balſamic Elixir, or Cough Drops, which I firmly believe to be the very beſt remedy ever made for coughs of every deſcription. At the time I received ſome from you I was afflicted with a moſt dreadful cough and inflammation in my lungs, attended with a great oppreſſion and pain in my breaſt, ſo that it was with the greateſt difficulty I could draw my breath, which I muſt candidly confeſs had baffled my own ſkill: from the ſtrong recommendation you ſent with them, was induced to make an immediate trial myſelf, which really, as the bill ſtated, gave me inſtant relief, and in a very ſhort time perfectly reſtored me. I have

DRUGS & MEDICINES.
S. WATKINS,
HAS, at No. 314, Pearl-ſtreet, corner of [illegible], a general aſſortment of Drugs & Medicines, with freſh ſupplies, amongſt which are—
800 bottles Caſtor Oil,
400 lb Camphor refined,
600 — Manna in flake,
1000 — Red Bark,
800 — Pale do.
200 — Yellow do.
200 — Eſſ. Lemon,
250 — — Bergam.
[illegible] — — Lavend.
100 [illegible] Lozes
[illegible]
30 groce [illegible] Syringes,
[illegible] boxes Sweet Oil.
300 lb. Jalap,
150 — Calomel,
400 — Liquorice Ball,
50 — Turk. [illegible]
150 — Scammony,
300 — Sugar of Lead,
250 — Peppermint Lozenges,
300 — [illegible] Root,
400 — Aq. Fort. Dup
200 — Gentian Root,
20 caſks Sp. Turpent.
200 lb. Flor. Chamom.
150 — Rad Rhei,
150 — Gum Opium,
100 — Glauber Salts,
600 lb. Verdigreaſe,
640 — Gum Aſſafœtid.
400 — — Arabic,
400 — Crem. Tart.
800 — Flor Sulphur,
60 — Ball. Peruv.
850 — Copperas,
600 — Patent Yellow,
300 — Pink Root,
300 — [illegible] Spong.
140 — [illegible]
600 — Antimony Crud
1000 — [illegible]
150 — Gum Myrrh,
150 — Cochineal,
400 — Senna
300 — Oil of Vitriol,
300 — Quickſilver,
100 — Orange Peel,
200 — Nutmegs,
200 — Cloves,
1250 — Allum,
3500 — Copperas,
150 — Merc. Corroſ.
[illegible]
200 — Gum Guaiacum
600 — [illegible]
300 — [illegible]
400 — Pearled Barley,
400 — Blue Vitriol.
With Patent Medicines, Shop Furniture, Surgeon's Inſtruments, and Medicine Cheſts, for ſhips and Families' uſe, with practical directions, which he will ſell on the moſt reaſonable terms, for caſh or credit.
October 1.

DRUGS & MEDICINES.
JOHN B. LAWRENCE,
No. 109, PEARL-STREET, CORNER OF MAIDEN-LANE
(Late Lawrence & Schieffelin)
HAS on hand a large and general Aſſortment of DRUGS and MEDICINES, PAINTER'S COLORS, &c. The following compoſe a part of the preſent ſtock, viz
3000 wt. Jalap Root,
3000 — Verdigreaſe,
2000 — Red & Pale Bark,
4000 — Salt Petre,
500 — Gum Arabic,
140 — Glauber Salt,
5 bales Ceylon Cinnamon,
[illegible] Quickſilver,
[illegible] Sugar of Lead
200 wt Orange Peel
[illegible] hhds. Pink Root,
600 lb. Snake Root,
140 — Cort. Anguſt.
200 — Anniſeed,
500 — Antimony.
2 carboys Oil of Vitriol,
300 lb. Aq. Fort. Dup
200 — Spirits Nitre Dulc.
2400 — Liquorice Ball,
1000 — Cream of Tartar
300 — Balſam Copaiba,
2000 — Patent Yellow,
10 bales Caſſia
600 bottles Caſtor Oil
100 lb. Calomel Ppt.
250 — Camphor,
100 — Ipecacuana,
100 — do. in powder,
250 — Opium,
60 — Oil of Juniper.
Alſo, a general aſſortment of genuine Patent Medicines, Shop Furniture, Surgeon's Inſtruments.
Medicine Cheſts for ſhipping, with approved directions.
All which he will ſell on the moſt reaſonable terms, for caſh or the uſual credit.
October 1.

NEW PRINTS.
D. LONGWORTH
At the Shakſpeare Gallery, near the Theatre, New-York,
HAS recently received from Meſſrs. John and Joſiah Boydell, London, for Sale, a few coloured Prints, engraved from capital pictures—among which are,

Rural Muſic, and Companion,	a pair,	from Weſtall
Sappho and St. Cecilia,	do.	do
Shakſpeare's Seven Ages,	7 prints,	Smirke
The Muſhroom Girl, &c.	6 do.	Weſtall
The Cottager Smoking, and Companion,	a pair,	do.

These are the lateſt publications, and poſſeſs uncommon merit—Only one ſett of each are received.
Alſo for Sale, Blacklead Pencils warranted of ſuperior quality; Crayon and Camel's Hair Pencils, Drawing Paper, &c. &c.
October 1. tf.

JAMES STUART,
No. 10, William-ſtreet,—has for Sale,
OLD Madeira Wine by the pipe or gallon,
Genuine Port do. do. do.
Sherry, Liſbon, and Malaga do.
300 dozen Claret, firſt quality,
Old Cogniac Brandy,
Jamaica and Antigua Spirits,
Muſcat and Frontignac Wines.
Old Hoc and Vin de Grave do.
Arrack, Shrub, and Lime juice,
London Brown Stout and Porter, per caſk or doz.
Raſberry and Cherry Brandy,
Gunpowder, hyſon, young hyſon, hyſon ſkin ſouchong and bohea } Teas per cheſt or lb
Double Gloſter, pine apple, & Patte de Graſſe } Cheeſe
Anniſeed cordial in baſkets & caſes,
300 Demijohns,
Walnuts, cauliflowers, gerkins, and onions—pickled,
Cerach, Cavitch, Cherokee, and Zoubditty match ſauce,
Muſhroom, Ketchup,
Walnut do.
Eſſence of Anchovies,
Anchovies, Olives, Gherkins and Capers,
Sweet Oil in baſkets and boxes,
London and Durham Muſtard by the box,
Caſk and Muſcatel Raiſins,
Currants, Citron, Nutmegs, and Mace,
Cloves, Cinnamon, and Caſſia,
Peaches, Plumbs, Apricots, Pears, and Cherries—preſerved,
Eaſt and Weſt India Ginger and Limes,
65,000 Godfrey's firſt quality Segars,
200 baſkets [illegible] 100 each.
The above, together with a general aſſortment of GROCERIES, will be diſpoſed of on as reaſonable terms as any in the city. Ship-ſtores put up of the firſt quality, and on the ſhorteſt notice; [illegible] orders for ſupplies in the Grocery line [illegible] to, and executed [illegible]
October 1.

Fac-simile of portion of opening page of the original, in possession of the New York Historical Society.

Mr. Webster went to New Haven in 1798, but with his later life there, and his literary labors, impressive and important as they were, we cannot concern ourselves here. I am told that he lived, during his editorship in New York, in handsome style in the old Franklin House, in Queen Street; and have heard him described, at the age of forty, as a singularly fine-looking man, "tall, slender, graceful, with keen gray eyes and sharply cut features." He looked the refined gentleman that he was, marked always by his erect walk, his neatness in dress, his broad hat and long queue.

JKPaulding

In the first copy of the *New York Morning Chronicle*, issued on Friday, October 1, 1802, I find a small advertisement, "Paulding and Irving, Wine Merchants, No. 20, Burling Slip." This partnership—recalling a more famous firm with the same names, dealing in literary wares—was composed of Nathaniel Paulding, brother of James K., and Ebenezer Irving, the purely mercantile brother of William, Peter, John T., and Washington Irving—each of whom tilled his allotment in literature, large or little. Peter Irving had studied medicine, but never practiced; and was part proprietor and managing editor of this new paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, for which post he was well equipped by his literary ability and his wide reading, although not so fully fitted for political controversy. His opening prospectus has a clear and genuine ring, announcing that one of the primary objects of his journal would be to support with firmness the present administration, and to advocate with manly freedom genuine Republican principles, but that this should be done with decency and decorum; and while ever ready to meet its adversaries in the fair field of honorable competition, "it will never descend to unworthy practices, and will disdain to achieve a victory at the expence (*sic*) of private character." It promises to give the earliest commercial intelligence suited for a useful business paper; but also "to blend the interests of literature with those of commerce and of politics, and to enrich its columns with scientific information." As to its religious avowals, it reprobated the bigoted and persecuting spirit of others, and meant "to yield a steady but temperate support to the sublime doctrines of the Christian system." And its editor is quite determined that "malignity, detraction, and scurrilous abuse shall never be permitted to stain its pages." So started into existence this new journal, which faded out of life in less than three summers.

The *Morning Chronicle* was a folio of the size of the *Evening Post*, described on a former page, similar in style and make-up, and published at 59 Pine Street, at the usual price of $8 per annum. Its copious advertisements form for us a suggestive history of the trade, manners, and morals of that day, while its literary contents—criticisms, letters, communications, selections, extracts from the current speeches of Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan—are an attractive study to the antiquarian. Its leaders and letters are full of apt satire on the pretensions of the editorial guild to superior virtue and intelligence, and one number brims over with fun of this sort, referring with graceful and genial irony to the editor of the *National Intelligencer*, as a man "with talents perhaps, but buried under a heap of candor, patience, truth, justice, and other miserly qualities." Its political editorials were few and short, but keen withal, and not without strength. They took always the point of view of Burr and his adherents—by whom the journal was founded, indeed—and were devoted entirely to bolstering him up, in answer to the crushing charges of the *Evening Post* against him, after the death of Hamilton. That death killed Burr socially and politically, and the *Chronicle* soon lost its vitality, and became moribund early in the summer of 1805, when it was absorbed by the *Poughkeepsie Journal*.

Among the "sportive effusions of wit and humor" promised by the editor at the outset, were certain papers on plays and players, on the fashionable foolishness and the passing humors of the hour, which attracted much attention. They appeared under the signature of Jonathan Oldstyle, believed for a long time to be the *nom de plume* of Dr. Peter Irving, but known later as that of his younger brother, Washington, then—but nineteen years of age—making his first appearance in print. They seem very old-fashioned for his youth, although he himself looked on them as crude and boyish; but they have not yet become antiquated, and are still fresh and delightful in their keen but kindly criticism, their graceful humor, their harmless mirth.

John Treat Irving, another brother, contributed at times to the columns of the *Chronicle*, mainly in verses, thought to be brilliant then, satirizing the party conflicts of the day. These seem to have been turned out as a relief from the dry details of the law, and his duties later as the first judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of New York.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

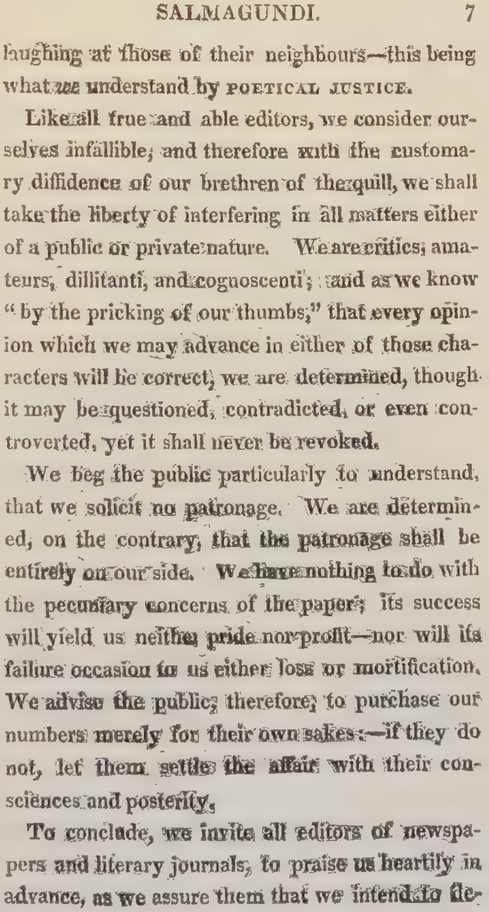
From the original mezzotint in possession of the editor.

William Irving—the eldest brother—had spent a few years as an Indian trader on the Mohawk, before coming to the town: and these fresh experiences, his keen observation, his ready wit, his pungent satire, and his felicity in verse, placed him at once in the front rank of these young writers. He married the sister of James Kirke Paulding, another of this brilliant group. Paulding was born in 1779, and came first into national notice in 1815 by a controversial pamphlet, *The United States and England:* a reply to "Inchiquin's Letters" in the *Quarterly Review*, "Inchiquin" being then wrongly believed to be Southey, the laureate. Other political writings followed, and in the same year President Madison made him Secretary of the Board of Navy commissioners; in 1824, Monroe appointed him Navy agent in New York; and from June, 1838, to March 4, 1841, he was Secretary of the Navy in Van Buren's Cabinet. His whole official career was in all ways honorable to himself and useful to the service. But it is rather in literature that his name will live, and his share in the building up of letters in this country is lasting and memorable. He produced many works throughout his life, serious and playful, all stamped with his strong and attractive personality, his original and curious turn of thought, his picturesque and facile style, his grave irony, his hatred of shams, his fondness for nature. Physically, he is described as being above the medium height, strongly built, dark in complexion, eyes of unmixed brown; his profile was like that of an Indian chief, before he allowed his beard to grow.

WALTZ DANCE.

[*Engraving of the period, showing exact costume.*]

There was a little group of good fellows, called by themselves "the nine worthies," who, in the early years of the century, caused the sedate citizens of Gotham to regard them dubiously, as too fond of fun, wasting their time in reading and writing, regardless of arithmetic, and caring too little for "making money." Paulding and the Irvings, Henry Brevoort, Henry Ogden, and Gouverneur Kemble were prominent names in this group. The latter—styled "the patroon"—had inherited an old family mansion on the banks of the Passaic, about a mile above Newark; whereto the jolly band was wont to resort at short intervals, and make merry amid its antique furniture, and under the eyes of the ancient family portraits. This house — still standing, built all about by modern Newark — is the Cockloft Hall of *Salmagundi*, as we may see it in that delicious bit of humorous description. It was therein that these papers were planned by Paulding, William and Washington Irving: the former their Launcelot Langstaff, the latter two Anthony Evergreen and William Wizard. Washington Irving wrote most of the letters from "Mustapha Rub-a-dub Keli Khan," and William ground out the verses "from the mill of Pindar Cockloft." These verses are smooth and felicitous, lamenting the loss of the simpler manners of younger days, satirizing the scandals, follies, *and new dances of the passing time.* Most of the papers were written in common by the three, thoughts and words their joint production, and it is not possible nor useful to assign to each his exact share. The first number of *Salmagundi, or the Whim-whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esquire, and others*, appeared in a tiny tome on Saturday, January 24, 1807, and took the town by storm; each new number, issued at irregular intervals, increasing the sensation. Its purpose was announced "to instruct the young, reform the old, correct the town,



SALMAGUNDI. 7

laughing at those of their neighbours—this being what we understand by POETICAL JUSTICE.

Like all true and able editors, we consider ourselves infallible; and therefore with the customary diffidence of our brethren of the quill, we shall take the liberty of interfering in all matters either of a public or private nature. We are critics, amateurs, dillitanti, and cognoscenti; and as we know "by the pricking of our thumbs," that every opinion which we may advance in either of those characters will be correct, we are determined, though it may be questioned, contradicted, or even controverted, yet it shall never be revoked.

We beg the public particularly to understand, that we solicit no patronage. We are determined, on the contrary, that the patronage shall be entirely on our side. We have nothing to do with the pecuniary concerns of the paper; its success will yield us neither pride nor profit—nor will its failure occasion to us either loss or mortification. We advise the public, therefore, to purchase our numbers merely for their own sakes:—if they do not, let them settle the affair with their consciences and posterity.

To conclude, we invite all editors of newspapers and literary journals, to praise us heartily in advance, as we assure them that we intend to de-

Fac-simile page from preface of "Salmagundi." Exact size of original. Copied through courtesy of New York Society Library.

and castigate the age," and its audacious gayety, its bold disregard for all which the traditions of the elders held sacred in society, the mystery of its authorship, all served alike to irritate and amuse its readers. These soon spread to other cities, the sales became great and the profits large—the greater portion of them being taken by the publisher, Longworth, spite of his professions in the prospectus "of the same sublime contempt for money as his authors." Not only greedy, but dictatorial, he soon disgusted these authors, and the publication came to an abrupt end with the twentieth number, on the 25th January, 1808, having lasted just one year. In his final words and farewell, William Wizard gives no hint of these causes, but speaks of his regret "at being obliged to bite his own nose off."

WILL WIZARD.

From an antique edition of "Salmagundi."

Pleasant trifles and excellent entertainment as these papers are, there seems to me a somewhat spectral humor which lights them up, and their effect is that afforded by a depleted, bloodless, pallid Addison or Steele. But it is in what they did indirectly, rather than in what they are, that these productions have their value, and their authors so high a place in this present study. Paulding and his friends and fellow-workers were even then laying deep and solid the foundations for the stately temple of American literature.

Benjamin Ellis Martin

GOVERNOR SPOTSWOOD'S HORSESHOE CAMPAIGN, 1716

AS RELATED TO THE ROMANCE OF CATHAY

In the chronicles of Virginia are many brief allusions to the expedition led by Governor Spotswood in 1716 to the Valley of Virginia, and the journey of the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" has furnished material for fiction. But nowhere have been discussed the various stages of westward exploration which culminated in the occupation by Englishmen of the prairies and woodlands of the Shenandoah Valley, and opened the mountain doors to the tide of westward migration. As is frequently the case in matters of discovery the success of Spotswood's search beclouded, if it did not obliterate, the records of the equally brave but unrequited strivings after the same end by his predecessors. The story of the labors of those advance guards is interesting in that the student is led through the byways of the history of nearly two centuries, and can trace the gradual attainment of material results from the pursuit of an idea based upon fable.

The discovery of America by Columbus was due to his desire to reach by sailing toward the west the wonderful realms of Cathay; and the belief in which he died, that Cuba and the neighboring islands were but outlying parts of Asia, was shared by other men of equally scientific proclivities. The map of Martin Behaim published in 1492, the search by Ponce de Leon for the fountain of eternal youth, the tragic march of De Soto through the southern wilderness, and Sebastian Cabot's supposed discovery in latitude sixty-seven and a half degrees north of a northwest passage, were but expressions of a widespread conviction that the new land was only a slight obstacle in the path leading to the realization of the century's dreams. The voyages of the Cabots and of other navigators revealed to the world the fact that America was no island, but this knowledge, instead of shaking the belief in the untold riches of the South Sea, rather quickened the efforts of fearless but blindfold knights-errant of the ocean, and the delusive hope of a northwest passage, born of Cabot's fertile imagination, was cherished long after the subsidence of the East India craze.

Under English auspices the romance of New World exploration, a child of the old crusading spirit, was rapidly overshadowed by mercantile motives. Although Robert Thorne wrote in 1527 an essay on the northwest passage, and Albert de Prado sailed to Newfoundland in search of the "land of the great Cham," another generation saw the talented Sir Humphrey Gilbert suggesting to Queen Elizabeth the plan of colonizing the lands lying between England and Cathay, which was to be reached by the northwest passage. His pamphlet, "A Discourse to prove a passage by the Northwest to Cataya and the East Indies," decided Martin Frobisher to undertake his expedition into northern latitudes, but his desire to find the northwest passage gave way to his dreams of immediate results in the form of Esquimaux gold. The two voyages of Frobisher, following upon the organization of the Company of Cathay, resulted disastrously, but Gilbert undeterred thereby sought and obtained in 1578, from the queen, a patent for colonizing the new lands. A provision of the patent reserving for the crown one-fifth of the precious metals to be found, betokens the avaricious character of Elizabeth as compared with the more enlightened views of Gilbert. That he was not wholly uninfluenced by the prevailing epidemic is proved by his sailing in 1583 with the token of a golden anchor guarded by a woman, which had been presented to him by his sovereign, and by his companion, "a mineral man," who discovered in the new world what he alleged to be silver. Miner, silver, and Gilbert were lost in Atlantic's waves, and Gilbert's mantle fell upon the shoulders of his step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, whose persevering but unsuccessful attempts to colonize America led to the organization of the Virginia Company, and the settlement of Englishmen at Jamestown.

Thus after a century of theory and experiment England gained a foothold in the New World, and was ready to press forward toward the American Eldorado, or a passage to the South Sea. Newport, the commander of the little fleet which carried the Jamestown settlers, had been directed to explore Virginia for precious metals and the unknown strait, and after he had sailed for England in June 1607 the discontent at his failure found so vigorous expression, that Captain John Smith was induced to make his expedition up the James and Chickahominy rivers in midwinter. The colonists had incentive to search for gold in the clause of the Virginia patent similar to that in Gilbert's, and it is not surprising that Newport's return in April, 1608, and the supposed discovery by Martin, one of the council, of a mine near Jamestown, increased the virulence of the gold fever. According to Smith's statements there was "no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold," and the steady members of the colony were relieved when Newport sailed shortly for England with a cargo of glittering earth. Their self-congratulations were short-lived for Newport again returned in the following September with orders from an impatient council not to appear in England without "a lump of gold, a certainty of the South Sea," or news of Raleigh's lost colony. To aid him in his arduous undertakings a boat in sections was given him, so that he might carry it above the falls of James River. With a company of a hundred and twenty men including William Callicut, a refiner, Newport set forth on his expedition, which resulted only in the doubtful discovery of silver in the Monocan country. Though Captain Smith disparaged "the great guilded hopes of the South Sea mines" and the futile visit to the head of the falls, he nevertheless was led to think that the Chesapeake Bay, which he explored, stretched to the South Sea or near it. The Virginia Company could not believe otherwise inasmuch as the second patent in 1609 granted them "all the space of land lying from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid up into the land throughout from sea to sea west and northwest." No one imagined at that time that the region was so great that in it would be included, two centuries later, the whole or parts of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Texas, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California. In spite of the company's hopes, and the letter of Rev. Alexander Whitaker in which he gave the situation of a silver mine as about four days' journey from the head of the falls, the idea of further discovery was lost sight of in the general prosperity of the colony, resulting in great measure from the vigorous exertions of Smith, Dale, Delaware, and their successors.

In 1623, a few months before the dissolution of the Virginia Company, Henry Briggs, a mathematician, presented to the Earl of Southampton a work in which was described a plan of discovery toward the West, which again awakened dreams of Cathay and gold. Edward Waterhouse writing about the same time referred to the pamphlet, and stated that Lieutenant Marmaduke Parkinson while sailing up the Potomac River, had seen in the cabin of an Indian chief a "China box." This box, the chief said, had been sent to him by another chief who lived in a country about ten days' journey over the great hills, and whose home was near a great sea, over which people wearing scimiters and called "Acanack-China" had brought the box. Parkinson was also informed that the Potomac rose in a ridge of hills stretching north and south, "whereby," wrote Waterhouse, "they doubt not but to find a safe, easie and good passage to the South Sea, part by water, part by land believing it not above an hundred and fifty miles from the head of the falls, where we are now planted." Bright visions of wealth easily acquired rose before the mind's eyes of the adventurous. Charles I., acquiring the rights and privileges of the Virginia Company, became possessed of its cupidity, and was no doubt gratified when the Virginia Assembly expressed its hope that the mountains were very rich in precious metals, and referred to the discovery of a silver mine in 1609 "at a place about four days' journey from the falls of James River." Governor Harvey must have been influenced by this statement, based upon Callicut's refining, when he sent in the autumn of 1630 two hundred armed men, with plenty of provisions, to journey into the country of the Monocans in search of a silver mine, which was said to have been discovered by a Dutchman while Sir Thomas Gates administered the affairs of the colony. The expedition was intrusted to Captain Matthews, between whom and Harvey considerable bad feeling afterward existed, and he delayed so in starting that the approach of winter compelled him to return with no definite results. However, this expedition, being the second of the kind organized in the colony, was the connecting link between Captain Newport's fruitless wanderings after the seventeenth century's *ignis fatuus* and the later undertakings by Governor Berkeley. The chronicler of this event was Thomas Young, who, having by earnest solicitation gained a commission from the king to make discoveries in America, was exploring in 1634 the Delaware River, being impressed by the Indians' statements that it rose in a great lake or bay in latitude thirty-nine degrees north, and he proposed "to discover the mouths thereof, which discharge themselves west into the North and South Sea."

The crude and exaggerated ideas of the geography of the western country, which had been derived from the figurative language of the aborigines, could not be driven from the minds of Virginians. Sir William Berkeley, the stanch loyalist governor of Virginia, with all his horror of printing and free schools, was a progressive man for his times, and readily lent himself to any plan for the extension of his king's dominions in the fourth estate. The killing of Opechancanough after the massacre of 1644, and the treaty with his successor, Nicotowance, made an end, for a season, of the troubles with the Indians, and encouraged men to turn their thoughts to the unknown land behind the mountains, the chief bulwark of which had been the fear of hostile savages. While the people of England were occupied in the revolutionary changes which culminated in the death of the unfortunate Charles I., the Virginian planters were resolving upon further discovery of countries lying toward the southwest. They were persuaded that by traveling in that direction they would reach a western or a southern sea upon which they might sail to China and the East Indies, and while they were confident that it was no short distance from the limits of their settlement to the South Sea, they imagined that easy journeys could be made to it by some river flowing westwardly from the mountains, in contrast with the eastward trend of the James and the Potomac. Appeal was made to the work of Briggs which had not lost its influence during a quarter of a century, and the Indians were quoted in corroboration of the theories. The silver mine again became a reality in the imagination, for in a letter written in 1650, it was stated that "the Indians unanimously consent that twenty miles beyond the falls is a rock of crystal . . . and that three days journey from thence is a Rocke or Hill of Silver Oare; Beyond which over a ledge of Hills . . . is the Sea which can be no other than that sea which washes the shore of China." The Indians were also the creators of the belief that beyond the mountains was a sea extending from Canada to Florida, and that in the Gulf of St. Lawrence four great rivers took their rise, and flowed respectively toward the four points of the compass, of which the "fourth bending southward washes all the back side of Virginia," and emptied into the South Sea. In such hazy forms was revealed to the Virginians the existence of the Mississippi River, which was to become in after years such a mighty factor in the life and history of this country. Time had somewhat changed men's views of the treasure-house in the West, and the Virginians were incited to discovery, not by romantic hopes of acquiring stores of precious minerals, but by the practical consideration that the rich East India trade might thus be gained for Englishmen, and with the ease and comparative safety of a shorter route, might be carried on to the enrichment of Virginia.

Governor Berkeley learned from the Indians that by traveling for five days in a southwesterly direction he would reach high mountains, and from their western slopes flowed a river, leading to a sea where men sailed, who wore curiously shaped hats of reed, and possessed horses with long ears. Moved by these assertions, and doubtless sharing the popular delusions, Berkeley organized in April, 1648, a body of fifty horsemen and fifty footmen, which he proposed to lead in person, for the discovery of what, it was supposed, "must needs prove a passage to the South Sea and also some part of China and the East Indies . . . which will mightily advance and enrich this country." This was the wording of a letter which reached England in March, 1649, and from its context it appears that the expedition was made, for the author expressed the hope of being able to send a full account of the enterprise by the next ship which should sail from Virginia. This letter is the only record of Berkeley's trip, which was in all probability forgotten in the agitation caused by the execution of Charles I., and the subsequent surrender of the colony to the parliamentary commissioners. Berkeley had sufficient leisure in his retirement at Green Spring during the eight years of the Commonwealth in Virginia to cogitate upon the possibilities of the West, but after his restoration to power in 1660, he was busied in affairs of state, the regulation of correspondence with Indian tribes, and the settlement of tobacco difficulties existing between Maryland and Virginia, and it was left to others to revive the hopes of penetrating the mountain barriers.

John Lederer, a German, encouraged by a trip made by him in 1669 from the head of York River, started from James River on May 20, 1670, on a journey toward the mountains. His companions, a Major Harris, twenty white men, and five Indians, when they had traveled two weeks in a southwesterly direction, declined to proceed further. But Lederer, in spite of their desertion, pushed forward in company with a Susquehanna Indian, and on June 26 reaching a point near the present boundary line of South Carolina and Georgia, returned to Virginia. Though a German by birth Lederer seems to have come from Maryland to Virginia, for in a petition presented to the General Assembly of Maryland a year later it was stated that he had lived in Calvert County for a long time, having come into the colony upon the strength of Lord Baltimore's declaration in favor of foreigners in 1649. Sir William Talbot, secretary of the province, afterward published in London a translation of Lederer's account of his trip. Had Governor Berkeley shown some appreciation of Lederer's attempts he might have retained his services as an explorer, but his failure in this respect did not prevent him from setting on foot another expedition.

Beverley, the historian, is the sole authority for the account of a journey made by Captain Henry Batt about 1670. In the edition of 1722 of his *History of Virginia*, he stated that Batt with fourteen Englishmen and an equal number of Indians, traveled five hundred miles following the general course pursued by Lederer, until they came to swampy country whence flowed a river, the Oukfuski, emptying, it was supposed, into a gulf west of Florida. During their march they saw level plains, beautiful savannahs, wild turkeys, elks, buffaloes, grapes, and a deserted Indian village, where, according to the usual policy, they left a number of toys or trinkets. The Indians asserted that near the river dwelt a tribe of Indians who made salt for sale among their neighbors, and upon the red men's refusal to advance further search was relinquished. Beverley's work has many inaccuracies and much misinformation in its early chapters in which the preceding account appears, and it is possible that in Henry Batt's expedition one sees but the record of a confused hearsay report of the journeys of Lederer and that of Henry Batt's brother. Thomas Batt, commissioned by Major-General Abraham Wood, acting for

Governor Berkeley, started from Appomattox Town September 1, 1671, to find "the ebbing and flowing of the water behind the mountains in order to the Discovery of the South Sea." His companions were Thomas Woods, Robert Fallam, Jack Nesan, and Perecute, an Appomattox Indian. They traveled in a general southwesterly direction, as their predecessors had done, until they came to the Hanohaskies' village, where Woods was taken ill and died in a few days. But with the addition to their number of seven Appomattox Indians Batt's party continued the march, and when they halted on the evening of September 7, the mountains were within sight. In their path to the mountains on the next day they found a tree, upon which some one had drawn with charcoal the letters MANI, probably the record of Indians. They spent Saturday, Sunday, and Monday with the Tolera Indians to enable Perecute to recover from indisposition. From the 12th to the 16th they were among ranges of mountains near the present southwestern boundary of Virginia, and though they saw turkeys, deer, grapes, gooseberries and haws, such was the scarcity that they "lived a dogg's life." Descending a high ridge on the 13th, "they came to two trees mark'd as before w'th a coale MANI, ye other cut in with MA and severall other scrabl'm'ts hard by a pretty swift small current tending west sometimes Northerdly w'th curious meadows on each side." The soil was rich but stony, and the grass was higher than their heads. Following the course of the river, being greatly amazed at the prospect of hills piled one upon the other, and the wavy aspect of the mountains, they reached, on the 16th, the falls of the Kanawha ninety miles above its mouth.

By this time the Indians had become restless, and were eager to return on account of the probability of bad weather and the lack of provisions. The party, thereupon, determined to return to the settlements, but their departure from the mountain wilds was attended with some little ceremony. They fired a salute with their guns, and uttered the following proclamation: "Long live King Charles, y^e 2^d, King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia and all the territoryes thereunto belonging; deffender of y^e ffaith." Upon a tree, which had been partially barked, they made with marking-irons the letters C. R., surmounted by a crown, for the king; another tree they marked W. B., for Governor Berkeley; a third tree, A. W., for General Wood, and a fourth tree TB. H. R. for themselves, and P. for Perecute, who, impressed, no doubt, by the energy and perseverance of the Virginians, said he wished to be an Englishman. On another tree were placed the initial letters of the names of the other Indians, IN., TT., NP., V., and ER.

Leaving these memorials of the farthest point in the west reached by

Virginians, they retraced their steps; and from the top of the hills, casting a look at the promised land which they were leaving, they "saw westwardly over certain delightful hills a fogg arise and a glimmering light, as from water and suppose there may be some Great Bay." They had not found the South Sea, and Berkeley was again frustrated in his efforts toward further discovery by a revolution against his administration. The difficulties with frontier Indians arising soon after the return of Batt, and the discontent of Virginians at the revival of navigation acts and the grant of the colony to Arlington and Culpeper, culminated in the revolution in 1676 led by young Nathaniel Bacon, and which, though unsuccessful, cost the English Government £80,000. Before the bitterness engendered by that conflict had subsided, the sturdy old governor died, and nearly forty years elapsed before another governor of Virginia attempted to visit the mysterious regions of the distant Blue Ridge.

During that period many additions were made to the white man's knowledge of the geography of the country west of the mountains. The French of Canada were also seeking a passage to the South Sea, and by way of the Great Lakes were making rapid progress through the western country before death made an end of Berkeley's schemes. The discovery and exploration of the Mississippi by Joliet, Marquette and La Salle, and the work of zealous missionaries, placed western discovery on a new plane. England, jealous of every advantage gained in the New World by her Old World rival, was not slow in learning of the French discoveries, and England's colonists without relinquishing the idea of a South Sea knew that it was more distant than former calculations had placed it. The great sea of the Indians had been found to be only a river, a noble stream indeed, but yet only a river. Thereafter Virginians were impelled to westward journeys by other considerations.

When Alexander Spotswood came to Virginia as governor in 1710, the English in America were agitated by the rapid extension of French influence in the West, and if their views and suggestions had prevailed with the home government much of the bloodshed and expense of the French and Indian war would have been prevented, if indeed that struggle had taken place. Spotswood was one of those impressed with the necessity of the English gaining a strong foothold in the western country, as he was qualified by his service under the Duke of Marlborough on European fields to comprehend fully the advantages connected with such a stronghold from a military point of view. That he understood its commercial importance is shown by his correspondence on the subject. He had been in the colony but two or three months when he sent a company of men on an exploring expedition. They reported that they reached on horseback the top of the highest mountain, about one hundred miles from the settlement, and perceived that the descent on the other side was easy, and that it was possible to travel over the whole ridge. In a letter written by Spotswood to the Council of Trade, under date of December 15, 1710, he stated his views on the subject of western settlements. He wrote that the James River " according to the best acco'ts of the Indians, issues from a Lake on ye other side of the great Mountains that ly to the Westward of us, and makes its way through them. If such a permission were granted there, while the Lands in other places are under stricter conditions, the people would soon carry on their Settlem'ts to ye very Source of that River, and ye advantages that may reasonably be expected from thence are these: That whereas the ffrench are endeavouring to settle a communication between Canada and their late Settlements on the Mississippi by way of the Lakes, our people would, by pushing on their settlem'ts in one straight line along the banks of James River, be able to cutt off that communication and fix themselves so strongly there that it would not be in the power of the French to dislodge them, especially considering how much further they must travell than we to come at that place. . . . And by this means a very profitable Trade might be established with foreign Nations of Indians and our Indian Traders would find convenient places of Refreshment without being obliged (as they are now) to travell some hundreds of miles through Desarts before they can vend their Commoditys."

The statements made later by Spotswood that the mountains had hitherto been deemed impassable, and that no attempts had been made to follow the rivers up to their sources and to establish communication with the Indians in the West, show how the former expeditions had been forgotten, and explain the general impression that the " horseshoe " expedition was the first of its kind. Indeed, the only link connecting his journey with the search for the South Sea was the presence among his followers of Beverley, who may be considered the historian of Berkeley's last venture. Spotswood, not satisfied with the results of the exploration in 1710, determined to visit the mountain regions himself. He wrote in August, 1718, that his chief aim in making that trip had been to seek a passage to the lakes. He still considered the project of making western settlements by which the Indian trade was to be secured for the English and French settlement, and invasion prevented, for he thought, " They may, by possessing themselves of the Passes of the Great Mountains, w'ch ly between Us and the Lakes, Either by themselves or their Indians, fall upon and over-run w'ch of these Provinces they think fit." With such ends in view, Governor Spotswood started upon his famous expedition, August 20, 1716.

He left Williamsburg accompanied by John Fontaine, the journalist of the expedition, but by the 29th of the month when he left Germanna, the outpost of Virginia's settlements, he had been joined by several gentlemen of the country between Williamsburg and Germanna, fourteen rangers and four Meherrin Indians. On account of the rough country in which they expected to travel the members of the party had their horses shod at Germanna, and the use upon that occasion of horseshoes, not a necessity in the flat country of Eastern Virginia, gave the name to the expedition. The progress of the explorers was slow ; they were impeded by waterways, mires, and thickets, delayed by sickness of members of the party in spite of liberal doses of Jesuit bark, and in the following seven days traveled not more than sixty miles. The first night's experience in the woods, when "we had lain upon the ground under cover of our tents, and we found by the pains in our bones that we had not had good beds to lie upon," taught them thereafter to sleep on boughs. In spite of such hardships, they had a right royal holiday, toasting venison for food, and for drink having a good supply of "several sorts of liquors, viz., Virginia red wine and white wine, Irish usquebaugh, brandy, shrub, two sorts of rum, champagne, canary, cherry, punch, water, cider, &c." The course was nearly due west along the Rapidan River until, on September 3, they reached what Fontaine considered the head of James River.

At that time hardly one hundred and twenty-five miles of the course of James River were known, and even later the portion of the river above the mouth of the Rivanna River bore also the name Fluvanna River. Fontaine was careful to record the number of miles traveled each day, and a comparison of his measurements and general description of the journey with the map and topography of Virginia leads to the conviction that his James River head was one of the small streams which flowed into the Rivanna River. The line of the Blue Ridge Mountains in that region is broken by several gaps, leading into the Valley, known to-day as Brown's, Turk's, Rockfish, and Swift Run gaps, and it was in the neighborhood of the last mentioned, which is the furthest north, that Spotswood and his knights crossed the mountains. After fighting rattlesnakes and briers for one day, they started on horseback up the mountain on the morning of September 5, and with the aid of axemen, and by dint of much scrambling, they were able to drink the health of the king and the royal family at the top of the Blue Ridge.

Looking toward the West, they could see a sight pleasing to the eye at all times, and especially upon a September afternoon. Directly opposite them was the south end of the Massanutten range, which rises, like a huge backbone, in the middle of the Valley, and at their feet that Valley itself, covered with prairie grass and woodland and watered by a river of many branches which they called the Euphrates, but which now bears the more beautiful name of Shenandoah. Thirty miles distant, another range of blue mountains limited their vision. It is not strange that Spotswood urged his followers to descend the mountain and to pitch their tents beside the Euphrates. His campaign in the Valley was brief but spirited. On the 6th, while his men were hunting wild grapes, swimming, shooting deer and turkeys, and catching perch and other kinds of fish, Spotswood buried on the river bank a bottle containing a paper, upon which he had written that "he took possession of this place in the name and for King George the First of England," and after dinner "we got the men together, and loaded all their guns, and we drank the King's health in Champagne, and fired a volley—the Princess's health in Burgundy, and fired a volley, and all the rest of the Royal Family in claret, and a volley. We drank the Governor's health, and fired another volley." The highest mountain was called Mount George, and the one they had crossed Mount Spotswood. The next day, leaving the rangers to continue the exploration, Spotswood's party turned their faces homeward, and after nearly a month's absence, and having traveled four hundred and thirty-eight miles, the governor reached Williamsburg on the 17th of September. To commemorate the expedition and the use of the horseshoes which it had required, Spotswood gave to each of his companions a small golden horseshoe with garnets for nail-heads. On one side of the shoe was the inscription: "*Sic juvat transcendere montes*," and on the other the transmontane order. Rev. Hugh Jones, who is the authority for this statement, also wrote in 1724, that Spotswood instituted this "to encourage Gentlemen to venture backwards and make Discoveries and new Settlements; any Gentleman being entitled to wear this Golden Shoe that can prove his having drank *His Majesty's Health* upon MOUNT GEORGE." The golden shoes were handed down from generation to generation, but it is believed that all have now disappeared. One of the last persons upon whom the token was bestowed was an Indian. On September, 12, 1722, when Spotswood, with the governors of other colonies, ended the conference with the Five Nations, the governor of Virginia told the Indians that they "must take particular notice of the speaker & gave him a golden Horseshoe which he wore at his Breast & bid the interpreter tell him there was an inscription upon [it] which would help to pass over the mountains & that when any of their People should come to Virginia with a Pass they should bring it with them."

Neither the lakes nor the Mississippi had been reached by Spotswood, but he had discovered that a fair country lay behind the mountains, and the Indians told him that three days' journey from the pass by which he entered the Valley was a river which emptied into Lake Erie, and that from "the Western side of one of the small Mountains, w'ch I saw, that Lake is very visible and cannot, therefore, be above five days' March from the pass." But he was sadly amiss when he thought that the Alleghanies were smaller than the Blue Ridge mountains, and he afterward modified his statement about the five days' march by stating that he meant the journey could be made in that time on a good road without interruption by swollen rivers. The discoveries of Spotswood, however, did not dispel the hopes of finding precious metals in the Virginia mountains, or of reaching the South Sea and gaining the East India trade. Jones, who enjoyed the confidence of the governor, attempted to apply logic to metallurgy, and argued that as the hills abounded with iron, the mountains might be as rich in precious metals as those of Mexico and South America; and James Maury, an intelligent Virginian, writing in 1756, proposed a scheme for making the Potomac River the emporium of the East Indian commodities, and for reaching the South Sea by portage from the Mississippi. This plan was similar to the one proposed during Berkeley's administration, but was modified by better knowledge, for instead of canoeing down the rivers flowing from the western slopes of the great mountains into the South Sea, the traveler was to canoe up the river flowing eastwardly into the Mississippi until he approached other rivers emptying into the Pacific Ocean.

But Alexander Spotswood was moved by more practical considerations, and his expedition had more practical results. He had opened a way to a country, which hardy settlers from Pennsylvania and Virginia soon began to occupy in spite of opposition from the Indians, and the Shenandoah Valley gradually assumed the features which have made it Virginia's Eden. The "horseshoe expedition" was a success, one of the barriers to English migration had been removed, and as the middle figure in the field of western discovery, between Christopher Columbus kissing the ground of San Salvador in 1492, and the explorers, Lewis and Clarke, making their way in 1803–6 to the Pacific coast, stands Alexander Spotswood drinking, on the summit of the Blue Ridge, a health to his English sovereign.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

Edward Ingle

HENRY WARD BEECHER

As we go to press the bells are tolling, and flowers are carpeting the pathway of the bier which conveys to his final resting-place the great American preacher, Henry Ward Beecher. In his death the pulpit has lost one of its most gifted orators, and the country its best-known citizen. Mr. Beecher's place in history is that of a fixed star of the first magnitude. His genius, his character, and his career will form notable and instructive studies in all the future. He was many-sided, with a vigorous, keen, versatile intellect, most gigantic in his attainments, magnetic in power and influence, progressive in thought and action, a grand, genial, large-hearted, manly man. The chief element of his marvelous success, however, was his devotion to study. With all his rare endowments he would never trust himself to speak on any subject that he had not previously made his own through the closest analysis. In his Christian work he was a careful student of ministerial helps. He studied other preachers, he studied men, he studied himself. In his lectures on varied topics he was thoroughly informed, his mind a perfect store-house of exact knowledge, not accidentally so, but through careful, painstaking research and observation. His brain was never idle, and he esteemed it an imperative duty to keep abreast with all themes of current interest. Thus critics have rarely been able to prove him at fault in any important fact, whether stated as an argument or used as an illustration wherever he has spoken even though a combatant in the most heated controversies.

In reference to his habits of study, Rev. Dr. Storrs once said: "I do not doubt that Mr. Beecher (and I have more than once told him so) has demoralized more young men who have gone into the pulpit than any man who ever entered it in America, because the boobies have supposed that his power lay in some one thing—in his voice, or his gesture, or his manner in the pulpit—and that all that any man had to do to be a ready-made and improved Beecher was to stand in the pulpit, with nothing in his brains, with no supreme feeling or thought to utter, and yell like fury, and storm about the platform, then subsiding suddenly into a sweet and gentle whisper! You and I know, my friends, that Mr. Beecher has had inexhaustible power back of everything of that kind; and that his power has been so constant and so vast, only because the sources of it have been so manifold and so deep. He has never been found wanting in readiness for the occasion, no matter what the scene. His mind has kindled spontaneously by collisions with persons, or with themes, or with circumstances, whenever the occasion has been presented."

One of the first conditions of Mr. Beecher's work in the pulpit or on the platform was an understanding of his audience, before whom he never appeared with crude or unformed thoughts. Nothing illustrates this statement with more force than some of the incidents attending his heroic defense of America before the mad mobs of England in 1863. In Glasgow, where mercantile interests were largely involved in the success of the South, he was met with a storm of interruptions. One man cried out exultingly, "The South is beating the North, sir." "Yes," said Mr. Beecher, "and when we *bring them back* to allegiance, we shall think more than ever of them for the pluck they are showing." Then a chorus of cries arose, "You shall *never* bring them back." "But we *shall* bring them back," came from Mr. Beecher's round, full voice, lifted above the uproar. "*Never ! never !*" was the responsive shout. Smiling, and with perfect composure, Mr. Beecher told a humorous story which this contest between himself and his audience reminded him of, and while the laugh was changing the current of feeling he firmly said, "*We shall bring them back*," and went on with his lecture before a retort of "*never*" could possibly be uttered. One angry gentleman, who was interested in the cotton trade, interrupted a few moments later with, "Tell us, sir, *when* the war will be over." "That depends," replied Mr. Beecher, "partly on how long you continue to give your sympathy to the South; but as for *us*, the war shall not cease so long as there is a slave in America on whom the sun of heaven can shine." "Oh, but you need not waste your time telling us about slavery; we hate slavery as much as you," was the cry. "Yes," said Mr. Beecher, with calm emphasis, "so everybody tells me when I meet them, that they hate slavery, but for all your professions, strange to say, you are all caught in very suspicious company with your arms round the slaveholders' necks." A man in the audience exclaimed: "I have been in the South, and seen with my own eyes that the slaves are well treated; they get plenty to eat, are well clothed, and are allowed to sing and dance at night as much as they please." Mr. Beecher, with one of his contagious smiles, answered: "I have a pig at home; she gets as much as she can eat, and as much litter as she can use, and I allow her to *grunt* as much as she pleases; but still she is *my pig*." "Why not let the South go? the country is large enough for you both," cried another voice. "That is all very well for you to say, who live on an island that America could put in her skirt pocket," replied Mr. Beecher, "but if you knew how our mountains go, and how our rivers run, you would not talk so. Besides, if we were divided in America, we would require a standing army to watch each other. No, no! we don't want the European system of standing armies to eat up a tenth of the produce of the land." Mr. Beecher then went on to demonstrate the unity of labor the world over, and how slavery had made labor disreputable. He told his audience they were driving nails into their own coffins; that it was a disgrace to them to be building ships to put down the laborers of America, and to cast shame and contempt on themselves, and on every man on earth who earned his living by the sweat of his brow. "My interruptions lasted about an hour," he subsequently said in describing that meeting, "but after they were once stilled you would have thought we were in a revival." At Liverpool his life was threatened—men in the galleries and boxes were armed with pistols and bowie-knives—but nothing daunted he went upon the platform. "Of all confusions and turmoils and whirls I never saw the like," he said. "I got control of the meeting in about an hour and a half, and then I had a clear road the rest of the way. I sometimes felt like a ship-master attempting to preach on board of a ship through a speaking-trumpet, with a tornado on the sea and a mutiny among the men." Such a display of moral and physical courage, and of resources of logic, satire, eloquence and wit equal to the direst emergencies, as he made in his series of addresses to the English people, has no parallel in history. He risked his life night after night, and forced upon the unenlightened minds of violent and prejudiced men the great truth that every English laborer had a vital interest in bringing to a close the civil war in America. It was a victorious campaign for the Union. Not another man living did or could have done such incomparable service. "Did the government send you?" was asked of Mr. Beecher. "No," he replied, "the government took no stock in me at that time. I went on my own responsibility, and with no one behind me except my church. They told me they would pay my expenses, and sent me off."

As an editor, Mr. Beecher's history is unique, and will be given to our readers at some future day, in connection with our projected studies in the field of journalism. His editorial influence has been remarkable in many directions, and it will never cease to be felt. Had he lived a few months longer, it would have been fifty years since he was ordained and married, and forty years since he became the pastor of Plymouth Church. He has left an impress upon his time in all that concerns political, philanthropic, social, and religious progress.

FIRST CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

While the subject of a new constitution for New York is in agitation, it is interesting to recall some of the features of the convention held in 1777, at Kingston, for the purpose of forming the first constitution of the Empire State. The Provincial Congress of New York—the connecting link between the General Assembly of colonial times and the present Assembly—declared its purpose to establish a popular government some weeks in advance of the Declaration of Independence, but such was the critical urgency for energetic action in other directions that no time was found for the consummation of the task until the beginning of 1777: even while the convention was in session, during the blustering days of March, the "Committee of Safety" had its headquarters in the saddle, and nearly every county in the State was invaded by the enemy. New York city was held captive, and "hostile forces were gathering strength at the north for a descent with fire and sword upon the smiling valleys of the Hudson." On the 12th of March the committee, appointed in August, 1776, to draft a constitution, presented their first report. Gouverneur Morris proposed that every delegate who objected to any section should enter his objections on the minutes of the transaction. This was not allowed; and the debate opened, each clause being taken by itself. To the first every man assented, it being the announcement that all authority in the State is derived from the people. When the convention came upon the legislative branch, Mr. Morris proposed that the governor should attend the sessions so that he might at once give his approval or his veto to measures, without having any power to propose a law or to amend it. After a long discussion, this was carried by a very large vote. A few days later Mr. Jay moved to reconsider; and this proposition was amended by substituting another, from Robert R. Livingston, providing that a council, consisting of the governor, chancellor, and judge, should have a similar power over every bill. A two-thirds vote in each branch of the legislature would overcome the veto; and a bill should become a law if not returned to the legislature within ten days by this council. Thus was the first council established; and the governor was obliged to share his power with two others. His term of office was three years. A similar term was given to the lieutenant-governor, who should act as president of the senate.

The scheme provided that the senate should consist of twenty-four members, each one to be a freeholder, selected by freeholders who had property valued at five hundred dollars. The term of office was four years, and the senators were divided into four classes, six to go out of office annually. Thus one-fourth of the senate was chosen every year from either the southern, middle, eastern or western districts of the State. It was proposed to reduce the number of districts so that there should be only one, and also to elect the senators by a general vote. But these propositions were defeated. There was a provision that the senate should never exceed one hundred members. The assembly was to consist of at least seventy members chosen each year by freeholders who had one hundred dollars, or who rented tenements of the yearly value of forty shillings English money. The assembly must never exceed three hundred in number. Some of the objections to the tenement clause, it is said, were removed by the amendment of Mr. Morris, giving the franchise to all freemen in Albany, and to all who were made freemen in the city of New York before October 14, 1775.

There was a long debate over the method of voting, whether it should be an open or a secret ballot. A decided preference was shown by some of New York's leading citizens—the names of Ludlow, Lawrence, Beekman, and Laight being among the number—in favor of an open ballot according to "their birthright as Englishmen and their glory as Americans." The secret ballot was sustained by the "Liberty Boys," and other political organizations, and the feeling in its favor seemed to gain ground. On motion of Mr. Morris, the words "by ballot" were stricken out, but afterward Mr. Jay, who had always favored the open ballot, carried a substitute, declaring that all elections should be by ballot as soon as practicable; but the legislature had a chance, by a two-thirds vote, to change the method if the ballot system did not prove successful. In regard to the judiciary, the courts and the judges were formed after the pattern of the judicial system in England. It was announced that the law of the State of New York consisted of such provisions of the English common law and statute law and of the colonial acts as were in force on the 19th of April, 1775. Thus was the battle of Lexington made the exact date when the colonies drew away from the mother country. It was decided that trial by jury should always be allowed, but verdicts by a three-fourths vote of a jury were not permitted.

Considerable debate ensued upon the question of religious toleration. Mr. Jay moved to "except the professors of the religion of the Church of Rome until they should take oath that they verily believed that no Pope, priest or foreign authority hath power to absolve the subjects of the State from allegiance, and unless they renounced the false, wicked and damnable doctrine that the Pope has power to absolve men from sins." This was brought out by the declaration that freedom of religion should be allowed to all mankind. Mr. Jay's motion was defeated by a vote of nineteen to ten; and the effect of this toleration was not set aside by a motion of Mr. Livingston to provide that there should be no disturbing of the peace by any religionists, or by Mr. Jay's motion of a similar character. It was, however, provided that "the liberty of conscience hereby granted shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the safety of the State." Another notable discussion arose over the question of naturalizing foreigners, which, by the original draft, left the matter to the legislature. Thus there was a chance to discriminate against Papists; and it was this very thing, already voted down (in the matter of religious toleration), that caused an effort to be made, which proved successful, to require all foreigners to renounce allegiance to every foreign king or prince. Mr. Jay failed in his efforts to secure an anti-Papist resolution. He also failed in an effort to give certain privileges to Dutch and English churchmen—the evident opinion of the convention, as a whole, being not to commit the constitution to any church. It was also voted that no minister of the Gospel should hold any office. Provision was made for the protection of the Indians; and, on motion of Mr. Morris, future legislatures were recommended to abolish slavery.

On Sunday, the 20th of April, 1777, the constitution was read in full and was agreed to by every man present except Colonel Peter R. Livingston, of Albany, who had his dissent entered upon the minutes. This was the first constitution of the State of New York, the constitution that existed until 1846. John Jay wrote of it: "Our constitution is universally approved, even in New England, where few New York productions have credit." John Adams wrote to Mr. Jay: "Your constitution is better than ours. It is the best of all." On every hand the document was hailed as a victory greater than that of the battle-field. To recapitulate, the people had at last been declared supreme by an official enactment of the highest authority. The Assembly was given large powers in the originating of money bills; in the selection of the Council of Appointment to check executive authority, and in the indirect selection of the Council of Revision, for the correction of hasty or unconstitutional legislation. The senate consisted of freeholders, who had supreme judicial power and final appellate jurisdiction in law and equity. Otherwise the judiciary was patterned after that of England. Among the principal rights guaranteed by this constitution were: religious toleration, trial by jury, and an open ballot. The constitution was—for that day—a remarkable exponent of civil polity in its broadest and most generous bearings. This was partially due to the fact that of the thirteen members of the committee who framed it, the most influential were descended from different nationalities—Huguenot, Dutch, Scotch, and English—with the foresight, wisdom, largeness of purpose, and intelligent energy characteristic of the races from which they sprung. The outcome of their deliberations under the circumstances could hardly have been narrow-minded.

On the 8th of May following, a provision was made for a Council of Safety, to consist of fifteen members, who should have extraordinary powers, until the meeting of the coming legislature. The poll lists and ballots were examined on the 9th of July, and it was found that the western district had cast 7,017 votes, and the middle district 6,162. The southern district was disturbed with the question of New Hampshire grants, and the eastern district was in the hands of the enemy. The candidates for governor were Robert R. Livingston, Philip Livingston, John Jay, George Clinton, Philip Schuyler, and John Morin Scott. George Clinton was elected. It was a glorious day for the American cause when Clinton left the field to take the hurried oath of office. Thenceforward the American leaders had more confidence in the result of the struggle. What troubled them severely in the midst of their other perils and perplexities was the destruction of the British forms of law and order—forms under which they had lived for generations, and to protect which they had often met the French colonists on the field of battle. To be themselves in hostility to their former ideas, and to have the French upon their side, was abnormal. The various colonies were still the *disjecta membra* of a national body politic, although the Articles of Confederation were in process of ratification. A brief trial of these Articles proved their weakness, and the dissolution of the new government seemed inevitable. The prospect was discouraging. New York naturally became the centre, not so much of strategic activity as of political discernment. Her State constitution, grand and cosmopolitan in its scope, served as a broad basis on which might rest the fundamentals of a more perfect constitution for the whole country. Her sons took a leading part in the discussions pending the coming enfranchisement, and her commingled French, Dutch, and English ideas were incorporated into the law of the land.

Frederic G. Mather

THE HEATHERLY WAR

One of the interesting incidents in the early settlement of Northern Missouri is known as the "Heatherly War" which occurred in the summer of 1836. The Heatherlys came from Kentucky in 1832, and settled in what was then called the "Upper Grand River country," which, at that date, formed a portion of the County of Carroll extending from the Missouri River to the Iowa line, and comprising the present counties of Livingston, Grundy and Mercer, as well as Carroll. This now splendid agricultural country was then a wilderness inhabited, for the most part, by outlaws and roving bands of Indians.

The members of the Heatherly family were George Heatherly, the father; Jenny Heatherly, the mother; John, Alfred, George and James, the sons, and a daughter, Ann. The father had fled from Kentucky to avoid paying the penalty for crimes committed there, and the mother was a sister of the notorious Kentucky outlaws known in the history of that State as Big and Little Harpe. On coming to Missouri, the Heatherlys sought a secluded spot not far from where the beautiful city of Chillicothe now stands, and erected the usual rude log-cabins of the pioneer, and their place soon became the regular rendezvous of the horse-thieves, counterfeiters, and other fugitives from justice then infesting the wild and sparsely settled country, three or four of whom were always the guests and confederates of the family and aided them in the murder and robbery of many an unfortunate "home-seeker."

The gang was well organized and for several years evaded the laws of the State, which were at that time poorly executed. The "old woman," as Jenny Heatherly was known among her companions, was the queen or leader of these wild spirits, and with her Harpe thirst for blood and plunder planned numerous dark deeds, and, not unfrequently, assisted in their execution.

Often a land-hunter, or explorer of the Upper Grand River country, rich in its natural resources, was last seen or heard from in the vicinity of the Heatherly cabins, but the machinery of the State civil law was not strong enough to hunt down and punish the murderers. The gang was at last, however, by their own bold and unwise actions and dissensions, broken up, and one at least of their number brought to justice, and the others driven from the country. Early in the summer of 1836 a band of peaceful Iowa Indians came from the southern part of what is now the State of Iowa to the Grand River country, where game was then abundant, on a hunting expedition. As soon as the Heatherlys discovered the camp of the Indians they set out to steal their horses, and take them to the more thickly settled district along the Missouri River and sell them. While the Indians were hunting, the five Heatherlys and three of their companions, James Dunbar, Alfred Hawkins and a man named Thomas, went to the camp, stole a number of their horses and ponies which had been turned loose to graze, and were making off south with them when the Indians, having discovered their loss and given chase, overtook the thieves. The Indians demanded a return of their property, and on being refused opened fire on the robbers with their weapons. Thomas was instantly killed, and after exchanging a few shots with their pursuers the Heatherly gang abandoned the horses and fled.

The Heatherlys, now fearing the Indians would report their depredation to the authorities and cause the government to take steps to punish them, undertook to throw suspicion from themselves and against the Indians, by hastening to the white settlement in advance and making a serious charge against them. In order to accomplish this design, the Heatherlys murdered one of their own party, whom they suspected of the intention to break away from their wretched life and return to civilization. They shot James Dunbar and concealed his body near the Indian camp, and hastened to the settlement and reported that the Iowas were on the war-path, were robbing and murdering the whites in the thinly settled Upper Grand River country, and claimed that they had been attacked by the Indians, and two of their number, Thomas and Dunbar, killed. The settlers knowing that the Indians were in the country the more readily credited this statement, and alarm and excitement prevailed throughout the region.

A militia organization existed in the State for the protection of the settlements against both red and white desperadoes, and General B. M. Thompson, of Ray County was commander of the district in which these events occurred. The news was carried to him that the Iowas were in open warfare, and he immediately placed himself at the head of a regiment, composed of companies from Carroll and Ray counties, and marched rapidly for the locality of the attacking enemy. General Thompson also ordered out two companies of Clay County militia, commanded by Colonel Shubael Allen, who were accompanied by some volunteers under the command of General Alex. W. Doniphan, who, a few years later, became a distinguished officer in the war between the United States and Mexico, and is now a highly esteemed citizen of Richmond, Missouri. Colonel Allen marched his forces rapidly north until he reached a line west of the camp of the alleged hostile Indians, and then hurried east, arriving at the Indian camp about the same time General Thompson and his forces came up on the south. The Indians were found peaceful and harmless; many of the men were away hunting, the women engaged in their work of dressing deer-skins and drying meat for future use, their children playing under the shade of the trees, and their horses grazing upon the luxuriant grass of the prairie not far from the timber. General Thompson and his officers became convinced that the Indians had not committed the acts they were charged with, and, on hearing their story concerning the raid of the Heatherlys upon their property, and their account of how Thomas met his death, and having learned from some of the settlers who had joined Thompson's forces that Dunbar had returned alive and well from this expedition, they suspected the Heatherly gang of his murder. The officers, finding they had been imposed upon, and seeing the futility of this campaign, returned the militia and volunteers to their respective counties and disbanded them, thus ending the "Heatherly War" without bloodshed.

The civil authorities then set to work to hunt down the murderers of Dunbar, found his body and traced his killing to the Heatherly crew. Thoroughly aroused they determined to break up the band and rid the State of them. Warrants were sworn out charging them with the murder of their late companion, and in July, 1836, Sheriff Lewis N. Rees of Carroll County took with him a strong posse of armed men and proceeded to the cabin and arrested the entire Heatherly family, including the mother and daughter, together with Alfred Hawkins, who was alike charged with the crime.

The prisoners were taken to the nearest jail in Ray County and lodged there to await trial. John Heatherly was tried in March, 1837, and for want of sufficient evidence acquitted. The circuit attorney, becoming convinced that none of the criminals could be convicted, unless some of their accomplices would testify against them, made an arrangement by which all the Heatherlys gave evidence against Alfred Hawkins, as the price of their own liberty. On Hawkins' first trial, in July, 1837, he was ably defended, and the jury failed to agree and were discharged, but on his second trial in November of that year, a jury found him guilty of murder in the first degree, and he was sentenced to death. This sentence was, however, commuted by the governor of the State to twenty years' imprisonment in the penitentiary, where Hawkins died, about two years afterward.

The Heatherly family, worn down by their long confinement in jail awaiting these trials, and completely broken in spirit, left the country as soon as released after having testified against their late comrade.

These trials were before Judge Austin A. King, who, some years later, became governor of Missouri; and the prosecuting attorney for the State was Amos Rees, quite an able lawyer at that early day, who afterward gained a leading position in his profession in both Missouri and Kansas, and who died not long since at Leavenworth, Kansas, at the advanced age of ninety-three, after having been variously honored and trusted by the people of both States.

William A. Wood

Kingston, Missouri.

JOHN VAN BUREN

A STUDY IN BY-GONE POLITICS

III

If the year 1844 marked the palpable advent of the slavery question into the national politics, the events of 1848 announced that the period of its youth had passed. It was henceforth to be a stalwart and stalking menace, a demon of disturbance, until it aged to civil war. The "Texas question" had put off its efficient disguise and become in appearance what it before had been in fact. Annexation had rent the veil for every doubting eye. The results of a war as triumphant as unjust had pushed the fateful problem to the bar of public judgment.

Thus far the phases of constitutional history had been as changeful as the hues of a chameleon. The federal doctrine had been mocked by the Essex Junto at the North, as well as by the Nullifiers of the South. The Prophet of Strict Construction had conducted the Louisiana Purchase, and the party that denied the constitutionality of internal improvements and a national bank had now brought about the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. But the Constitution itself had failed to define the vital principle upon which its existence would depend. Its meaning was left open to disputes and theories, only to be settled by the interest that was strongest, and that in the end could maintain its position by force. Moreover, a people whose sense of power had come with their independence, whose self-reliance had been schooled by their own sovereignty, whose love of glory had been nourished by three wars, and whose pride eclipsed that of the Roman citizen in the best days of the Empire, had scarcely been in training when the crisis came to submit to a peaceful adjustment of so irreconcilable a difference. And that time had now come to be something more than the rhetorical prophecies of the House or the Senate chamber. The lurid beams of that day could be seen by the dwellers upon the mountains.

The policy and the principles of no party had been consistent. Even the finances of the nation had been a carnival of make-shifts and experiments. Every force and every question had been judged by its power of political leverage. Party tactics had been as varied and veering as the political antics of Beaconsfield or Bismarck. Office and power had been the chief things sought, and to such ends party zeal was directed. Partisans and patriots, it is true, had often been confronted by this problem of the future; but they had trimmed and bargained. Personal and party interests, then as ever, were paramount to philanthropy or political economy. It was absurd to borrow trouble. It was needless to invite responsibility. It was impolitic to countenance agitation. The Abolitionist was a disorganizer and fanatic. Congress denied him the right of petition. Even the mail bags of the South were closed to the circulation of his doctrine.

The second generation of statesmen had reached their political dotage. Calhoun had long departed from his early faith; soured and powerless, he was devoting his final days to the philosophy of secession. Webster, still beguiled by his ambitious dreams, was preparing for that final apostasy which has cast a shadow over his grave. Clay, aged but hopeful, patriotic but no longer "available," beheld the widening breach, and looked for help, as of old, in compromise. Benton, the chief exponent of Jacksonism, was soon to be proscribed; his views could not keep pace with the exactions of the South. The conditions had changed. A new order of ideas had arisen. A new generation of public men was taking advantage of the situation to push private fortunes. The anti-slavery sentiment was steadily gathering force, and to the ambitious offered a career. Oratory was a passport to prominence; the North was rearing men whose actions would not be terrorized, whose principles would not be temporized.

However, let us not misunderstand. Speculations upon compromise and human rights may deny the propriety of acquiescence in the institution of slavery. A dilettant political morality may question a transient or partial submission to an erroneous principle of government, although it be dictated by prudence and the prospect of a greater ultimate advantage. But no practical eye can scan the history of political parties up to this time without recognizing not only the policy but the natural necessity of temporary arrangement and evasion. Government does not exist for the purpose of experiment in economics. It is interest alone that gives power to principle. Concord was preserved by the demands of material prosperity; bread before breadth. Until rival systems of labor had begotten rival needs and rival theories of government, and until that rivalry had developed with the growth of opposing interests into a conflict between them for self-preservation, the policy of compromise and postponement was natural and inevitable. And it is in this light that the statesmanship of this period must be viewed.

But to return. The temporizing policy had nearly exhausted itself. The energies of the South were bent to one end. That section was now solidified in action and in interest. Whatever its political divisions or professions, the protection of its Institution was its only creed. On this subject there existed no difference; the Slave Power was supreme. At the North were the Abolitionist, the Free-soiler, the Whig, and the Democrat. As yet, the Abolitionist was a political impotent. But his less radical brother, the Free-soiler, by mingling policy with his humanity, was laying a sure foundation for his future; he was imbibing his principles by safe and politic degrees. The Whig and the Democrat, however, each clung to his ancient faith and his ancient practices; with both, the propulsion of habit had not ceased, and they still continued to barter support to the slavery interest for political spoil and preferment. It was this combination that had stultified the national honor, and turned the national army into a horde of territorial freebooters. The secret and dissembled motive of the Annexation had been skillfully gilded over by the glory of a vast domain. The iniquity of the war had been overshadowed by the glamour of national gallantry. But the well-ripened fruit of intrigue and conquest once made secure, disguise and dissimulation were no longer needful or possible. Our possessions reached the Pacific. There was little more to gain. The new acquisitions must be either slave or free.

An element was now introduced besides sentiment and abstractions. Slavery was something more than the object of philanthropy or abolition petitions; it represented one side of a struggle for power, although the other side was in the midst of that political disintegration from which a new organization was soon to come. The agitators from principle were being joined by the agitators from interest. Local politicians who saw nothing to gain by concert with the South were proclaiming their faith as "no extension of slavery." All the disaffected factions and minorities were being given a balance of power, or an opportunity for revenge. And it was this situation that enabled the dissensions of the New York Democracy to carry their havoc into the party at large.

It was during 1847 that the Barnburner faction espoused the doctrine of "non-extension," partly as the consequence of their former opposition to the Annexation, and partly on grounds of factional policy. The immediate occasion was the imprudent procedure of the Syracuse convention held in the fall of that year. When that convention came together, it was about equally divided between the two factions, a majority depending upon the disposition to be made of several contested seats. Among them was that of John Van Buren, now the recognized chief of the Barnburners. For the decision of these contests, a preliminary plan of organization was agreed upon; but it soon became apparent that, if fairly carried out, the Barnburners would secure control. That prospect manifest, the Hunkers set about, by the most faithless and unscrupulous manipulation, to settle a majority of the cases in their own favor. By pre-arrangement, Van Buren's case was reserved until the last; but by the time it was reached he was fated to expulsion. A resolution was then introduced to seat his contestant, and the final struggle began. The discussion that ensued was violent and acrimonious, John closing his side of the case himself. It was known through the town on the evening before when he was to have the floor. When he began his speech the convention hall was densely filled by an admiring and expectant assemblage. His effort is still remembered in that city of conventions beside the speech of Roscoe Conkling at the overthrow of Fenton, and that of Chief Judge Ruger at the time of the Kelly bolt. But, like most speeches of the kind, it was rather the voice of a cause than an instrument of success. A majority had been packed, and the vote decided against him. He took his hat and deliberately walked out of the convention, remarking characteristically that he had been in it for three full days, as long as Jonah was in the whale's belly, and longer than any honest man would wish to remain in such company.

It was the conduct of this convention that forced the Barnburners into the open revolt made effectual by their rather unique method of balloting.* A resolution against the admission of slavery into the Territories had been offered but defeated. It was now printed conspicuously in the Barnburner journals under the Scriptural text, "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner." The great Barnburner mass-meeting that followed the convention, held in the village of Herkimer, was addressed by David Wilmot of Proviso fame. In February succeeding, the faction held a State convention for the selection of delegates to the Democratic national convention. Delegates were chosen, and John Van Buren, from the committee on address, submitted a report reviewing the history of the party divisions, and declaring the delegation appointed to the national convention to be the only regular and rightful representatives of the party. It also proclaimed adherence to the Jeffersonian doctrine of non-extension of slavery. "By fortunate accident, or especial Providence," says the address, "the assumption by the slaveholders of a new and indefensible position on the subject of slavery has enabled Democrats to stand forth in their natural attitude as the champions of human freedom; . . . the Democratic party of New York now moves on without the fetters upon its action that selfish and sinister influences have hitherto imposed. It invites to its ranks the just, the virtuous and the true. It will welcome them to a standard which is unfurled, after sore defeats, with redoubled energy. On it are inscribed 'Free Trade, Free Labor, Free Soil and Free Men!'"

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* It may gratify the curious to give some specimen variations of the Wright ballots mentioned in the preceding article. One ran this way:

For Comptroller.
REMEMBER SILAS WRIGHT!
For Secretary of State.
MAINTAIN FREEDOM!
For Attorney-General.
REBUKE FRAUD!

Another:

State.

REMEMBER SILAS WRIGHT!

Ye Argus Men! Ye Office Hacks,
And whole Conservative Crew,
Consider well what you're about,
And what you're trying to do;
You've got to deal with Democrats,
And long you'll rue the day
When you first murdered SILAS WRIGHT,
Then threw our FLAGG away!

On the twenty-second of May, 1848, the Democratic national convention met in the city of Baltimore. Hunker and Barnburner were both at hand; each faction was represented by a full delegation; each claimed to represent the Democratic party of the State; each clamored for exclusive admission. The feeling against the Barnburner was bitter and fearful; for without harmony in New York State the nominations of the convention would be futile. The long debate that followed upon the disposition of this contest was full of rancor upon one side, and of politic reasoning upon the other; one classed the Barnburner with the Whig and the Abolitionist, the other "strove in all wise ways to smooth and soothe." The result, however, was compromise, and on the evening of the third day the convention, by a scant majority, decided to admit both the delegations, dividing the vote of the State between them. But this device proved no solution; neither faction would accept the condition of joint representation. The Hunker professed to be aggrieved by this forced equality, while the Barnburner remained obstinate and belligerent. Both departed the convention, and without the voice or vote of either Cass was nominated for President.

While this withdrawal from the convention strengthened the Hunkers with the Southern interest, it not only had the opposite effect with the

Barnburners, but unavoidably drove them into independent action. Precisely a month later, the latter element again met in convention at Utica. Its attitude on the slavery question was now more pronounced and defiant than before, although it is none the less to be doubted that the course it took was equally prompted by the motive of revenge. It unquestionably contained the better portion of the party, both in point of ability and of character, and its action carried with it a greater force than simply that of numbers; it gave an encouragement and an impetus to the anti-slavery sentiment too strong to be stayed even after recantation displayed how large a part mere politics had played in the episode that followed. The convention with enthusiastic accord at once formulated its Free-soil views into a most uncompromising and exuberant platform, and then proceeded to nominate a candidate for President. How largely the motive of factional retaliation entered into this procedure is seen from the fact that had Silas Wright still been living he would have been the nominee. As it was, Martin Van Buren was chosen, and accepted the hopeless distinction.

The various elements hostile to slavery now recognized their joint opportunity. While not so numerous, they bore some resemblance in spirit and diversity to modern religious sects; while they agreed in their ultimate hope, they differed as to the means of grace. In their motley ranks were found the flower of our philosophy and philanthropy, as well as the most vigorous types of the pragmatic and the bigot. As in all humanitarian movements, many an eye was too tender or too poorly focused for practical sight; many a heart was too sensitive to endure the austerities of policy; many a head was long-haired and heated. And now, for the first time, the variegated host combined its diverse and scattered energies, and became powerful by becoming politic. The van of abolition halted for the rear of non-extension; and on the ninth of August, 1848, the whole of the anti-slavery element was represented in the Free-soil convention at Buffalo.

The action of this somewhat, and justly, celebrated convention was effective because it was rational. In 1844, the Abolitionists, the chief element of this convention, had defeated Clay, whose sympathies were really with their cause, by reason of erratically wasting their force in an independent but fruitless fusillade, an example of impolicy that worthy movements in more recent days have failed to profit by. But although the Buffalo convention likewise took part in a tri-sided contest, the conditions now made that course as advisable as before it had been unwise. Cass, the Democratic nominee, was bound to the South and its purposes by every political tie; and Taylor, the Whig nominee, was a citizen of New

Orleans, and owned four hundred slaves. To support either was therefore impossible; a candidate of their own was unavoidable. Nevertheless, there was still room enough for a mistake that some members of the convention would have made had they possessed voting strength—the nomination of a *fourth* candidate, instead of the adoption of Van Buren. But the better counsel prevailed; Van Buren's nomination and the Utica pronunciamento were ratified, and Charles Francis Adams was placed second upon the ticket. Amidst the greatest enthusiasm, the convention, whose chairman had been Salmon P. Chase, dispersed, and sent to the winds the motto, "Van Buren and Free Soil; Adams and Liberty."

The campaign now conducted by the Free-soilers was of a piece with the doings of their convention. Their platform, satisfactory to every shade of anti-slavery opinion, united the entire anti-slavery vote. They filled the air with eulogies upon freedom and denunciations of the South. The Abolitionist embraced the opportunity, for the first time given him, to paint the horrors of slavery before vast audiences, with a vigor of description that excites the curious wonder of those who have no memory of the anti-slavery crusade; while the Non-extensionist, cherishing the hope of stunting the Institution, expended his efforts to stay the grasping and aggressive hands of the Southern power. Their principles were proclaimed by some of the most eloquent tongues America has ever possessed. "But the 'bright particular star' of this revolt," says Henry Wilson, "was John Van Buren. . . . Indeed, such was the brilliant record he then made, his popular talents, his prestige of name and position, that, had he remained true to the principles he then advocated, he would unquestionably have become one of the foremost men of the Republican party, if not its accepted leader."

To succeed on the stump requires positive genius. It is neither the field of oratory nor of advocacy; if the distinction may be drawn, it is the peculiar province of speech-making. And as prolific in public speech—according to Lieber, the æsthetics of liberty—as our politics have been, the comparative rarity of political speakers of the first class attests the peculiarity and the severity of the demands that are made upon them. Upon the stump the most admirable forensic talents often fail, and the ablest debaters are often as ineffectual as a hundred-ton gun against a cavalry charge. There are more good tragedies than there are equally good comedies. There are more appropriately fine lines of epic poetry than there are of the ode or the lyric. There are more simply able writers than there are really brilliant ones. There has ever been in literature more profundity than the first order of elegance or wit. A premium has always been placed upon deep dullness by imputing superficiality to brilliance. If there be any genius in the realm of words it is the faculty of giving buoyancy to weight, interest to information, vivacity to strength; the appearance of profundity is often the sole accomplishment of dolts. It is from a similar cause that the prime stump speaker is rare. He is to conventional oratory what, in point of naturalness and verve, Heine is to the prevailing German style, and what Swift and Sheridan are to the English; what Macaulay and John Quincy Adams are as diarists beside Pepys and Sewall. But, as frequently happens in criticism, it is more difficult to describe his qualities than to tell what they are not. It might be said that he avoids the spectacular dignity of the actor, as well as the pompous flourish of the orator. He is a talker with such art that his art is concealed. He mingles solidity with wit and simplicity, and off-hand ease with well-put reasoning. He indulges the multitude with skillfully bedizened commonplace, and fills even the indifferent ear with anecdote and figure. He decoys the adversary with enticing phrase, and then blights his pride of faith with caustic epigram. He toys with economics, and jests with refutation. He dazzles the listless with novelties, and his terse and pungent sayings become the coin of political confab. Despite a notion to the contrary, his genius gains votes; he arms the regular and trains the recruit, stimulates the halting, and determines the wavering. His acuteness and ingenuity enlist the attention of the instructed, and even to the editor point out the doorway to the popular heart. The newspaper, to be sure, shares largely in the vote-producing function; but when the press supersedes the political rostrum, it will be when the pulpit is abolished through the more numerous distribution of Bibles, when the theaters close their doors through the popularity of the novel. "To write," says Goethe, "is to abuse speech; and reading is but a sad substitute for the living energy of language."

It was in this campaign that John Van Buren reached the height of his reputation. As a political speaker he has had few equals. In person he was tall, symmetrical, and graceful. His features were not especially striking or commanding, but they wore a look of indolent strength combined with a genial nature. In the ponderous sense, he was neither imposing nor impressive, but he was marvelously pleasing. His bearing and deportment, finished and elegant, were nevertheless as popular with the crowd as they were attractive in the haunts of refinement. His voice was high-pitched and penetrating, rather than mellow or melodious. As with all genius, the secret of his power eludes analysis. It did not lie in a trick of style or a fascinating mannerism. His delivery was deliberate, and rarely animated; and one chief effect of his wonderful and perennial wit was due to the impassive unconcern with which it was uttered. He spoke without seeming effort, and with but little gesture. His equanimity was never disturbed, and his blandness never ruffled.

His popularity among the masses of the North at this period of his career was scarcely equaled by that of any man then in public life. He was generally looked upon as the hope of the anti-slavery cause, although he had not renounced his connection with the Democratic party, or advocated abolition. He had not transcended the Free-soil doctrine. He had not treated slavery in the abstract. He had pursued the only practical course —that of seeking to put the slave power in a manageable minority. Hence his popularity and influence were not confined to those whose hostility to slavery and the South had found expression at the polls; they permeated the chief part of the more conservative ranks, who secretly applauded the agitation, while they still retained their old affiliations on account of the prospect of that more effectual movement for which events were fast ripening—that class who could accept no remedy not provided by a Constitution that recognized property in slaves, and who waited uncertain even until the midst of the rebellion for a solution of the problem, which came with the announcement that if slaves were property, then that property was contraband, and, under the law of nations, subject to confiscation. Through the independence of his action in this campaign, and his not being a seeker of office, he was not looked upon as a practitioner in politics, and to the great host of his admirers held out a resplendent promise. But the promise was to be unredeemed, and so wastefully unredeemed as to make his course a political tragedy.

The defection of the Barnburners elected Taylor. In New York State, Van Buren received more votes than Cass. The wrath and chagrin of the regular Democracy were intense. The rebellious faction were stigmatized as traitors, and formally read out of the party. Even in 1850, the *Democratic Review* pronounced its action as a "schism created by certain designing demagogues and disappointed aspirants in the Democratic party, on that most contemptible of all modern humbugs—the *lana caprina* of Mr. Benton—the Wilmot proviso. These men, having at Buffalo consummated their political perfidy—having erected altars to unknown gods and kindled upon them strange fires—drew with them in their secession from the party such a proportion of the masses as to insure the defeat of the Baltimore nominees, and thus accomplished the sole motive which could have influenced the leaders in the crusade in which they engaged. The efforts which have since been made to reunite the party upon broad and national principles—to purge it entirely of the anti-slavery and sectional elements which the supporters of the 'northern man with southern principles' had labored to instill, have no doubt been honestly made, but we cannot say that they have been successful. The injury was too deep. The wound has been cicatrized, not entirely healed. . . . How long are these things to remain? How long is this unnatural coalition between the friends and the enemies of the Constitution and Union to continue? How long is a lawless political organization in a few counties (the still continuing Anti-Rent party) to be used by corrupt politicians as the tool of furthering the fell designs of Abolitionism? . . . He who courts or countenances this 'higher law' influence should be placed out of the pale of the true Democratic church. Let him find his support where his sympathies are enlisted, among those who justify the slavery agitation by a 'higher law than the Constitution.'"

The mistake that John made, if he had put himself out of the party, was that he failed to stay out. The time, however, had not come for the formation of the new party, and the Barnburners remained nominal Democrats, but with a chronic tendency to insurrection, until 1854, when the coalition between them and the "Woolly-head," or Seward, wing of the Whigs became the Republican party. The rank and file of the faction could scarcely have done otherwise; and even then, had John followed their examples the result would have been different; for it was hardly to be expected that one of his tastes and past associations could find himself at home in the fanatical camp of Abolition, even had he regarded their doctrine as constitutional, and after 1850 there was no other place to which the dissatisfied Democrat could go with any degree of consistency. Nevertheless, his apostasy was not abrupt; he kept the faith yet awhile. In 1849, he said, in the course of a speech in a State convention: "We expect to make the Democratic party of this State the great anti-slavery party of this State, and through it to make the Democratic party of the United States the great anti-slavery party of the United States." Yet the convention proceeded to accept propositions from the other faction for a union of the party. But still he held out; and, attending a united convention in the following year, he opposed the adoption of resolutions pledging the party to the principles laid down at the three preceding national conventions, and congratulating "the country upon the recent settlement by Congress of the questions which have unhappily divided the people of these States." In his own phrase, he was unwilling to "walk arm in arm to the funeral." "The great body of the convention, however," says our former authority, "sustained the resolutions—some twenty only voting with Mr. J. Van Buren in the negative—not enough to form the nucleus of another Herkimer gathering." In 1851 he went yet further. Upon invitation, he addressed the Democratic convention of the State of Vermont, and advised popular resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law. "As the law is unconstitutional," said he, "I should resist it with all the means I could command, if seized under it. All writers upon law agree that an unconstitutional act is no law; it is a nullity, and is to be treated as such, alike by citizens as by courts. But it is said that an individual has no right to judge whether a law is unconstitutional or not. This I deny. He should and must judge. He judges at his risk, to be punished if he errs. . . . Within the limits of the Constitution, hostility to human slavery is the predominant sentiment of my heart. It is as natural to me as the air I breathe, and will perish only with my life."

But notwithstanding these loudly proclaimed sentiments, and instead of converting the Democratic party, he soon after accepted the compromise measures of 1850, gave effective aid to the election of Franklin Pierce, and sustained his most pro-slavery administration. His recantation was complete and unwavering. From this time until his death, he maintained his connection with the Democratic party, running, in 1865 as its candidate for attorney-general. He died in October, 1866, while returning from Europe to take part in the political canvass of that year.

In reply to the thrusts he often received in reference to his connection with the Free-soil movement, he was wont to relate this anecdote: A traveler, passing along a corduroy road in the Empire State, came to a load of hay overturned on the side of the road. Seeing a lusty youth pitching the hay right and left in a very unaccountable manner, the traveler said: "My young friend, why do you do that?" Wiping the perspiration from his brow, and pointing to the pile of hay, the boy replied: "Stranger, *dad's under there!*"

The following also had a wide circulation in its day. During the presidential campaign resulting in the defeat of General McClellan, John took an active part, and in his speeches made special appeals to Democrats to stand by the organization and support the nominees; "for," said he "bolting is something that is never tolerated by a true Democrat." A by-stander, who happened to remember the dashing and brilliant part taken by the "Prince" in behalf of his father against General Cass, exclaimed: "Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him a moment?" "Certainly." "I wish to ask the gentleman a question." "I shall be happy to answer." "How about Cass in 1848? Will the gentleman enlighten us as to his bolt in that campaign?" "The gentleman wants to know about Cass?" "Yes." "Well," answered John, in his suavest manner, "*Cass* isn't running *now, and it would be a waste of time to go into that question!*" "Sir," said he to a gentlemen at his bed-side, shortly before his death, "I have been in the world fifty-six years, but I always say I am eighty, for there has been at least that much of living crammed into me."

His return to the Democratic party was viewed with positive sorrow by all who either openly or secretly sympathized with anti-slavery. It may be, however, that to call this a mistake is not strictly accurate; it was more probably the result of an inherent defect in his nature. He was almost a great man. Although the possessor of remarkable qualities and genuine genius, the combination doubtless lacked that positive temper and initiative impulse which often give success to men with more ordinary powers. Had he inherited his father's sagacity and circumspection, together with the fine talents he possessed, and which indeed his father did not possess, he would have made a high use of the opportunity thus offered him; for, with the continuation of the immense popularity he then enjoyed, it was more than within the range of possibility for him to become the nominee of the Republican party for President in 1860. However idle such speculations may seem, there remains little doubt that, had he remained true to the anti-slavery cause, he would have outranked Seward in personal power as he did in popularity; and when we remember how nearly Seward came to winning the presidential prize, we may appreciate how circumstances apparently slight work great results in political history.

But we must now take leave of one, who, had he fulfilled his promise, would have left something to the future besides regrets. The opportunity presented him was the opportunity of the century. The whole history of the United States from the day the first negro slave was landed on our shores had been a preparation for it. Here was a man born among the eminent, reared among the gifted and the powerful, intimate with the first causes of events, captivating in manners, fascinating in eloquence, and the recognized leader in the struggle destined to give his country both freedom and nationality. But when the conflict thickened he faltered. The crown of the age was proffered him, but he put it aside. It found the head of the gaunt and unpolished, but the great and sane, Lincoln.

Chas H Peck.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK.

THE FALL OF FORT DUQUESNE

After the unfortunate expedition of General Braddock, no further attempt against Fort Duquesne was made until 1758. In the summer of that year a new expedition was projected, and placed under the command of General John Forbes, a gallant Scotch officer, immediately subordinate to whom were Colonel Henry Bouquet and Colonel George Washington. Forbes' force consisted of nearly seven thousand men, of whom twelve hundred were Highlanders, three hundred and fifty Royal Americans, twenty-seven hundred Pennsylvanians, and about sixteen hundred Virginians, with some smaller contingents from Maryland and North Carolina.*

The Southern troops were ordered to assemble at Winchester, Virginia, under Colonel Washington, the Pennsylvanians at Raystown, now Bedford. To this latter place, also, Colonel Bouquet marched the regulars in advance of Forbes. † The general was in ill health, and came after by slow stages. In July, Bouquet was at Raystown. Washington, with the main body of his troops, arrived at about the same time at Fort Cumberland, where he remained several weeks engaged in cutting and repairing roads, and taking such steps as were thought necessary for the success of the enterprise.

Forbes, for some reason, determined to cut a new road across the Alleghanies, instead of proceeding by the one made with such labor a few years before by General Braddock. Washington strenuously opposed the undertaking, for the reasons, as he urged, of "the advanced season, the difficulty of cutting a new road over the mountains, the short time left for the service, the moral certainty of its obstructing our march, and the consequent miscarriage of the expedition."‡ His disapproval was shared by his men, one of whom, Robert Munford, writing from the camp near Fort Cumberland, under date of August 4, 1758, says: "A few hearty prayers are every moment offered up for those self-interested Pennsylvanians who endeavor to prevail on our general to cut a road for their convenience, from Raystown to Fort Duquesne, that a trifling good to particulars should retard what would conduce to the general welfare! 'Tis a set of dirty Dutchmen, they say, that keeps us here. It would be impertinent to condemn, yet I must think our leaders too deliberate at this important juncture, when all are warm for action, all breathing revenge against an enemy that have even dared to scalp our men before our eyes." * But, notwithstanding the hostility to the new road, it was constructed. Washington has been charged with having favored the old road only through sectional prejudice; but in a letter to his old friend Major Halket, of General Forbes' military family, in speaking of this very matter, he says: "I am uninfluenced by prejudice, having no hopes or fears but for the general good. Of this you may be assured, and that my sincere sentiments are spoken on this occasion." We presume Washington's word is enough. His stand was the correct one from a military point of view. The delay, in the long run, may have proved an advantage to Forbes in the way of exhausting the patience of the enemy, and causing the withdrawal of the red men to their homes; but that was clearly only incidental, and could not have formed any part of his plan. Though the expedition was finally successful, it had well-nigh failed, just as Washington feared it would, and it was saved from failure almost entirely through his exertions. The new road had no point of contact with Braddock's. Forbes' road proceeded in a generally north-western direction from Raystown to Fort Duquesne; Braddock's was far south of this, and they approached each other nearest at Turtle Creek, where they were only six or eight miles apart.

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* Sparks' *Writings of Washington*, vol. 2, p. 289, note.

† *History of Western Pennsylvania*, p. 135.

‡ Sparks, vol. 2, p 311.

The news of Forbes' expedition was early and widely diffused through the western wilds. The Indians were still faithful to their French allies. James Smith, who had been adopted by them, was at Detroit at this time. He relates, that upon receiving the news of the expedition, the French commander at Detroit sent off runners to apprise the tribes, and urge them to repair to Fort Duquesne. In July, a general rendezvous of Indians—Ottawas, Jibewas, Potawatomies, and Wyandots—was made at Detroit, and shortly afterward they marched off to Fort Duquesne. †

Forbes' movements were very slow, and he did not reach Raystown until the middle of September. Washington came up from Fort Cumberland with his command, and joined him here. From Raystown to the Loyalhanna, where Ligonier now stands, a distance of about fifty miles, the road had been opened by Colonel James Burd. Upon his arrival at Loyalhanna, Colonel Burd built a small stockade fort, which was afterward called Fort Ligonier. Forbes' health continued to decline, and he had to be carried through the wilderness in a litter. He was fifty days in getting from Raystown to the Loyalhanna. Meantime, Washington chafed with

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* This letter is printed in *The Olden Time,* vol. 1, p. 285.

† See Colonel James Smith's Narrative in Drake's *Indian Captivities,* p. 233.

impatience. "We shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter," he writes, "but not to gather *laurels*, except of the kind that covers the mountains."* The season had advanced into the month of November before Forbes arrived at the Loyalhanna. There remained still fifty miles of wilderness to be traversed before he could reach Fort Duquesne. The rigor of an early winter was already setting in. The forebodings of Washington that the expedition was to be a failure seemed on the eve of realization. At a council of war, called upon Forbes' arrival at the Loyalhanna, it was determined to go into winter quarters at that point. A circumstance slight in itself shortly afterward caused this decision to be recalled, and an advance movement made.

Before the arrival of Forbes at the Loyalhanna, Colonel Bouquet had sent forward Major Grant with a detachment of eight hundred men, mostly Highlanders of Montgomery's division and Virginians of Colonel Washington's regiment, to make a reconnoissance of Fort Duquesne. Grant conducted the movement very successfully, and in the night of the 13th of September reached the hill just back of the fort. His approach had not been observed by the enemy. He had been informed that the garrison was in a feeble condition, and he did not know that large re-enforcements under D'Aubry had very recently arrived from the West. Grant was fired with the thought of capturing the place himself. At daybreak of the 14th of September he stood on the eminence which is still called by his name, in plain view of the fort. Instead, however, of concentrating his men to make an assault or to withstand an attack, he dispersed them in small bodies in different parts of the neighborhood. Captain Thomas Bullitt had been left with a party of Virginians two miles in the rear to guard the baggage. Colonel Lewis was now sent back with additional troops to join Bullitt; a detachment of Pennsylvanians was posted some distance on the right toward the Allegheny; Captain Mackenzie, with a body of Highlanders, was sent to the left, while Captain Macdonald with another party of Highlanders was ordered into the open plain to reconnoitre the fort. Grant himself remained on the hill with one hundred men of his own regiment and a company of Maryland men.† The party under Captain Macdonald approached the fort with the bagpipes in full blast and the drums beating, as an invitation to the enemy to come out of his stronghold. The enemy accepted the invitation very readily, and swarmed out in overwhelming numbers. They fell upon one detachment of Grant's army after another, killing and wounding a great many and utterly defeating them. A number, in attempting to escape, were drowned in the

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* Sparks, vol. 2, p. 301.

† Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, ch. xxii.

Allegheny. Grant himself was taken prisoner, and carried to Montreal. Colonel Lewis hastened to the assistance of Grant, and shared the same fate. The British fled from the field, closely pursued by the enemy. But for the manful stand made by the Virginians under Captain Bullitt, Grant's army would have been annihilated. The Virginians covered the retreat of the fleeing soldiery, and brought the exultant enemy to bay. At length they were also compelled to give way, but their courageous stand stopped the pursuit, and afforded many an opportunity to escape.* "Our officers and men," wrote Washington to Governor Fauquier, "have gained very great applause for their gallant behavior during the action. I had the honor to be publicly complimented yesterday by the general on the occasion. Bullitt's behavior is matter of great admiration." Grant's loss was two hundred and seventy-three men.† Of the prisoners five were surrendered by the French officer to the savages to be burned at the stake, and others were cruelly tomahawked on the spot.

The Indians had boasted that they would bag Forbes' army as they had done Braddock's, and they were much mortified when they found that they had permitted Grant to reach the fort unperceived. But his peculiar tactics in front of the fort puzzled them, and they could account for his conduct in only one way. "When Tecaughretanego had heard the particulars of Grant's defeat," says James Smith, "he said that he could not well account for his contradictory and inconsistent conduct. He said, as the art of war consists in ambushing and surprising our enemies, and in preventing them from ambushing and surprising us, Grant, in the first place, acted like a wise and experienced warrior in artfully approaching in the night without being discovered; but when he came to the place, and the Indians were lying asleep outside of the fort, between him and the Allegheny River, in place of slipping up quietly, and falling upon them with their broadswords, they beat the drums and played upon the bagpipes. He said he could account for this inconsistent conduct in no other way than by supposing that he had made too free with spirituous liquors during the night, and became intoxicated about daylight."

The French promptly retaliated Grant's attempt upon Fort Duquesne, by appearing before the camp at the Loyalhanna. On the 12th of October, about fourteen hundred strong, and commanded by De Vitri, they attacked the place. The assault was continued for about four hours, with great fury and determination, but they were compelled to retire with considerable loss. After nightfall the attack was renewed, but a few well-directed shells drove them away.* After this, the Indians gave up the idea of destroying the army of Forbes as they had done that of Braddock. They said the Englishman was beginning to understand the art of war; that there were a great many American riflemen along with the red-coats, who scattered out, took trees, and were good marksmen. The French tried to prevail upon the savages to remain and try another battle, but they refused. "They said if it was only the red-coats they had to do with," says Colonel Smith, "they could soon subdue them, but they could not withstand *Ashalecoa*, or the Great Knife, which was the name they give the Virginians."

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* For an account of this affair of Grant's before Fort Duquesne besides Parkman, see a letter dated at Annapolis, October 5, 1758, reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in *The Olden Time*, vol. 1, p. 179.

† Capt. Haslet to Rev. Dr. Alison, Nov. 26, 1758.

The circumstance, trivial in itself, which caused Forbes to reconsider his determination to winter at the Loyalhanna, was the capture of three prisoners. These prisoners reported the feeble condition of the garrison at Fort Duquesne. The western Indians had returned to their homes. The Indians of the neighborhood had been shaken in their loyalty to the French, chiefly through the efforts of Christian Frederick Post. The French re-enforcements had also returned to their former quarters. De Ligneris, at Fort Duquesne, had now not more than five hundred men at his command. Thus Forbes resolved upon an onward movement. On the 18th of November a picked force of twenty-five hundred men was sent forward. The baggage, stores, wagons, and all the artillery, except a few light pieces, were left behind. The soldiers carried only their knapsacks and blankets. Washington solicited for his Virginians the place of danger and of honor in the front. "If any argument is needed to obtain this favor," he urged, "I hope, without vanity, I may be allowed to say that, from long intimacy with these woods, and frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any troops that will be employed." † His request was granted, and his regiment went ahead to open the road, and act as pioneers to the main body of the army.

On the 24th of November the army reached Turtle Creek, within ten miles of Fort Duquesne, where they encamped. In the night a violent explosion was heard to the westward, and it was believed that the French magazine had been destroyed. ‡ The spirits of the men revived, and they looked forward hopefully to the consummation of their arduous toils the next day. In the morning a dense cloud of smoke in the direction of

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* *History of Western Pennsylvania*, pp. 138, 139, and references there.

† Sparks, vol. 1, p. 99.

‡ See Craig's *History of Pittsburgh*, p. 77.

Fort Duquesne indicated that the enemy had set the buildings on fire, and a party of horsemen were sent on in advance to extinguish the flames.* The army also resumed its march, but it was not until evening that they emerged from the forests upon the open plain in front of Fort Duquesne. Instead of a frowning fortress, they found only smoking ruins. The enemy had fled. The rejoicing soldiers woke the echoes with their cheers, and the hand of the gallant Colonel Armstrong, the hero of Kittanning, raised the banner of King George upon the staff from which had long floated the ensign of France. Three days later Washington wrote to Governor Fauquier: "I have the pleasure to inform you that Fort Duquesne, or the ground rather on which it stood, was possessed by his Majesty's troops on the 25th instant. The enemy, after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the fort, and ran away by the light of it, at night, going down the Ohio by water."†

The fall of Fort Duquesne caused great rejoicing on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia. It was impossible that there should be peace or security on the frontier so long as it remained in the hands of the enemy. "The great advantages that will attend this success of his Majesty's arms," wrote Governor Denny, of Pensylvania, "will be sensibly felt by all the British colonies, but none so much as this province, whose inhabitants have been the most exposed to the incursions and cruelties of the French and their allies from that quarter."‡ The fall of this renowned stronghold destroyed the influence of the French in that region, and secured to the Anglo-Saxon race the domination of the Ohio Valley for all time to come.

T. J. Chapman.

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* Three days before this the French had uncovered their houses, and laid the roofs around the fort to set it on fire. See Post's *Second Journal*, Nov. 22, 1758.

† Sparks, vol. 2, p. 320.

‡ *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, vol. 8, p. 257.

THE MAKING OF HISTORY IN ALASKA

The future of Alaska is big with promise. Good-fortune is weaving her history with threads of gold while Congress waits and dallies. Like the great territory of Dakota, Alaska is likely to become an empire before the ants in the hollow recognize that there is a world above them. The resources of this country are being developed so rapidly, and her progress is so conspicuous from year to year, that the active rivalry of Portland, San Francisco, and the cities of Puget Sound is stimulated in a remarkable degree as to who shall be foremost in securing and controlling her coming trade. Last year Seattle placed her pioneer steamer on the Sitka route, with no disappointment in the outcome of her expectations, although the Pacific Coast Steamship Company had already increased its monthly to a fortnightly service. For 1887 the latter company has announced a weekly service, and in addition to the two regular passenger and freighting steamers of the line, have put the *Olympian* on the route, which is advertised to make the round trip from Tacoma, Washington Territory, in eleven days, the length of the present run being twenty-eight days. This famous vessel is the crack craft of the Pacific coast, being capable of making twenty miles an hour, and she is furnished with every modern appliance for the comfort of passengers, even the staterooms being lighted by electricity. Her first trip is set for April 18, sailing from Tacoma, and connecting at Port Townsend with the regular San Francisco steamer. Portland people are not only sanguine, but have already begun to reap the benefits of the excursion trade. Their streets last summer were crowded with tourists from all parts of the world; and they anticipate an immense increase.

There is probably no country in the world which is at present so much the cynosure of miners and prospectors as Alaska. The great Douglas gold mine excites the wonder and admiration of all experienced mining men who visit and examine it. Its stupendous mill, operating one hundred and twenty stamps, with its annual product of $2,000,000 (!), is to be soon supplemented on adjoining ledges by three hundred and twenty additional stamps, which are expected to be in operation on the 1st of next May. Exploratory tests covering an extent of eight or nine miles discover evidences none the less rich than those of the original lodes. Valuable ledges have been discovered at Berner's Bay, twenty-five miles north of Douglas Island. The richness of the Yukon beds, where no less than one hundred and forty men were at work last year, panning out from $6,000 down to "grub stakes" for every man, although they are just beyond the international boundary, in British territory, is sufficiently indicative of the country below. Eighty miners wintered there, and an immigration from Sitka into the diggings began on dog-sleds as early as the 19th of last January, and will continue until July. It has been estimated that two thousand five hundred men will prospect the Yukon the present year, and a good road will undoubtedly take the place of the present trail, over which all outfits have to be packed on the backs of Indians for a distance of twenty-five or thirty miles.

There are productive gold diggings on the mainland just back of Douglas Island, and some very large quartz ledges on Admiralty Island and on Prince of Wales Island, and indeed in other parts of the country; all of these indications and developments together demonstrate that Alaska is beyond a doubt unprecedentedly rich in gold ores. Then there is at Golovin Bay, near Norton Sound, a mine of silver-bearing galena, which has been worked on a small scale for several years, paying the entire cost of mining, freight, etc., and leaving $412.30 per ton as clear profit. The galena is so pure that the natives whittle it into bullets; and the ore-bearing range extends one hundred and fifty miles, according to the statement of an officer of the United States Revenue Marine Service. Coal fit for steam purposes, and equal to the Vancouver Island coal, according to Professor Newberry of the New York School of Mines, is found at Cook's Inlet, and it is also found (and has been used) near Cape Liscombe on the Arctic coast, and at Admiralty Island, as well as at several other localities. Then there is copper, from which the natives long ago made their spear and arrow heads, iron, which the Russians smelted when they occupied the country and cast it into bells for their mission chapels, cinnabar, mica, petroleum, sulphur, and marble equal to the best Vermont or Italian.

There are two admirable weekly papers printed at Sitka and Guneau, besides the mission journal at Wrangell, and these are constantly publishing substantial accounts that if given broadcast currency would produce sensational effects. The governor's annual message, just issued, is remarkable for its statements of material progress. He says: "I hazard the prediction that Alaska is the coming great gold and silver mining field of the world." Alaska's productions for the year are:

"Fur trade	$2,500,000
Gold bullion (including placer mines)	800,000
Fish (including cod and oil)	725,000
Lumber	50,000
Total	$4,075,000"

He tells us that experiments prove that all the cereals, as well as tubers, can be grown to perfection in Alaskan soil and climate, that barley has been grown to maturity at Fort Yukon, which is north of the Arctic circle, and that cattle and horses thrive on grasses which grow luxuriantly to the height of seven feet, and require shelter for only three months of winter—all of which was demonstrated by the Russians fifty years ago. Already Alaskan cranberries are a staple in San Francisco markets; fish oil is being shipped direct to Liverpool by the cargo; Indian wares are on sale in sundry cities of the States; forty sailing crafts are employed in the cod-fishery; there are five sawmills (for home use only), eight salmon canneries, and nine packing and salting establishments; a beginning of fifty tons of halibut catch; and an annual output of three hundred thousand gallons of clarified herring oil from a single factory. The population has more than doubled within the past year, and is carefully estimated at:

"Whites	3,245	Natives (partially educated and Christianized)	1,500
Creoles (practically white)	1,413		
Aleuts	2,214		
Total			8,372"

besides thirty thousand Indians.

Education has advanced, and twenty schools are established at various points, including the Indian Training School at Sitka and those supported by the Alaska Commercial Company at the Seal Islands. Eight of these schools are in Western Alaska. A hospital has been established, and bathing-houses erected at the Springs near Sitka. $15,000 have been expended in painting and repairing the famed St. Michael's Church. The town of Guneau has grown from nothing to be a commercial and mining port of six hundred whites and twice as many natives. Paint and modern improvements are covering everything like a charitable mantle, and old vices and immoralities are being expunged, and good order everywhere established. What remains to be desired is the bestowal of political rights and the fostering care and helpful encouragement of the general government.

While Congress sleeps, Alaska is making history.

Charles Hallock

A HERO OF THE FAR NORTH

The United States bark *Rodgers* was fitted out at the Mare Island, California, Navy Yard, in the summer of 1881, for a proposed trip into the Arctic regions, for the relief of the United States exploring vessel *Jeannette*, whose fate at that time was unknown. Among the officers who went in the *Rodgers* on her mission of mercy was Master Charles F. Putnam, United States Navy. He, like all the other officers, was a volunteer for the expedition.

The misfortunes of the *Rodgers* commenced early, for she was destroyed by fire in St. Lawrence Bay, Behring Straits, on the 30th of the following November. The officers and crew escaped with their lives, but were able to save only a limited amount of food and clothing. After landing, as no one native village could support the entire crew, food being a very scarce article with them, they were distributed among the "Chukche" settlements in the immediate vicinity of St. Lawrence Bay. Here they took "pot-luck" with the natives, sharing with them whatever they had of fish, seal, game, etc.

Before the burning of the vessel, Putnam had been placed in charge of an observing station, established on an island near Cape Serdze-Kamen, on the coast of Northern Siberia, about one hundred and fifty miles from the scene of the disaster. Hearing of the misfortune which had overtaken his shipmates, he sledged back to their vicinity, taking with him some tobacco, reading matter, and whatever other stores he could spare. He was accompanied by three other sleds, driven by natives. Putnam, unfortunately for himself, as will appear later on, had acquired sufficient dexterity to drive his own dog-team. The largest native village, which was on the north side of the entrance to the bay, had been made the headquarters of the crew. and he reached this in safety. After a few days' visit he started to return to his station, a couple of the younger officers of the expedition accompanying him. They had proceeded about forty miles when they were caught in a blinding snow-storm, which detained them until their dog-food had given out, and as it was necessary that their animals, which were their sole dependence, should be properly sustained at any hazard, they were obliged to go back to replenish. Knowing that the village they had recently left was out of dog-food, Putnam decided to cross St. Lawrence Bay to a village on the south shore. He was alone on the third sled; a northwest gale was blowing at the time, and the drifting snow was so thick that no object could be distinguished ten feet ahead. The two sleds in advance, driven by natives who knew their position, turned sharp to the right when opposite the village to which they were bound. On reaching their destination, Putnam's companions momentarily expected him to appear, but he never arrived.

On account of the thickly falling snow he undoubtedly failed to see the other sleds turn, and his dogs edging off to escape the wind drove directly out to sea. He probably went some distance before he missed his companions, and then, knowing that he could not work his dogs back in the teeth of the gale, he naturally camped over night on the ice. During the night the gale continuing caused the ice to break from the shore, and he found himself alone with his dogs on an ice-floe, drifting helplessly out to sea. Can a more horrible situation be imagined?

This was on the 10th of January, 1882. The extreme violence of the weather prevented his companions from communicating his loss to headquarters until the 13th. He was seen off a village on the south side of the mouth of the bay on the morning of the 11th, by one of the *Rodgers*' crew, the only one there. At this time he was about a mile and a half from the in-shore ice. The natives, despite the offers of all kinds of rewards, would not launch their skin canoes owing to the young ice that had formed, and which would cut through them like a knife.

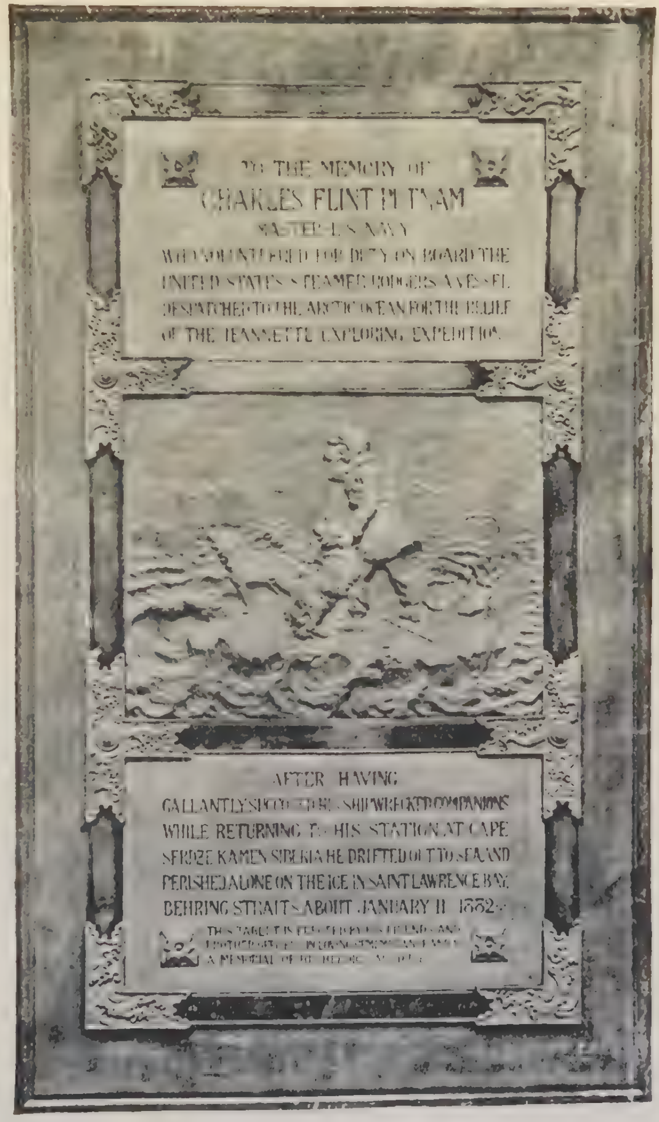
He was seen on the following morning off another village further south, at which time he was about five miles from shore. At this place there were five of the best men of the *Rodgers*' crew, and these made an earnest, but ineffectual, attempt at a rescue. They *forced* two of the natives into one of the canoes, and all pushed off; but they had not proceeded more than half a mile when they were compelled to return, the canoe being badly cut up by the ice.

When the executive officer of the *Rodgers*, Mr. Waring, arrived from headquarters, he at once saw that the only remaining chance was that the wind would change, thus bringing the ice back to the coast, or driving it on some of the projecting points to the southward. Mr. Waring at once started south, posting lookouts at all prominent points, and offering heavy rewards to the natives for any information. He then made a most thorough search, sledging two hundred and fifty miles along the coast, and occupying thirty days, before he satisfied himself that there was no hope for his lost comrade. Nothing was omitted to make the search complete.

Putnam's team consisted of thirteen dogs. The day after he went adrift, three of these came ashore, in a terrible condition, about ten miles south of the village where the last rescue was attempted, and another about fifty miles south of St. Lawrence Bay ten days later; this last had a pistol wound through his neck, and it was surmised that Putnam, finding his dogs deserting him, shot those remaining to sustain his own life.

It was Mr. Waring's opinion that the floe on which Putnam was carried off broke up under him as soon as rough water was reached. This was confirmed by the fragmentary appearance of the ice which came in on the coast shortly afterward during an easterly gale. At the time of the disaster, and for a month later, the weather was intensely cold, with frequent heavy gales.

Some months afterward it was reported by the "Chukche" natives around St. Lawrence Bay that the body of Putnam had been seen on the ice. This report was discredited by Lieutenant-Commander Berry, who commanded the


TO THE MEMORY OF
CHARLES FLINT PUTNAM
MASTER U.S. NAVY
WHO VOLUNTEERED FOR DUTY ON BOARD THE
UNITED STATES STEAMER RODGERS A VESSEL
DESPATCHED TO THE ARCTIC OCEAN FOR THE RELIEF
OF THE JEANNETTE EXPLORING EXPEDITION.
AFTER HAVING
GALLANTLY SUCCORED HIS SHIPWRECKED COMPANIONS
WHILE RETURNING TO HIS STATION AT CAPE
SERDZE KAMEN SIBERIA HE DRIFTED OUT TO SEA AND
PERISHED ALONE ON THE ICE IN SAINT LAWRENCE BAY
BEHRING STRAITS ABOUT JANUARY 11 1882

THE PUTNAM MEMORIAL TABLET.
[*Engraved from a photograph.*]

Rodgers expedition, as from his experience he had not formed a high opinion of native truthfulness, and he thought that the story was advanced in the hope that it would be followed by substantial reward.

It will thus be readily seen that nobody can determine how the unfortunate young officer met his death; whether from drowning, through the breaking up of his floe; whether from the slower agonies of starvation, or whether death came mercifully by freezing. It would perhaps not be strange, as some of the newspapers suggested at the time, if—overwhelmed by the horror of his situation—he had solved the great mystery by a ball from his own pistol. But those of us who knew Putnam well cannot believe that the end came in any other way than as it should come to a brave man.

Putnam was but twenty-seven years old at the time of his death, being the youngest member of his class at the Naval Academy, where his classmates and friends have recently erected a handsome tablet to his memory.

To my mind this death is one of the most pathetic in the long line of Arctic disaster. He went not forth for self-glory in discovery and research, but in humanity's name, to succor his fellow-men.

Let us remember that though it may not be

"on tented field,
Or in the battle's van,
The noblest place that man can die
Is where man dies for man."

Edmund B. Underwood.
Lieutenant, U.S. Navy.

Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department,
Washington, D. C.

MINOR TOPICS

WESTCHESTER COUNTY IN THE REVOLUTION

The title of Mr. Henry B. Dawson's latest historical work is *Westchester County, New York, During the American Revolution*, issued a few weeks ago in a beautiful imperial octavo volume of two hundred and eighty-one pages, with double columns, bearing the imprint so well known to all American men of letters, "Morrisania, New York City." It will be welcomed by every one interested in American history. It was written as the sixth chapter of the new collaborated *History of Westchester County, New York*, in two massive volumes, edited by J. Thomas Scharf, of Baltimore, which appeared in September last. Mr. Dawson's volume forms a *separately printed limited edition*, issued by himself subsequently to the publication of Scharf's work, of which upward of sixteen hundred copies have been published and sold, and which is already "out of print," not having been stereotyped.

The first thing which strikes one on opening Mr. Dawson's volume is the immense amount of matter it contains, and the second is the number of his notes and the fullness of his references. It does not sound very large to say that a work contains two hundred and eighty-one pages. But when those pages are in double columns, and imperial octavo size, each actually containing nearly twelve hundred words in brevier type, we get a very different impression. This book really contains as much matter as nearly three of Mr. Bancroft's original octavo volumes, and is a monument of historical research and labor of which its author should be proud.

The present Regius Professor of History in the University of Oxford, himself one of the great English historians of our day, Mr. Freeman, has said that "History is past Politics, and Politics present History." Mr. Dawson is evidently of the same opinion; for he has given in this volume the most thorough, complete, and exhaustive account of the politics and the politicians of New York from 1765 to 1776 that has ever been written; not of one side only, but of all sides. And as necessarily incidental to a full understanding of the subject, he has treated of the politics and politicians of New England and Pennsylvania, and also discussed the Philadelphia Convention of 1774, its composition, action, and results. This portion of his work, fortified by a mass of authorities, giving author, document, chapter, and verse for every statement, political and personal, will attract great attention; and the more so because the author takes a view nearly the opposite of that which he took twenty years ago in his well-known *Sons of Liberty*. The immense amount of new matter made accessible since that work was written, and especially the many new facts and documents, public and private, that have come to light since then, have effected the change, Mr. Dawson evidently being one of those men who not only "have the courage of their opinions," but have the courage to modify those opinions when confronted with trustworthy evidences of their error. Every one will not agree with Mr. Dawson's views, but as he gives the evidence on which they are founded, each reader can judge of their correctness for himself. Some of his statements are staggering, and his proofs more so. In his characterization of a few of the prominent men of that era he has spoken far too strongly for good taste, and in some instances his conclusions are too severely given. But that is Mr. Dawson's style of writing, and, as every author adopts his own style, he must abide by its results upon his readers. Speaking of his literary style generally, there is one peculiarity of it which is unpleasant. This is the extreme length and involved construction of some of his sentences. In this he even exceeds occasionally the terribly long sentences of Senator William M. Evarts. It is not fair in these two gentlemen to make people read over and over again their huge statements so as to make out what they really mean, for human life is short. Very thorough and exhaustive, and very new, is the discussion of the action of the New York Assembly from 1766 to 1775. No previous historian has given its true history, while most writers have either ignored it or given it very brief and erroneous mention, seemingly unaware that the Journal of its Proceedings exists. This has arisen, perhaps, from the extreme rarity of the volume, only fifty copies of which were reprinted by the State in 1820 from the single copy then known; and of those fifty copies some have since been sold and destroyed in ignorance of their rarity and great value. But Mr. Dawson has closely studied it and the numerous documents it contains, and laid open with a skillful hand the real character and action of that Assembly and its leaders, and shown that the brief ordinary statements regarding it are entirely erroneous. For this he will receive the thanks of all historical inquirers.

So, too, he has dissected with a master hand and eye the various bodies which succeeded it from 1775 to 1777, when the State constitution was formed, and which were known as the Provincial Convention, the Council of Safety, and the Provincial Congress, and shown the despotic illegality and barbarism of their measures, and makes us wonder that they were ever submitted to. Here, also, his authorities are staggering. Not the least strange is the clear account of the peace and quiet and content which he says existed throughout Westchester County until late in 1774, and how indifferent its inhabitants were to the political squabbles of the politicians in New York city, which ended against their will, a year or two later, in precipitating them into a rebellion which in the end actually swamped them, by its great success, in a revolution.

Nowhere in the whole range of American history is there to be found such a full, detailed, and striking account of the movements of the American and British armies into Westchester County, which culminated in the extraordinary conflict at

White Plains on the 28th of October, 1776. That battle is described with great life and vigor, and, at the same time, with a minuteness and fullness of detail, and even-handed justice to the various combatants, that has never been equaled by any preceding writer on that subject. It is not an easy thing to describe a battle, as many writers on the late civil war have found, to their apparent astonishment, but Mr. Dawson does it most successfully as well as most agreeably. It is greatly to be regretted that the volume ends with the campaign of 1776, but publishers' reasons, growing out of the extended treatment of their subjects by writers of other chapters in Scharf's *History*, it seems, prevented it. That Mr. Dawson may be induced to bring his work down to 1783, as he originally intended, is earnestly to be hoped. Should this be done, and the portion covered by this volume recast with the new, and published in, say, three or four handsome volumes of the ordinary octavo size, with a good index, there can be little doubt of its success in a literary and historical, as well as a financial, point of view. It would be the result of accurate and scientific historical labor, treated vigorously, honestly, and impartially, with the authorities for everything fully given. And it therefore would be welcomed, even by those who would not agree with the author's views. Owing to its geographical position, the history of Westchester County, and the events of different years within it, is practically the history of the American Revolution.

EDWARD F. DE LANCEY.

GENERAL CHARLES LEE AND HIS FRIENDS

After the peace General Lee was a good deal pestered by an actor who begged him to patronize an evening entertainment at a neighboring tavern. Lee for some time demurred, on the ground of his secluded life and changed tastes,* but as the applicant went on to lay great stress on his name and connections, he observed: "Oh, then it's not merely me you wish to come, but my friends?" "Certainly, general, your friends." "Well, sir, I have but five friends in the world, and those I consent to bring with me, on condition that you secure for us the six front chairs, so that we may see and hear without interruption." This proviso was readily agreed to. Lee paid for the tickets, and away hopped the manager, rubbing his hands at his unhoped-for success. When the night came the room overflowed, and there was a loud outcry for chairs, but the six in front were sacred to "General Lee and his friends." The candles were lit; the black fiddlers had executed an overture; the time of performance had arrived, but not the general, so its commencement was delayed in deference to the six front chairs. At length, when expectation had reached fever heat, an altercation with the doorkeeper was heard, and a report arose that the general's friends were refused admittance. Every one rose in consternation, and the gentlemen called out for the manager. Down rushed the affrighted Thespian, in time to hear Lee deliver one of those verbal thunderbolts which had been said to electrify their objects on training days.

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* General Lee was then living in his hermitage, a small stone structure originally designed for a hunting-lodge—the interior having no partitions—surrounded by his dogs, with only one human companion, an Italian body-servant. Many ludicrous anecdotes have been told of him in reference to his eccentric attachment to dogs, but the above excels them all.

"Stand back, sir!" shouted the director to his servant; "don't you know General Lee has a party? Permit me, general, to apologize." He was advancing to do so when the veteran strode in, and, lo! at his heels his five favorite hounds, each carrying a ticket in its mouth. The petrified director had only breath for an exclamation, as Lee proceeded leisurely to his seat, and made each of the dogs mount a chair and compose himself for the style in which they usually surrounded his table. My readers may surmise the effect upon the company, the prolonged peals of laughter that followed the first simultaneous shout, not a little enhanced by the well-sustained gravity of the general. At length the person patronized gave vent to his astonishment in the exclamation, "Good heavens! general, this is very strange." "Strange, sir!" he echoed; "you asked me to bring my *friends.* I told you I had but five in the world; these are they. I go nowhere without them. I have paid for their tickets, you have secured our places, so go on with your performance."

These words were decisive; the bell rang, the singers came forward, but the instant they caught sight of five such extraordinary critics, each swinging out some inches of tongue in proof of his powers of discernment and taste, they, too, found the spectacle irresistible. This set the audience off again, and the new amusement quite superseded the announced one. At length the cachinnation reached its climax, for, either by strong sympathy or Lee's contrivance, the dogs burst suddenly into a loud and wild howl, which threw the window-panes into an ague fit, and brought the landlord and his servants rushing up stairs. Lee now rose, and with infinite gravity bowing to the bewildered director, observed that his friends, having so loudly expressed their gratification at the performance, made it incumbent on him to tender their collective thanks, as he most respectfully bade them good-evening. He then bowed to the audience and led his "friends" out. As may be supposed, this expedient quite answered his purpose, and Lee was never again troubled for his patronage.—*John Bernard's Retrospections of America,* 1797–1811.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Diary of Colonel Josiah Smith

From July 23 to September 7, 1776

[Copied from the original in possession of Mr. Conklin Havens, East Moriches, Long Island, and contributed to the MAGAZINE by Mr. W. T. Avery.]

Memorandum July 23. 1776. I Received Orders from the Convention the 23

the 24 I Sent Expres to the East End to Coll^{l} Mulfurd and Terry—

27 We met at the County Haul to apinte Officers when —— For the Second Rigment in this County

Captain Ezekiel Mulford 1 Leut David Seare 2 Leut Nath^{el} Hand

Capt Zephaniah Rogers—1 Leut Edward Toping 2 Leut Paul Jones in the 3 Rigment—Capt Paul Reues 1 Leut John Curwin 2 Joshua Benjamin

1 Leut Joshua Youngs men 20

I gave the Oficers above Orders—

28 I Sot oute for Huntin^{g} Toune

29 I Spente at Hunting Toune

30 I woss at Hunting Toune & Magor Jeffery Smith Musterd Capt. John Wickes Men and then I sot oute with Co^{ll} Sands and Magor Ramfon to Quenes County.

31 I wente Doun to Wa^{t}ch hill to See the gard thare at the bottom of Cowneck

August ye 1—1776 I Spente in Veuing a proper place to Erect another gard on graite neck

2 I Sot oute from Co^{ll} Sands to Suffolk County & got as Far as Capt Plats—

3 I wente from Capt Plats to Capt Strongs and Staid with him all nighte—

4 I wente Doune to South to meting and Wente hum

5 I Staid at hum—

6 I Staid at hum—

7 I Sot oute Eastward to South hold and gave Capt Reves orders & Ingaged Magor Wickam to Secure the Stock on Robings Island from the Enemy—

8 I spente my time along to the Oyster pond & Order Leutenant Youngs to take the Stock of Plume Island and I staid with Co^{ll} Terry all nighte——

9 I wente from the Oyster pond to Shelter Island and from thence to Sag Harber and Loged with Mr Foster—

10 I spente at Sagharber With Co^{ll} Levingston and a number of the princeapel Inhabitence of Shelter Island & South Hampton & went up to South hampton & thar I met the Expres from the Convention Directing me to march all the Nue Leves up to the West End of the Island—

11 I and Elias Mathues Wente to my house & the two men that came expres Richard Burgan & John Sackit—

12 We Sot oute on Our March to the weste End of the Eysland and got as far as Hunting Toune

13 we Sot oute from Hunting Toune & got to Leut Encreas Carpenters—

14 we went Doun to the Fery to General Greenes Camp and I tuck up Quarters for the Rigments and my self at Reum Cowenhoven—

15 I Spente with a gradele of trobel—

16 I spente in Campe with Trobel—

17 I spente in camp with trobel

18 Dito

19 Dito

20 Dito

21 Dito

22 the Regulars Landed Belo nue Uetrick 5000 & I with my Rigment Wente Doune to Flat bush and wente within a small Distance of the Regulars and we ware Oute all nite and our advance gard killed several of them

23 we continued all the day in the woods and thare worr an insesent fire the hull day we killed a number of them & thay wounded fore of us we worr Releved at Night 1 of us killed

24 I wors in camp and the gards wounded sevoral of the Enemy & thay wounded Sevoral of us & Shot Co^{ll} Martin throu the Brest—

25 I wors oute on Sentre in the woods and Staid all nite & it wors a Dreadfull thunder Storm

26 we wors Releved of gard in the after nune—

27 we wors alarmed aboute 2 in the Morning, and we had many Scurmishes and thay atemted to forse our Lines & they kild 1 of my men & we Suppose that we kild a number of them & we Drove them Back & Laie in the trenches all nite.—

28 we Lay in the Lines all Day & it wors an Exceding havi rain & thar wors a continual fire kep up betwene us and the Regulars and us all Day and we lay in the lines all nite—

29 we lay in the lines until the midel of the afternune and then we had Orders to march over to York and we Staid in york all nite and we wors allarmd aboute 2 in the morning that our army wors Leveing our lines on long Island—

30 we marched to Kings Brige on westchester—

31 we marched to nuerachel & tried to get paſage by water to the Island but Could not

September 1 we marched to mareneck & than we imbark on bord Vesels to go hum & aboute 11 a clock at nite I got aſhore at at Captain Plats at Smith Toune

2 I got hum to my house

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES

MARIETTA'S CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION—Active preparations are in progress for an imposing celebration in Marietta, Ohio, of the one-hundredth anniversary of the first authorized settlement in the territory of the Northwest, under the famous ordinance of 1787. The colony of settlers originated with the officers of the Revolutionary Army, and to them is due the great Northwest as it is to-day, with its millions of inhabitants, its wealth, its civilization. The settlement was founded under peculiar auspices: the United States, in Congress assembled, sent these emigrants forth to their new home with a national blessing. Congress took its own president and made him their governor, and appointed as judges two generals of the Revolution. No other colony ever excited so national an interest in its beginnings. Our readers will turn backward the pages of this magazine and re-study the learned and interesting article published in August, 1886, from the pen of Prof. Israel Ward Andrews, on the "Ordinance of 1787," an article that has attracted wide attention, and is already quoted in some of the new text-books for schools as the best and clearest authority on the subject extant. Of this ordinance Mr. Bancroft writes, in his *History of the Constitution:* "For a time wisdom and peace and justice dwelt among men, and the great ordinance, which could alone give continuance to the Union, came in serenity and stillness. Every man that had a share in it seemed to be led by an invisible hand to do just what was wanted of him; all that was wrongfully undertaken fell to the ground to wither by the wayside; whatever was needed for the happy completion of the mighty work arrived opportunely, and just at the right moment moved into its place." A monumental structure is in contemplation at Marietta, which will not only be a credit to the State and the nation, but an imperishable honor to the able, scholarly, and public-spirited men who have been foremost in its projection.

NIAGARA—The name Niagara was sometimes applied by the early historians, not only to the river, but to a defensive work and group of Indian cabins which stood at or near the site of the present village of Lewiston. La Salle constructed at this point a cabin of palisades to serve as a magazine or storehouse. In order to allay the jealousies which the work excited among the Senecas, he sent an embassy to Tegarondies, the principal village of the confederacy, then located on what is now known as Boughton Hill, near Victor, in Ontario County. They reached it in five days, after a march in midwinter of thirty-two leagues on snowshoes, during which they subsisted only on parched corn. There they found the Jesuits, Garnier and Raffeix, who had been resident missionaries since 1669. A council was held with the Senecas, and presents interchanged, but without favorable result. The French retraced their steps to their camp on the river, worn out with the hardships of the way, and glad to exchange their meager diet for the delicious whitefish just then in season.

The word Niagara was probably derived from the Mohawks, through whom the French had their first intercourse with the Iroquois. Some controversy has existed concerning its signification. The Mohawks affirm it to mean *neck*, in allusion to its connecting the two lakes. It is probably the same both in the Neutral and Mohawk languages, as they were kindred dialects of one generic tongue.—*The Historical Writings of Orsamus H. Marshall.*

QUERIES

RECORD OF PASSENGERS' ARRIVAL FROM 1785–1795—*Editor Magazine of American History:* Can you, or some one through your pages, tell me whether there was any record kept of passengers arriving in New York and Philadelphia between the years 1785 and 1795; if so, where can it be found? Also from what Indian tongue comes the word "tianderra," which appears in the many early ways of spelling Ticonderoga, and what is its signification?

ROBERT W. GILBERT

UNION LEAGUE CLUB.

SHAKESPEARE IN AMERICA—One of the Shakespearian dramas was acted in Baltimore in the first month of the year 1782. This play was Richard III., and it was the first play brought forward in what was called the New Theatre in Baltimore at its opening on January 15, 1782. In the old theatre, there erected about 1774 and closed the next year, was there any work of Shakespeare's exhibited? or had any production of his been brought out on other American boards at an earlier date? If so, when, where, and what play?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

EUREKA LODGE AND WASHINGTON LODGE—I find in the *New York Daily Times*, February 26, 1852, an item that Eureka Lodge has prepared a stone for the Washington Monument; also, July 19, 1852, a notice to members of Washington Lodge, No. 2, and Jackson Lodge, No. 5, A. T. A., to attend Henry Clay's funeral ceremony. Can any one tell me what fraternities are referred to? I also find references to certain brotherhoods called I. O. of U. A. M., and U. A. O. D. Will some one interpret the letters?

F. E. H.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE CONGRESSIONAL MANIFESTO—I find in Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. IV., pp. 14, 15, that the Commissioners of the British Government sent to America in May, 1778, issued a manifesto to the people of this country. I also find that Congress issued a counter-manifesto. Dr. Thatcher, in his journal, gives us quite a quotation from the latter document. Where can I find the full texts of these proclamations?

S.

REPLIES

Washington's war-sword [xvii. 257]—The following notes relative to the war-sword of Washington and its maker are taken mostly from an article on the subject read before the New York Historical Society in May, 1864. John Bailey settled in New York about 1755 at the age of nineteen ; a Yorkshire man by birth, who had served an apprenticeship as cutler in Sheffield. Prospering in trade he built a house of some pretensions at the corner of Wall and Water Streets, and *Gaine's Gazette* of 1771 has the advertisement of "Bailey & Youle, Cutlers from Sheffield, at their Shop, near the Merchants' Coffee-House."

In the spring of 1772 he married Ann Brickstock, probably his second wife. Previous to this event he had purchased land at Fishkill on the Hudson ; some of it in 1768 of Evert W. Swart. After the *Asia* had fired upon the Battery in August, 1775, many of the citizens, alarmed for their safety, left the city. The Baileys removed to their farm at Fishkill. This village soon became the principal depot of the American forces, and in January, 1777, an armory was ordered to be fitted up for the repair of the public arms. Whether Bailey was directly connected with this establishment does not appear, but about the same time he commenced the manufacture of swords there, forging out with his own arm the blades which were to be wielded in freedom's cause, and mounting them, while his industrious wife stitched into shape for the scabbards the leather which he had tanned upon his own farm. In this way two dozen good and useful weapons were frequently finished in the course of a week. His descendants at the present day show a small mahogany box, into which was collected all the silver, then a scarce metal, which was received in payment, and which was worked up afterward in mountings and decorations for the sword-sheaths.

Leading officers of the army were frequently passing through Fishkill ; the Commander-in-Chief and Lafayette were both at times the guests of Mr. Bailey, and for each of them did he, according to family tradition, fabricate a serviceable sword. After the battle of Monmouth, head-quarters were removed in July, 1778, to White Plains, and through the summer and fall of this year Washington and the Marquis were both present at times in the village, and this appears to be the earliest period during the war when the sword, now preserved in the Capitol, could have been manufactured. A perfect representation of it was given by Charles W. Peale, in his full-length portrait of the General, begun at the Valley Forge Camp, in the winter of 1778,* and it will be seen that it differs materially from the sword depicted in that artist's portrait of Washington, as a "Virginia Colonel," which was painted in the spring of 1772.

John Bailey was one of the refugee citizens whose name occurs in a Memorial and Petition to Governor Clinton, dated Newburg, September 1, 1783. In the *Gazette* of March 1, 1784, his farm of two hundred acres, four miles from the landing, with Fishkill Creek running through it, was offered for sale. His address at the time was No. 22 Little Dock Street, New York, at the sign of the Cross Swords. The farm was sold soon after to Robert Brett, and passed eventually to the Rogers family. If the signatures of John Bailey, as found upon this deed of sale, and the Citizens' Memorial of 1783 (vide City Manual, 1856) are compared with that which occurs on the sheath of the Washington sword, all three will be found identical. Bailey's work was marked by coating the metallic surface with wax, writing his name through this, and eating it in with acid.

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* Leutze gives this sword also, in his "Crossing of the Delaware," but this representation of it is probably premature.

He died on Sunday morning, January 22, 1815, aged 79, "grown venerable in the esteem of his friends, neighbors, and acquaintances, after a long and well-spent life." His son, James S. Bailey, succeeded him in business. In the family of his grandson, William Bailey Lang, for many years an iron merchant of this city, several letters and other mementoes of General Washington have been preserved, including two original portraits of the General and his lady, by Wright. John Bailey had a brother William, who, in 1782, was captain-lieutenant in the Royal American Regiment of Colonel Beverly Robinson, and retired after the war to the banks of the St. John's River, near Frederickton, New Brunswick, where he died in 1832, at the advanced age of ninety-seven. I. J. G.

NEW YORK, *March*, 1887.

"KEYSTONE STATE" [xvii. 174]—A work was published in 1884, entitled "A History of the Origin of the Appellation, Keystone State, as applied to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." It purports to be a reply to a paper by Sydney Hayden, Esq., of Sayre, Pennsylvania, printed in the *Athens Gleaner*, May 12, 1870, but it unfairly leaves out Mr. Hayden's paper. It contains, however, a good deal of information on the subject of Professor Butler's query.

H. E. H.

HORSE-CHESTNUT TREE [xvii. 263]—The botanic name of the horse-chestnut is Æsculus Hippocastanum, Linnæus. Æsculus, the generic name, is from the Latin, esca, food, because the fruit was used for food. Hippocastanum, the specific name, is composed of the Greek word *ἵππος*, a horse, and castanea, a chestnut. The name castanea was applied to the chestnut because it abounds near the town of Castanea, in Thessaly. This name "horse-chestnut" is said to have been given to the fruit of this tree because it resembles the sweet chestnut, but is only fit food for horses.

Another account makes the name due to the fact that this fruit is used as a remedy for lung diseases in horses.

O. R. WILLIS

HORSE-CHESTNUT TREE [xvii. 263]—The origin of the name will suggest itself to any one who will examine the leaf-scars and joints of the small branches of the tree. Many of these will be found closely to resemble a horse's foot.

CHARLES LYMAN SHAW

ASTORIA, *March* 4, 1887.

SOCIETIES

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular meeting of the Oneida Historical Society was held at its rooms in the library building on the evening of February 28, Vice-president Rev. I. S. Hartley, D.D., in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. General C. W. Darling, the corresponding secretary, announced the receipt of a large number of books, pamphlets, and other gifts, and also read the substance of many letters from various parts of the world. The society then proceeded to act upon changes which were proposed in the constitution and by-laws, which were presented by Dr. M. M. Bagg, chairman of the committee. The most important are as follows: The third article provides that the names of all persons proposed for membership shall be referred to the committee on membership, and upon a report of that committee shall be voted in by the society, a majority of votes deciding the election. Article six provides for a board of twenty-six councilors, who shall hold office for life, or as long as they remain members of the society. A number of new members were elected, and other names proposed for membership. Hon. Horatio Seymour, of Marquette, Michigan, was proposed for honorary membership.

THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting of this society was held February 23, 1887, and the following board of officers was elected for the present year: John J. Loud, president; Herbert A. Newton, vice-president; Gilbert Nash, secretary; Charles T. Crane, treasurer; Miss Carrie A. Blanchard, librarian; executive committee, the above-named officers, and Elias Richards; library committee, S. W. Reed, W. H. Clapp; committee on order of business, J. J. Loud, B. F. Eaton, Gilbert Nash.

The library committee reported donations of 17 books, 104 pamphlets, and 11 other papers, making now in library 215 volumes, 446 pamphlets, and a large number of papers and documents, many of them of much value. The treasurer reported a balance on hand of $90.44, and all bills paid.

The secretary's report was a fairly encouraging one, the most important action of the society being the change from a private to an incorporated association. Resolutions were passed in furtherance of the petition now before Congress, for an appropriation to publish a descriptive catalogue of documents in European archives relative to American affairs between 1763 and 1783.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY—Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania. The twenty-ninth annual meeting of this society was held at their rooms, February 11, at noon, Hon. E. L. Dana, LL.D., presiding. The annual election resulted in the choice of president, Hon. E. L. Dana, LL.D.; vice-presidents, D. C. F. Ingham, Rev. Henry L. Jones, Capt. Calvin Parsons, Hon. Eckley B. Coxe; recording secretary, S. C. Struthers; corresponding secretary, Sheldon Reynolds; librarian, Hon. J. R.

Wright; treasurer, A. H. McClintock. The historiographer reported the death of five members, Rev. A. A. Hodge, D.D., Martin Coryell, John Wroth, Isaac Lea, LL.D., and J. K. Bogert. The reports from various curators show large additions to their departments, that of the library being an increase of over 1,000 volumes, and that of archæology 400 articles. At the evening session held at eight o'clock, Capt. James P. Dennis read a very interesting paper on the buildings of Wilkesbarre, and their occupants in 1819. D. C. F. Ingham read an account of the New Brunswick mineral called Albertite, believed to be an altered petroleum.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular semi-monthly meeting on the evening of February 22. The attendance was large, and the interesting paper read by Mr. Reuben A. Guild, librarian of Brown University, received the close and undivided attention of the ladies and gentlemen present. The vice-president, Dr. Parsons, presided, and after calling the meeting to order, introduced the orator, whose subject was "Roger Williams, his birth, parentage, and education in the light of recent investigation." He said in the course of his address: "The peculiar times in which Williams lived, the rancor of theological and religious strife, and of political hate engendered by civil war, may in part account for this singular lack of reliable data respecting the life of so prominent and useful a man. It is only within a few months, indeed, that any positive information has been obtained respecting John Harvard, the founder of Harvard University, notwithstanding he was a clergyman, and a graduate of Emanuel College. Another fact should not be overlooked in this connection. In the famous Indian or King Philip's war in 1676, when Williams had passed the age of three-score years and ten, his house, together with most of the surrounding dwellings, was destroyed by the invading foe. Of course all his books, papers, correspondence and records perished in the devouring flames. So universal was the destruction, that only a part of the town records even were saved, some friendly hand throwing them from a burning house into an adjoining mill-pond. 'The antiquarian researches of sixty years ago,' says Dorr, 'have failed to identify a single house as a survivor of this war.'"

Mr. Guild presented many facts of the greatest interest, and when he had concluded reading, the society extended to him a vote of thanks for his able and exhaustive paper.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, KANSAS, held its annual meeting, January 18th, at Topeka. Among the valuable gifts reported was one from Dr. Samuel A. Green, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, including 109 volumes of the *North American Review*, between the years 1821 and 1867, chiefly of the earlier years of this invaluable publication. In the State of Kansas are now being published 753 newspapers and periodicals, the regular issues of which are all being preserved in the library of this society.

BOOK NOTICES

WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y., DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By HENRY B. DAWSON. With Portrait of the Author, Maps, and Other Illustrations. Pamphlet, imperial octavo, pp. 281. Home Street, Morrisania, New York city. 1886. Price, $6.00.

In this elaborate study of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, we have the political and military affairs of Westchester County, New York, from the spring of 1774 to the early winter of 1776, presented in a new light. Mr. Dawson has very materially changed his views on the subject of the American Revolution since he published his justly famed *Sons of Liberty* in 1859. What he was proud to call "patriotism" and "love of liberty" then he now classes under the head of "revolting barbarism," and "refined hypocrisy." All political studies admit of more than one opinion, and painstaking research frequently develops fresh knowledge; but Mr. Dawson seems to have gone over to the enemy without reserve. This is the more remarkable from the fact that through his long literary career, in which he has borne the reputation of a thorough historical scholar, he has been one of the warmest and most eloquent in portraying the "patriotic devotion" of the leaders in the American cause. Now he has not a word of praise for them, nor for the cause itself. In support of his changed views he quotes extensively from the printed resolutions of the various Revolutionary bodies, and from private letters bearing on the subject, with documentary evidence taken from the lips of ancient and supposed trustworthy witnesses, all of which he interprets in accordance with his new faith. His notes are voluminous. Mr. Dawson is a writer of great force and fearlessness, and some of his passages are as brilliant as anything in the language. His account of the indecisive engagement of the British and Americans at White Plains, in the autumn of 1776, "the ridiculous military spectacle," as he expresses it, "of two antagonistic armies turning their backs on each other and retreating in opposite directions, without the slightest attempt at pursuit by either," is admirably done. It is the best feature of the book, and it is to be regretted that the end comes so abruptly.

But Mr. Dawson evidently courts the astonishment of the public in his criticism of men and their motives. He claims that the people of Westchester County, until the enactments of the Provincial Congress in 1774, were honest, peaceable, and industrious tories, tilling the soil and finding ready market in New York for their produce. He says the Revolutionary element of New York "was composed of a series of conclaves controlled, in what it determined to do or not to do, only by the individual impulses of such as the Livingstons and the Morrises, the Van Cortlandts and the Thomases, and as James Duane and John Jay, men in every instance who were distinguished for their entire disregard of and contempt for the unfranchised and lowly masses, and who represented only the uncontrolled and purely aristocratic prejudices and antipathies, and the equally uncontrolled and malignant partisan animosities and jealousies of those who, during many years, had been excluded from official life, and who by the whirligig of *rebellion* were then first enjoying, in an extremely diluted form, what they had so long and so anxiously hankered for." He declares that not a homestead existed in Westchester County but was presently at the mercy of some self-constituted local committee, by whom, with "unbridled despotism," the good people were "plundered and outraged;" and, mentioning by name the leading men of the Revolution, says, "they were experts in ruthless barbarism, and entirely worthy of the crowns of infamy which history has awarded to more distinguished but not more accomplished inquisitors and despots."

The transition is so startling that one cannot forbear returning to Mr. Dawson's words in his *Sons of Liberty*, where he speaks of these very men as "intellectual giants in council;" and dwells upon the "patriotic devotion" of others, including McDougall, Lamb, and Isaac Sears, "who," he says, "led in the *practical* opposition to the ministry, and dared to lead where any dared to follow; they led in the field while the former led in council; and both united, like 'the sword of Jehovah and of Gideon,' were effectual whenever they were directed against the Midianites who oppressed the people." In this new work the patriots become indeed the "Midianites who oppressed the people," and we turn from the "savage coldness" of McDougall to find Isaac Sears a "cowardly ruffian." Mr. Dawson is especially uncomplimentary to the New Englanders, whom he styles "a gang of banditti;" and whom he accuses of falling upon the defenseless and amiable residents of Westchester County and robbing them of whatever could be carried away. The Provincial Congress becomes in his eyes a "double-faced body," and its "persecutions" are overwhelming. The lash of the author's genius, however, descends upon the jurist and statesman, John Jay, in the most striking language. "Were there any doubt in any mind concerning John Jay's entire capability of practicing the most refined deceit and of being most unqualifiedly treacherous, whenever his own selfish or partisan purposes could be most successfully promoted by deceit or treachery," etc.; and a little further on Mr. Dawson continues: "John Jay and all those with whom he was associated in the great political questions of that period, were aiming at something else than independence, at something that was directly antagonistic to independence; and he and they felt at liberty, under the license of that unholy ambition which controlled them, to resort to and to employ whatever means, of whatever character, which would promote their controlling purpose of keeping the colony of New York out of the current which was evidently setting toward independence, and in a continued political and commercial dependence on Great Britain." Whether Mr. Dawson has introduced proofs sufficient to sustain such extraordinary statements the public must judge for itself. In the same spirit he refers to the *Constitution of the State of New York* as "that puny thing which was created and introduced to the world and fostered by political midwives and wet nurses who cared nothing for it beyond what they could severally make from it." And all through the book Mr. Dawson speaks of the Revolutionary War as the "*rebellion*."

This work was prepared for Scharf's *History of Westchester County*, recently published, and forms its sixth chapter. It is now printed separately, the edition being limited to two hundred and fifty copies, of which two hundred are for sale by the author.

THE TWELVE GATES. Verses from Various Authors. Selected by ISAAC S. HARTLEY, D.D. Original illustrations by R. D. Alexander. Imperial octavo, pp. 61. Utica: William T. Smith. 1887.

We have seen nothing more exquisitely beautiful in the way of a gift-book for the Easter festival than this unique little volume by Rev. Dr. Hartley. The design is entirely original with that accomplished divine, "The Twelve Gates" embracing well-selected and original poems on The Wicket Gate, The Gate of Tears, The Golden Gate, The Temple Gate, The Open Gate, The Closed Gate, The Entering Gate, The Beautiful Gate, The Pearly Gate, The Holy Gate, The Gate of the Resurrection, and The Gates Ajar, with five appropriate full-page illustrations from drawings by R. D. Alexander, executed in the very highest style of the engraver's art. The poetical contributions are exceedingly felicitous in expression and in sentiment, as, for instance, quoting from The Gates Ajar:

"But sometimes when adown the western sky
The fiery sunset lingers,
Its golden gates swing inward noiselessly,
Unlocked by silent fingers.

And while they stand a moment half ajar,
Gleams from the inner glory
Stream brightly through the azure vault afar,
And half reveal the story."

It is so rare to find among holiday treasures original work of such merit and beauty that we commend it warmly to all those who are searching for choice presents for their friends.

HISTORY OF THE SECOND ARMY CORPS, in the Army of the Potomac. By FRANCIS A. WALKER, Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. Volunteers. With portraits and maps. 8vo, pp. 737. New York, 1886: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Second Army Corps was one of the five original corps organized by President Lincoln, in March, 1862, which maintained its existence unbroken until the conclusion of peace, in May, 1865. Its history is interwoven with nearly all the principal events of the civil war in the East. It captured forty-four Confederate flags before it lost a color of its own; it made the great assault at Marye's Heights; and it stormed the Salient at Spottsylvania, and at Farmville fought the last infantry battle of the war against the Army of Northern Virginia. It left nearly forty thousand men killed and wounded upon the battle-fields of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. A more important or welcome contribution to the history of the late war could not well have been produced. General Walker served as chief of staff in the notable organization, and writes from personal and familiar knowledge of all its varied movements. He has proved himself not only an accomplished soldier in his descriptions of army life and tactics, but the master of a terse, forcible, and charming style of narration. The story never flags in interest, and important details are introduced with skill and taste among the critical discussions of great campaigns and particular battles. The enthusiasm of an author who takes just pride in his subject pervades every chapter, and in a certain sense magnetizes the reader. Of the different corps commanders, all men of ability and strong character, he writes with studied discrimination. His conclusions, however, in many instances will provoke opposing opinions, and be sharply controverted. It is not easy to reconcile the views of historians who participated in the struggle. Their observations were taken from different stand-points. But General Walker's words will command respectful attention, even among the dissenters and where his adverse criticisms fall with the greatest severity.

A fine portrait of General Sumner is the frontispiece to the volume, of whom, writes the author, "much may be said upon either side of the question whether, with his mental habits and at his advanced age, he should have been designated for the command of twenty thousand new troops in the field, against a resolute and tenacious enemy skillfully and audaciously led; but every voice must award praise, and only praise, to his transcendent soldierly virtues. Jupiter, shining full, clear, and strong in the midnight heavens, might be the disembodied soul of Edwin V. Sumner. In honor, in courage, in disinterestedness, in patriotism, in magnanimity, he shone resplendent. Upon a body of citizen soldiers, in the first flush of martial enthusiasm, a commander so chivalrous in feeling, so heroic in bearing, as Sumner could not fail to produce a profound and lasting impression. If the Second Corps had a touch above the common; if in the terrible ordeals of flame and death through which, in three years of almost continuous fighting, they were called to pass, these two divisions showed a courage and tenacity that made them observed among the bravest; if they learned to drop their thousands upon the field as often as they were summoned to the conflict, but on no account to leave a color in the hands of the enemy, it was very largely through the inspiration derived from the gallant old chieftain who first organized them and led them into battle. It is easy to criticise Sumner's dispositions at Antietam, . . . his failure to supervise and direct, from some central point, all the operations of the corps; yet no one who saw him there, hat in hand, his white hair streaming in the wind, riding abreast of the field officers of the foremost line, could ever fail thereafter to understand the furious thrust with which a column of the Second Corps always struck the enemy, or the splendid intrepidity with which its brigade and division commanders were wont to ride through the thickest of the fight as calmly as on parade." The oldest corps commander of the army, General Sumner, was succeeded by one of the youngest, General Couch, which affords the author an exceptional opportunity for one of the finest pieces of pen-portraiture in the whole work. Then again the picture is drawn with consummate skill when General Hancock took command of the corps at Gettysburg: "As the sun shining through a rift in the clouds may change a scene of gloom to one of beauty, so did the coming of this prince of soldiers bring fresh life and courage to the disheartened bands which were halting uncertainly upon the new line of defense." The book is well illustrated with maps and portraits, and embraces material of a statistical character that is invaluable.

DEMOCRACY AND OTHER ADDRESSES.

By James Russell Lowell. 16mo, pp. 325. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Since the late Henry Ward Beecher visited England during the war for secession, no American has spoken so successfully or with such marked effect to English audiences as Mr. Lowell during his term as Minister Resident of the United States. It is useless to attempt to disguise the fact that the popularity which he won among all the intelligent classes of Great Britain was infinitely exasperating to those of his fellow-citizens who wish to hear the American Eagle scream in the face of the British Lion on any and all occasions. To such persons gentlemen are offensive in any event, and it is useless to talk to them about diplomatic courtesy. In the present volume, Mr. Lowell's public addresses in England are collected with a number subsequently delivered in this country. Beginning with the much-quoted address on Democracy that gives its title to the volume, the selections include the oration at Exeter Hall on the death of Mr. Garfield, those on Dean Stanley, Coleridge, Fielding, Wordsworth, Don Quixote, and Books and Libraries, ending with the memorial address on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Harvard University. "Democracy" fitly strikes a keynote that furnishes the motive of the entire volume, and the Harvard address at the end in some sense rounds off the whole group of detached essays, and lends them a unity that would hardly be suspected at a first glance. The book was published simultaneously in England and America, and will, no doubt, be preserved in both countries as a memento of an American who did more than any other minister has ever done to establish and maintain friendly relations between the two countries.

THE GREVILLE MEMOIRS.

A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria from 1852 to 1860. By the late C. F. Greville, Esq., Clerk of the Council. Vol. III., 12mo, pp. 554. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This is the third and concluding volume of a series that was long anticipated with pleasure, and that has in every respect justified the anticipation. The second volume brought the record to 1852, where the present one begins. Henry Reeve, Registrar of the Privy Council, edits this volume as he did its predecessors, and a more judicious editor could hardly be found. No doubt he has eliminated certain passages where good taste or state policy demanded that such omissions should be made, but the book reads from first to last as a diary should read, and bears internal evidences of not having been tampered with to an extent that endangered its originality of conception. Its very inconsistencies show how the author's opinions, yielding to the influence of circumstances, underwent various changes, and if his predictions in one chapter turn out to have been sadly at fault a few pages farther on the frank avowal of fallibility enhances the confidence that must be reposed in other predictions that proved true, and in casual statements of fact that might be questioned if they emanated from another source. Indeed, a curious student of character might derive considerable satisfaction from the development of the author's individuality, which is at first that of a fast and fashionable young Londoner, who sobers down within a few years into an astute and absorbed politician deep in statecraft and familiar with all the diplomacy of the time. The reception accorded the preceding volumes guarantees that of the concluding one, and we venture to predict that no one who remembers the momentous period covered by the Crimean war, the Indian mutiny, and the Italian war can fail to follow Mr. Greville through the chapters of this concluding volume with absorbed interest.

RETROSPECTIONS OF AMERICA, 1797–1811, By JOHN BERNARD. Edited from the manuscript by Mrs. BAYLE BERNARD, with an Introduction, Notes, and Index by LAURENCE HUTTON and BRANDER MATTHEWS. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 480. New York, 1887: Harper & Brothers.

The more our national history is unfolded, the more of variety, color, picturesque individuality, and interest we find in it. The brightest pictures are not, however, generally found in the works of foreigners; but many lessons worth learning have come from those unexpected sources. The author of this quaintly entertaining book, "Retrospections of America," was an English comedian who came to America in 1797, landing in Boston. He was not only an actor but a shrewd social observer and a ready writer. He came to New York with his manager, Mr. Wigfall, and made his first appearance on the American stage in August, at the Greenwich Street Theatre, as Goldfinch in the "Road to Ruin." He soon after went to Philadelphia, where he played for some years. He also traveled through the country as a theatrical star, and thus had good opportunity to study American habits in town and country. He was brought into contact with many of the most distinguished characters of his time, and he wrote about them, and of innumerable other things, in a rambling and careless style, but not without a ceaseless flow of humorous description and anecdote. The Philadelphians, he says, were recognizable in New York through "a short-stepping fidgetiness in the streets, and an air of apprehension." He relates the following colloquy: "'How do you like Boston?' said an American to an Englishman, who had just arrived. 'Extremely; it resembles London. The streets are not very wide, very straight, or very clean, but I always prefer a careless irregularity. If there are any good views of fine buildings you are sure to enjoy them more because you come upon them suddenly.' 'How do you like Boston?' said a resident to a Philadelphian. 'Its *society* very much, but really you should do something to improve your thoroughfares. Your streets are so crooked and dirty my mind is perpetually on the rack to find my way and keep my boots clean.' The Londoner and the Bostonian walking together through Philadelphia alike exclaim, 'The town is very clean, very well paved, and very open; no disorder even after midnight; but what sameness, how fatiguing to the eye! no variety! no surprises! go up one street and you have seen the city.'"

An example of his characterization appears in what he says of Ethan Allen: "He was a graft of the old Cromwellian, psalm-singing, cut-and-thruster upon the free-and-easy, bibacious cavalier; alternately swearing and praying; singing hymns and anacreontics; sending people upward and downward. You entered his presence with reverence and left it with wonder, for he was a Bobadil and Master Stephen combined; a Niagara and its lake—all thunder one moment and placidity the next."

The first chapter of the volume is a historical sketch, and a decidedly remarkable production for such an author. He gives expression to an intelligent understanding of the processes by which an enlightened people were at the work of subduing a giant continent to a giant scheme of civilization, and tells the story of how the New World was settled in the first place. Slight errors creep in here and there, but the wonder is that he became so well informed in so short a time. He died before his work was finished, and the manuscript passed into the hands of his son, whose widow prepared it for the press. The introduction, notes, and index are by Laurence Hutton and Brander Matthews. On one occasion Bernard's sudden and severe illness necessitated his return to Boston. He says: "The evening before we started Mr. Coleman, the editor of the *Evening Post*, dropped in to chat for an hour or two in his usual friendly way, but at length, pulling out his watch, rose in haste, saying he had an appointment, to which he must attend. I asked him if he would not call on us in the morning before we left. 'Why,' he replied pleasantly, 'I don't really know my good friend. I should like to.' 'Well,' said I, 'we shall not go very early, and if you are awake—' 'Oh,' he interrupted, in the same peculiar tone, 'depend on it, *if I am awake*, I'll drop in to see you.' In the morning we saw no Mr. Coleman; but a week after I was informed that he had fought a duel with some gentleman of New York on the very day in question, and that he had in fact sat in my parlor and conversed with us till within half an hour of the appointed time, which pleasantly enough accounted for the ambiguity of his parting expression."

AGATHA AND THE SHADOW. A Novel. 12mo, pp. 321. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

We had occasion lately to notice a novel of colonial times, dealing with the period of the old French war. Here is another that goes still farther back and introduces us to the life of the Plymouth Colony during the first terrible winter of their sojourn. In this story the names of many of the leading characters are introduced and the last pages of the volume are filled with references to authorities. The plot deals with the life of the daughter of the elder Brewster, her marriage with Anselm and the romance of a prior attachment on her husband's part that had its origin in still earlier association on European soil. The chapter containing the account of poor Rachel's public shame and exposure cannot but recall to the reader's mind that other parallel passage in Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*. It may be, indeed, that Hawthorne found his suggestion in some similar instance of colonial discipline. The story of Agatha presents some phases of colonial life that are not ordinarily brought to the fore, but that are, nevertheless, authentic, as may be proven by any one who cares to search the Massachusetts records.

CIVITAS, THE ROMANCE OF ONE NATION'S LIFE. By WALTER L. CAMPBELL. 16mo, pp. 134.

It is a dangerous thing nowadays to undertake a long poem with a purpose in heroic measure. To the present work the author has brought a deal of conscientious work and has thoughtfully developed the dramatic part of the plot, on true lines of argument. More than this we cannot truthfully say in its praise. As a whole it lacks the vivacious sparkle that is now essential in every work of this character to secure a popular success.

BRAZIL, ITS CONDITION AND PROSPECTS. By C. C. ANDREWS. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo, pp. 352.

In his official capacity as Consul-general of the United States to Brazil, the author of the book before us had exceptional facilities for observing the manners and customs, and for forming an intelligent estimate of the resources of the vast empire whose name the volume bears. It is hardly ten years since Dom Pedro, the Brazilian Emperor, paid a visit to the United States, and only a year ago his son, in the capacity of an officer, on board one of his father's war ships, visited some of our principal seaports, and made inland excursions to Washington and other points of interest. He was received with proper courtesy, but, so busy are Americans with their own affairs that they hardly stop long enough to look at a foreign prince, and are, many of them, inclined to grumble at any costly civilities that may be shown him. However this may be, here is Brazil, just across the street as it were, with her thirteen million of inhabitants, her territory nearly as large as the United States and enormous wealth in lumber, coffee, agricultural and mining products that must sooner or later stimulate a rich trade with other nations. It assuredly behooves Americans to seize the opportunity that now offers and establish commercial relations with these industrious and wealthy neighbors, and General Andrews' book will be found to contain much information of the greatest value.

HIS ONE FAULT. By J. T. TROWBRIDGE. Boston: Lee & Shepard, publishers. 12mo, pp. 275.

Readers of *Wide Awake* will remember this pleasant story, which was published serially in that popular periodical a few years ago. It now makes its appearance in book form, with all the excellent original illustrations, and is a very acceptable addition to the year's "Juveniles."

FRANKLIN IN FRANCE. From Original Documents, most of which are now published for the first time. By EDWARD E. HALE and EDWARD E. HALE, Jr. 8vo, pp. 478. Boston, 1887: Roberts Brothers.

If our readers will turn to Volume IX., page 429, of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, they will see in an engraving, made from a photograph, the entire Franklin collection of manuscripts as it appeared when it first reached the State Department at Washington, after it was purchased by our government. To these valuable manuscripts Mr. Hale has had access in writing of Franklin's nine years' residence in France, and the result is incomparably interesting. Mr. Hale has wisely examined anew the whole mission of Franklin to France, using as best he could such advantages which the many years have given since the publication of Mr. Parton's and Mr. Bigelow's studies on the same subject, together with many unpublished letters and much other fresh data of great illustrative value. He has reprinted some few papers necessary for the narrative; as to tell the story of the life of Franklin while in Paris has been his chief purpose, rather than to show what the great philosopher wrote. He occasionally, however, quotes from Franklin's journal. There is something marvelous in the flexibility of mind with which Franklin accommodated himself to the management of various and unfamiliar interests in America's critical emergency. He was a man of eighty, yet conducting a diplomatic mission with astute statesmen of the most delicate character, and compelled at the same time to manage the sale of merchandise and purchase of supplies for his country; to master, the details of naval administration, ship-building, out-fitting, and maritime war; to solve the intricacies of an international law not yet formulated; and to raise money for all manner of needs, not only for the purchase of war materials, but to meet the drafts of representatives at other courts, and all the multifarious expenses attending such diplomatic missions. Those money troubles were harassing in the superlative degree, and in Franklin's efforts to protect the credit of his country he was driven to curious straits, and taxed the generosity of the French Court to its utmost limit. He was as patient and persistent as he was astute—he was statesman, diplomat, tradesman, banker, beggar, and commander all at the same time. The new correspondence brings out these features with vivid distinctness and freshness of color. The volume has been prepared with much literary skill and in excellent taste: it is elegantly printed on fine paper, with broad margins, and well and substantially bound.

HENRY WARD BEECHER. A Sketch of HIS CAREER, with analyses of his power as a preacher, lecturer, orator, and journalist, and incidents and reminiscences of his life. Edited by LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D. 8vo, pp. 604. New York, 1883: Funk & Wagnalls.

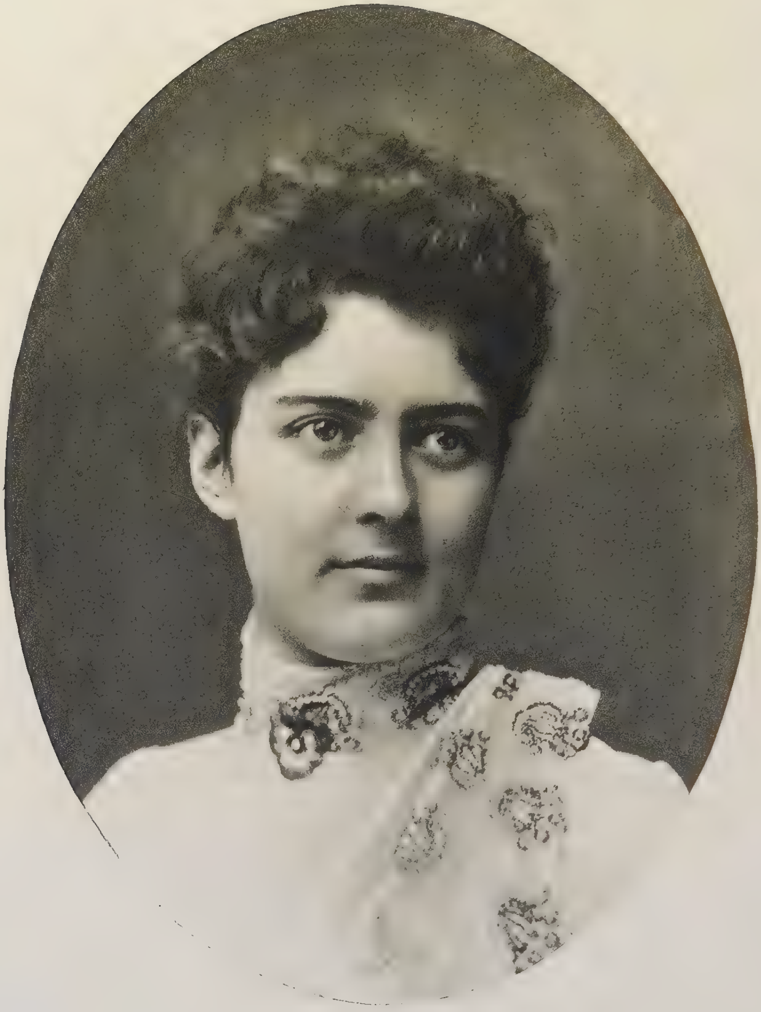
Few, comparatively, are aware that a sumptuous volume bearing the above title, commemorative of Mr. Beecher's entrance upon his seventieth year, was prepared by Dr. Lyman Abbott and published in 1883. It is illustrated with twenty portraits of the distinguished subject at different ages, the house in which he was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, the church in which he first preached, several of his residences, and many other pictures of great public interest. The text embraces a collection of papers contributed by different gentlemen of eminence, some written specially for this work, others reprinted from magazines and various publications—the first part being from the pen of the accomplished Dr. Abbott—with selections from Mr. Beecher's own characteristic utterances. Every page is rich with information and instruction. Oliver Wendell Holmes describes Mr. Beecher's embassy to England as "a more remarkable embassy than any envoy who has represented us in Europe since Franklin pleaded the cause of the young Republic at the Court of Versailles. He kissed no royal hand, he talked with no courtly diplomatists, he was the guest of no titled legislator, he had no official existence. But through the heart of the people he reached nobles, ministers, courtiers, the throne itself." Rev. Edward Eggleston, in a chapter entitled "A New Year's Eve at Beecher's," gives a vivid picture of one of the regular services in Plymouth Church. Noah Porter, D.D., former president of Yale College, writes of the "character of Plymouth congregation." Rev. Dr. Taylor describes Mr. Beecher's characteristic traits and discusses the subject of his power as a pulpit orator. Professor James M. Hoppin, of Yale, writes of Mr. Beecher's originality; and Rev. A. McElroy Wylie of Mr. Beecher as a social force. It is said that Mr. Beecher had no knowledge of this volume until the arrangements were completed for its publication. His consent was then obtained, but he never saw a page of it until after it was printed and issued. "And then," writes Dr. Abbott, in the preface, "I doubt whether he will give it more than a casual glance." A new edition is being prepared by Dr. Abbott, aided by Rev. S. B. Halliday, which will contain the funeral sermon of Dr. C. H. Hall, with much additional material.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. Thoughts in verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the year. By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A. 16mo, pp. 237, parchment. New York, 1887: White, Stokes & Allen.

An elegant Easter gift is this dainty little edition of Keble's Christian Year, just brought out by the enterprising publishers, White, Stokes & Allen. The selections are exceptionally choice and of perennial interest to all lovers of the beautiful in Christian thought. The same publishers have issued an equally delightful volume of "Words of Hope and Comfort," extracts of wisdom from many teachers of men; also a poem in fac-simile, "Heralds of Easter," by Dora Read Goodale, illustrated by F. Bridges, and "Madrigals and Catchers," by Frank Dempster Sherman.

SEE THE LAND HER EASTER KEEPING, by CHARLES KINGSLEY; GLADNESS OF EASTER, selected from the poets; ARISE, MY SOUL, ARISE, by the author of Nearer, my God, to Thee; THE MESSAGE OF THE BLUE BIRD, by Irene E. Jerome. 4 volumes, square 8vo. Illustrated. Boston, 1887: Lee & Shepard.

These four Easter offerings are among the most tasteful ever issued by the Boston publishers, Lee & Shepard, so justly famed for their exquisite holiday productions. The text, the illustrations, the elegance of the paper of which the books are made, and the delicately tinted bindings and boxes, are all attractive in the superlative degree. Four smaller gift-books are also issued for Easter by the same house, entitled "Nearer, my God, to Thee," "Rock of Ages," "My Faith Looks up to Thee," and "Abide with Me."



Mrs Grover Cleveland

The Bride of the Twenty Second President of the United States

Eng.d by J.L.Phillips New York

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVII MAY, 1887 No. 5

THE WHITE HOUSE AND ITS MEMORIES

[HISTORIC HOMES OF OUR PRESIDENTS]

IT is not quite one hundred years since our national government had its birth—and our first President an official home. Yet in view of all that has occurred since that sublime event in the world's history, we are prone to assume the airs and graces of remote antiquity. We talk about our grandfathers with a far-away accentuation as if they were contemporaries with Moses and the Egyptians. Our sense of youngness as an independent power is dulled or wholly lost in the whirr of overlapping occurrences through which a wilderness continent has yielded to the irrepressible march of civilization. We are older than our years. It is fortunate that we stumble now and then against a landmark, and are thereby compelled to look backward as we rush on.

In the course of the century of our national existence, we have had twenty-two Presidents, twenty-one of whom have had an official home in the White House on the Potomac. Washington was the only one of our chief magistrates who never dwelt under its historic roof, or even in the city that bears his honored name. Two different houses in New York city were the Presidential homes while the seat of government was located in the metropolis, and one while it was in Philadelphia.

The White House was built by the country for its Presidents, and so named by Washington in sweet memory of the "White House" from which he won and wedded his bride in 1759. It was designed and projected in the wilderness, when the future was altogether an unknown quantity. It is neither handsome or grand in its outward appearance, to the cultivated eye of the present generation, but a striking example of the tendency at the time of its erection for the severely classical in domestic architecture. It is a monument of interest—historical, biographical, moral, political, romantic, and social. The memories clustering about each administration since its foundation stones were laid might furnish a library. It is the one central point in our vast domain toward which every American heart turns and every American foot tends. It is the Mecca of all European travelers;

the object of more critical observance, both at home and abroad, than any other dwelling-house that ever was built in any country or age. The fact that it is owned jointly by sixty millions of intelligent people does not detract from its charms, nor render its successive occupants any the less objects of pride, solicitude, and curiosity. Within its walls the executive head of a great republic gives life and motion to the complex machinery of the ship of state; here he transacts the most important business relating to the country's weal or woe. And, furthermore, the official home of our President is the one particular home where we look confidently for the entertainment of foreign statesmen, diplomats, and scholars—for the doing of all manner of national hospitalities—and for the punctilious fulfillment of the higher obligations of polite life in every direction. We understand the import of these onerous duties and formalities, and their bearing upon the strength of the chain that binds distant nations together. Thus its social and domestic life concerns us all.

When Washington was elected to the Presidency, everything was new and immature. There was an ocean of problems to solve—of forms and ceremonies to be adjusted. One of the earliest and most knotty questions coming to the front, was how he should live? Republicanism was a novelty. All the governments that had ever existed on the globe were studied, and yet no precedent found for a case like ours. An excess of familiarity must be avoided in order to command deference and respect. This was finally left to the sagacity and discretion of Washington himself. One of the finest mansions in New York was placed at his disposal, its owners, Postmaster-General and Mrs. Samuel Osgood, vacating it for his distinguished occupancy. This house stood in what is now Franklin Square, corner of Cherry Street, near the publishing house of Harper & Brothers. New York was then merely a snug, comfortable little town below City Hall Park, and many were the objections raised to having the President's home so dismally far away into the country. But the mansion was large and elegant, and it was available. It had been built by Walter Franklin, a New York merchant of immense wealth, who owned, indeed, most of the property thereabouts, and whose widow, in 1783, married Mr. Osgood. It was a charming place of residence in summer time, overlooking the Bay and Long Island upon one side, with bits of East River peeping through rich foliage, and a stretch of landscape on the other, varied with sunny slopes, circles of small hills and beautiful valleys.

Washington took possession of this house on the 23d of April, 1789, six days before his inauguration, and commenced living in the same general style as that to which he was accustomed as a private gentleman in old Virginia.

The description of his arrival in New York, and enthusiastic reception by the people of all classes, reads like a poem. A committee from Congress and the chief dignitaries of the city and the new government went out to meet him in New Jersey, and an elegant barge, constructed for the occasion, manned by thirteen masters of vessels in white uniforms, received him at Elizabethtown point. Other barges fancifully decorated fell into line, and the whole bay was covered with pleasure crafts brightened with every color of the rainbow, and music, and bells, and cannon, and glad voices ushered him into the metropolis. The governor of New York, George Clinton, waited for and welcomed him at the ferry stairs, which were carpeted and the rails hung with crimson, and military companies conducted him to his new home in Franklin Square. The streets were lined with people as thick as they could stand, and the wildest and most prolonged cheers rent the air. Every house on the route was decorated with flowers, flags, evergreens, and silken banners; every window was filled with admiring women and loyal men; every inanimate object seemed alive with the waving of handkerchiefs and hats. The name of WASHINGTON was suspended from roof to roof in every possible form of ingenious device and ornamentation. It was a busy week that followed. In the interim prior to the august ceremonial, Washington was besieged with all sorts of questions, and his advice was sought on a thousand points of importance. He was, moreover, in constant demand for the reception of visits of congratulation—from foreign ministers, public bodies, political and military leaders, and citizens of distinction. Being a man of method, he was able to meet all this with unruffled composure. One of the embarrassments was in regard to the title—how the chief magistrate of the new America should be addressed. The subject had occupied the attention of Congress, and a joint committee from the two houses had been unable to agree. The

THE PRESIDENT'S HOME IN FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

[*The Walter Franklin House.*]

newspapers had taken the matter up, and rendered it all the more complicated by discussing it freely. With some "His Excellency" was thought the proper thing, others wished a longer and higher-sounding title, and not a few favored the appellation given to rulers in Holland—"High Mightiness." It was finally decided, to the satisfaction of all parties, that Washington should be called simply the President of the United States. While these controversies were at white heat, Speaker Muhlenburg was one day at a dinner given in honor of Washington, and was asked by the President-elect what he thought of the title of "High Mightiness." "Why, General," replied Muhlenburg, laughing, "if we were certain that the office would always be held by men as large as yourself or my friend Wynkoop (a large-sized gentleman from Pennsylvania sitting at the table), it would be appropriate enough, but if by chance a President as small as my opposite neighbor should be elected, it would become ridiculous."

SPECIMENS OF WASHINGTON'S PLATE.

Immediately after the great day of days—inauguration day—Washington applied himself diligently to the study of public affairs, reading all the correspondence and documents that had accumulated in the office of the Secretary of State since the war, in order to master the whole subject of our relations with foreign countries. He organized his household with characteristic precision, appointed a steward, and finding that his door was besieged with callers from morning until night, and that he would have no time for public business without perfect system, set apart Tuesday afternoons, from three until four o'clock, for the reception of visitors of ceremony. He was, however, always accessible to foreign ambassadors, official characters, and persons who wished to see him on business. On the 7th of May, one week after the inauguration, a public ball was given in honor of the new chief magistrate, who was, of course, the star of the occasion. The company numbered over three hundred, and the great number of distinguished guests present rendered the festivities memorable. His horses and carriages were the objects of his tender care from the beginning. There is a tradition that he went out every morning to see if their hoofs were properly painted. His note-book records his use of them with as much particularity as it tells of his movements in public and social life. His

THE PRESIDENT'S HOME IN BROADWAY.
[*The McComb Mansion.*]

visits to Congress, in Wall Street, were always made in a coach drawn by six prancing horses, preceded and followed by two mounted officers in full uniform. The procession must have been imposing, for, following closely in line, he says, "came the Chief Justice of the United States and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War in their respective carriages, and in the order they are named." John Jay, who had been Secretary of State (Secretary of Foreign Affairs, as then called) since 1784, was, with the organization of the National Judiciary, appointed Chief Justice, but at the President's request officiated as Secretary of State until the spring of 1790; and Thomas Jefferson, on his return from Europe, was then made Secretary of State. This explains why in the President's notebook, under date of January 8th, 1790, mention is made of the Chief Justice following closely in the wake of the President, as he was really the acting Secretary of State at that time. Turning the pages of this circumstantial

THE PRESIDENT'S HOME IN PHILADELPHIA.
[*The Robert Morris House.*]

note-book, we find that Washington drove nearly every pleasant day, sometimes with Mrs. Washington in the post-chaise, then again in the chariot; but all through the record he speaks with enticing frequency of "exercising with Mrs. Washington and the children in the coach between breakfast and dinner—driving the fourteen miles round." This favorite route was along the picturesque old Bloomingdale Road to the high bluff where General Grant's tomb now attracts tourists from every part of the civilized world, thence across to the Kingsbridge and old Boston roads in returning to the little city.

As winter came on, the house in Franklin Square proved, as was predicted, too great a distance from town for either public or private convenience, and President Washington removed to the McComb mansion in Broadway, below Trinity Church. Before completing his arrangements for this change, he required additional stables built for his horses. The house was large enough, and when his furniture and choice things were placed in it—superintended by himself, even to the smallest details—it must have been a very luxurious home. Upon coming to New York he had his old family plate melted and reproduced in more elegant and shapely style; the tea service was particularly massive, the salver twenty-two inches long by seventeen wide, and every piece bore the family arms. Pictures, vases, and other articles of ornament had been sent from Mount Vernon; the china and glass had been imported or made to order.

Mrs. Washington was not present at the wonderful inauguration scenes which have been so many times described; nor at the elegant inauguration ball a week afterward, although some writers have placed her there through the help of lack of information and vivid imagination. She journeyed to New York from Mount Vernon in her own carriage some four weeks after her husband was firmly seated in his high chair. She was met on her approach and welcomed with as much honor as if she had been a veritable queen.

Mrs. Robert Morris accompanied her from Philadelphia, and the wife of Chief Justice Jay went to Elizabethtown to meet and greet her, where she was delightfully entertained at Liberty Hall, the country-seat of Mrs. Jay's father, Governor William Livingston. In crossing New York Bay to receive her, President Washington was accompanied by Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution, by Chief Justice Jay, and many other distinguished gentlemen, who reached Liberty Hall in time for breakfast. When the Presidential party returned to the city, conducting the President's wife and her retinue, the waters of the bay presented a similar scene to that on the day of Washington's reception. The unique craft with its thirteen pilots in white costumes awaited them at the landing; and music and banners, the deafening roar of salutes from the war vessels at anchor, and the joyful shouts of an excited throng upon the wharf and along the streets signalized the event.

Mrs. Washington found her New York home in perfect order, and had little to do but enter and adjust herself to its rigid rules and regulations. She was a lady of high breeding, versed in all the proprieties of high life, and acted her part so well as the first lady of the land, that she was quickly pronounced an "aristocrat." It is difficult to determine what the people really expected—they could not define their own expectations. It was an age of crude and half-formed ideas. Equality was a captivating word. But if equality, in their view of it, had prevailed there would have been no Mrs. Washington. It was equality which at that very moment was maddening the French mind. Every man was giving advice to every other man; and each in the high-colored pride of freedom (as he understood it) thought it a great pity he was not the king. He was at least equal to the king in his own estimation. And the more ignorant the man the greater his assumption of equality. America was spared the disasters that subsequently overtook the French nation, through the wise forethought and broader intelligence of its leading statesmen, together with the business knowledge, firmness, and self-poise of its first President. Mrs. Washington had never coveted the exalted position in which she found herself: yet she made no complaint worth mentioning. Her plans were soon formed, and levées were established for Friday evenings on a courtly basis. All visitors entitled to the privilege through official station, social position, or distinguished merit, were to come at their option without formal invitation—always, however, in full dress. The first Congress was justly famed for its men of parliamentary talent and social accomplishment, and all that was illustrious in statesmanship and letters on this side of the Atlantic was centered in the metropolis. The wives and daughters of foreign ministers as well as others hastened to pay their respects to Mrs. Washington. Her first levée was attended by all that was brilliant in official and fashionable circles. At these levées Washington usually stood by her side. He was then fifty-eight, well proportioned, evenly developed, straight as an arrow, standing six feet three inches in his slippers—a wonderful figure—with a long muscular arm, and probably the largest hands of any man in the country. Dinners were given at the President's house with remarkable frequency. Washington himself said grace standing, with his eyes closed. After the dessert a single glass of wine was offered to each of the guests. Mrs. Washington was about the same age as her husband, although she seemed older by reason of the "modish" dress prescribed by inexorable fashion at that period for ladies over fifty. Mrs. Washington, as is well known, never disobeyed the edicts of fashion. She was regarded with interest for her heroism during the Revolution, traveling on horseback through all weathers, and the snows and floods of winter time, to visit headquarters, and brighten the dull routine of camp life in which her husband figured; she was in a variety of ways endeared to the soldiery and to the country. She was apparently well-informed on general topics, but without special culture in any; was observing and critical, but would never express an opinion upon public questions, or permit a political discussion in her presence. She was statuesque and stately, without vivacity or humor; faultless in character, without individuality; condescending and courteous, without conversational powers of any note. She was absolutely colorless as a social leader or a woman of affairs. There are no bright little sidelights strewn along her pathway; we can learn of no clever things she ever said, no witty remarks she ever made, and few letters are extant that she ever wrote. The unkindest thing she ever did for posterity was the burning of all the love-letters and other correspondence addressed to her by her illustrious husband. She knew not what she was doing; those letters, if preserved, would have illustrated one phase in the character of the father of his country of which we are in profound ignorance—although as necessary to a full understanding of his greatness as his generalship on the battle-field.

Mrs. Washington was born in Virginia in 1732, reared in the cavalier atmosphere about the colonial court at Williamsburg, and married at seventeen to Daniel Parke Custis, son of one of the King's counselors. At twenty-four she was a beautiful widow, and in lands and money one of the richest young women in the country. At twenty-five she met Washington, who was not slow in offering her his heart and hand. Their nuptials were celebrated in January, 1759, thirty years prior to the great event which placed her so prominently before the world. In her portrait, by Woolaston, painted soon after her youthful marriage, can be traced much of that serene and reposeful manner which was by many considered her greatest charm—even in old age. The honeymoon of the newly wedded pair was spent at the "White House," the home of the bride, and it was in remembrance of this romantic period in his life that Washington gave the President's house in Washington its permanent name. He was riding past the latter one day while it was in process of erection, and chanced to meet David Burns, at whose quaint old house close by he had met the landholders a few years before, to agree upon the purchase of the site of the capital. Pausing to speak with Mr. Burns, Washington dwelt with much force upon the advantage the new government buildings would be to the property in the neighborhood. Burns dryly replied: "I suppose you think people here are going to take every grist that comes from you as pure grain; but what would you have been if you hadn't married the widow Custis?"

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

[*At the age of twenty-four. From the painting by Woolaston.*]

When it was decided in the councils of the nation at New York to found the city of Washington, and remove the seat of government to Philadelphia for ten years, while public buildings should be erected, there was a great outcry. The newspapers of the metropolis abounded with pungent paragraphs. In one of these a caricature print appeared representing Robert Morris marching off with the Federal Hall upon his shoulders, its windows crowded with members of both Houses encouraging or anathematizing this novel mode of deportation, while the devil from the roof of the Paulus Hook (Jersey City) ferry-house beckoned to him patronizingly, crying, "This way, Bobby." Washington was silently in favor of the bill which brought about the result; but he regretted leaving his New York home. The handsomest house in Philadelphia, that of Robert Morris, was placed at his disposal; but it was very inferior to the McComb mansion. Washington regarded it dubiously, and thought it would hardly accommodate his family without additions. He sent his secretary to Philadelphia, and wrote him, concerning alterations and improvements, adding: "When all is done that can be done, the residence will not be as commodious as that I leave in New York." The stables he thought quite too small, as they were for twelve horses only. There was a room over them which he said might serve the coachman and postilions, and a coach-house that could hold all his carriages. He noticed a smoke-house, which he suggested as "possibly more valuable for the use of servants than the smoking of meats." He gave minute directions in his letters for the placing of porcelain, glass and other articles, naming the precise and particular spot each household god should occupy. His rules for entertaining company were about the same after his removal to Philadelphia as in New York. The great dining-room, from which the chairs were previously removed, was thrown open on Tuesdays at three o'clock, and citizens and strangers properly introduced were always admitted. Mrs. Adams wrote that if New York wanted any revenge for the removal, her citizens need only to come to Philadelphia, where it was not possible for the satellites of government to be half as well accommodated as in the metropolis. In the Robert Morris house Washington resided until he retired from office.

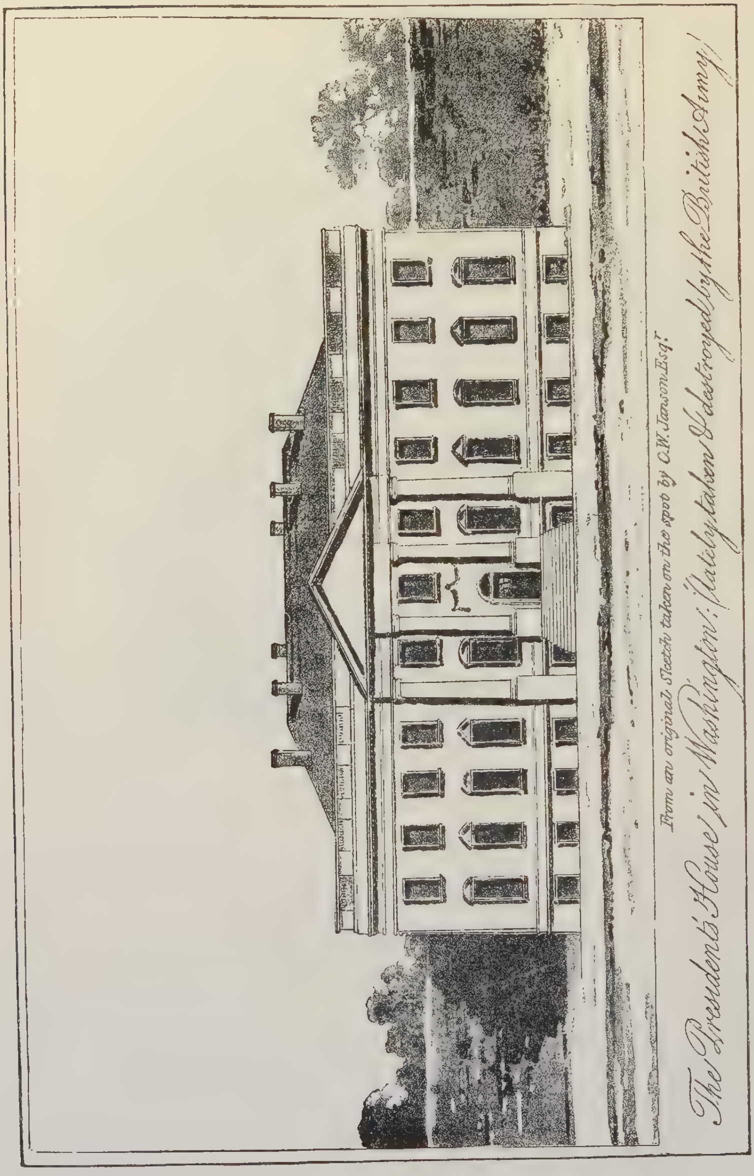
Mrs. John Adams, the wife of the second President of the United States, was conspicuously unlike Mrs. Washington. Born in Massachusetts, the daughter and granddaughter of a clergyman, married in 1764, at the age of twenty, to a progressive young lawyer with his fortune to make, and overtaxed more or less with domestic cares, her early life seems to have been altogether innocent of luxurious ease. But she had the genius to make opportunities for healthful reading, and her mind became a storehouse of information of the utmost value to her as the years rolled on. She was fifty-three when her husband was elected to the highest office in the gift of a nation, and she was well prepared for

MRS. JOHN ADAMS.

[*At the age of twenty-one. From a painting by Blythe.*]

the place she must necessarily occupy. Prior to this for eight years, as wife of the Vice-President, she had been one of the leading ladies in the social life of that period; and she had also spent several years in Europe while her husband was minister from the United States, and was acquainted with the usages of courts. She was an intellectual woman, of quick perceptions, of rare tact and animation in conversation, a vigorous thinker, and one of the most charming letter writers of her generation. Her husband, in one of his letters, calls her his "talkative wife," but adds that she is "too studious and addicted to scribbling" to talk to him much. Her portrait by Blythe, painted when she was twenty-one, is an interesting study. It reveals the fair, pleasing face of a thoughtful and conscientious young woman, of whom it was truthfully said in her maturity, "She was a messenger of blessing to all who came within her influence."

During Mr. Adams's Presidency she had a long and severe illness at


From an original Sketch taken on the spot by C.W. Janson Esqr.
The President's House in Washington; lately taken & destroyed by the British Army.

FROM THE ONLY PICTURE IN EXISTENCE, AS FAR AS KNOWN, OF THE WHITE HOUSE BEFORE IT WAS BURNED BY THE BRITISH.

[*Copied through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

her Massachusetts home; the yellow fever raged in Philadelphia in 1798; and there were deaths in the family and other reasons to prevent her spending much time in the Presidential mansion. A short time prior to his inauguration, Mr. Adams wrote to her from Philadelphia:

"The prospect that opens upon me presents troubles enough of every kind. I have made some inquiry concerning horses and carriages, and find that a common chariot of the plainest sort cannot be had under $1200, and if you go to a little more ornament and elegance, you must give $1500. House rent, another indispensable article, will be extravagantly high. Nothing has a price. Everyone asks, and everyone cheats as much as he can, I think. I wish I knew how much would be asked for a chariot in Boston." A few days later, January 14, 1797, Mr. Adams wrote further: "I have bespoken a chariot, and am treating for horses. Mr. Madison is to retire. It seems the mode of becoming great is to retire. Madison, I suppose, after a retirement of a few years, is to be President or Vice-President. Mr. Cabot, I suppose, after aggrandizing his character in the shade a few years, is to be some great thing, too; and Mr. Ames, etc. It is marvelous how political plants grow in the shade. Continual daylight and sunshine show our faults and record them. Our persons, voices, clothes, gait, air, sentiments, etc., all become familiar to every eye and ear and understanding, and they diminish in proportion, upon the same principle that no man is a hero to his wife or valet de chambre. These gentlemen are in the right to run away and hide. Tell Mr. Cabot so if you see him. His countrymen will soon believe him to be a giant in a cave, and will go in a body and dig him out."

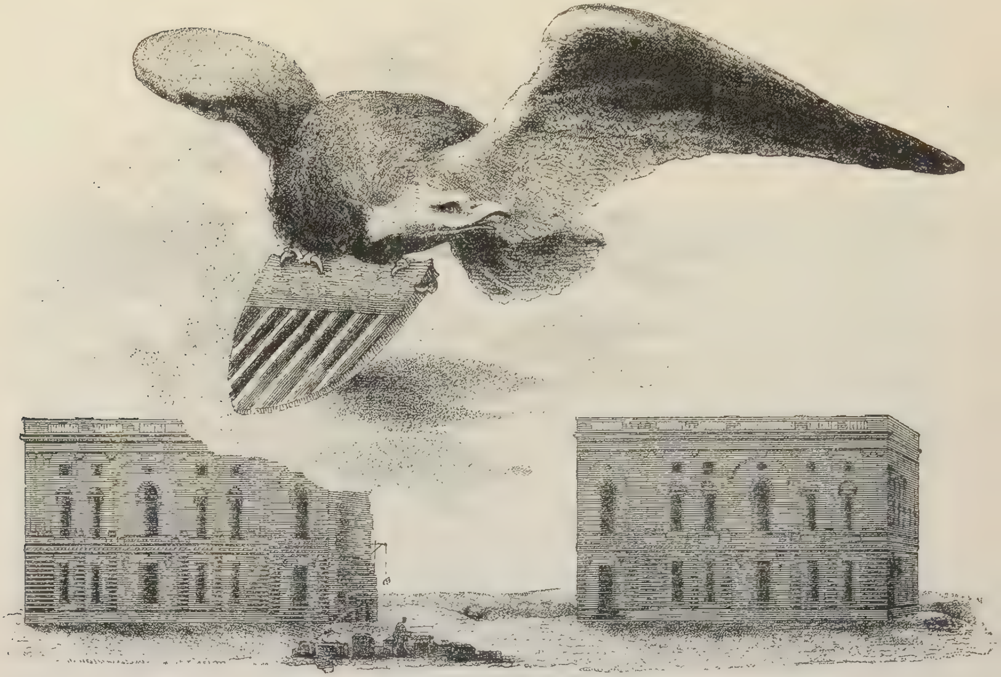
On March 5, the day after his inauguration, Mr. Adams wrote to his wife that it was settled he should go into Washington's house to reside as soon as it was vacated. March 11 he wrote that the family (Washington's) had gone, but "it was great work to arrange and clean the house," and that he could not get into it before the middle of the next week. March 13 he wrote: "It proves a tedious business to clear the President's house for me. I am now told it will not be ready this week." March 17 he wrote: "I hope to get into the house on Monday next, but shall purchase no nice furniture till you come. I shall make a little establishment for myself, and keep bachelor's hall for some time. It would have given me great pleasure to have had some of my family present at my inauguration, which was the most affecting and overpowering scene I ever acted in. Now the world is as silent as the grave. All the Federalists seem to be afraid to approve anybody but Washington. The Jacobin papers damn with faint praise, and undermine with misrepresentation. If the Federalists go to playing pranks I will resign the office, and let Jefferson lead them to peace, wealth, and power if he will." It does not seem that Mr. Adams drew the picture of his presidential life in colors that could have been wildly enticing to his invalid wife. December 13, 1798, he wrote: "I pray you to banish as much as possible all gloomy thoughts, and be very cautious to avoid everything which may endanger a return of your old disorders. To reconcile you to your fate, I have a great mind to give you a detail of mine. A peck of troubles in a large bundle of papers, often in a handwriting almost illegible, comes every day from the office of ——. Thousands of sea letters, Mediterranean passes, and commissions and patents to sign; no company, no society—idle, unmeaning ceremony, follies, extravagance, shiftlessness, and health sinking, for what I know, under my troubles and fatigues. You and I seem to have arrived prematurely at the age when there is no pleasure." Mrs. Adams recovered her health, however, and was the first President's wife to make the White House in Washington her home. The removal from Philadelphia was in the autumn of 1800, and the journey was made in a carriage over shockingly bad roads about the middle of November.

The scenes of a man's life are as requisite to an adequate view of his character as the frame of a picture, and the proper distance and light whereby to examine it. The reader, to understand the situation in that remarkable decade prior to the beginning of this century, must bear constantly in mind that it was long before the advent of railway and steam travel, when everything was new—when even political society, with its unparalleled excitements, was in the crude process of formation. Old animosities, generated in 1788, had burst from their smothered confinement into flames. The amount of personal insult and abuse and of eloquent vituperation which the members of opposing parties heaped upon each other during the last years of Mr. Adams's administration is not easily explained in ordinary language. Jefferson wrote: "Men who have been intimate all their lives cross the street to avoid meeting." It was the era of bad feeling, and no one came out of the storm quite unscathed. The spirit of the times is illustrated by a ludicrous incident. At a public meeting of politicians, a respectable Jeffersonian, who was a tailor by trade, came before the audience, announcing his intention of making "a bit of a speech." Thereupon a famous Federal orator sprang to his feet exclaiming: "The speaker is a tailor, and a tailor, as we know, is but the ninth part of a man. Now, if the ninth part of a man makes 'a bit of a speech,' I put it to you all, gentlemen, to say, how much of a speech will that be, from the ninth part of a man?"

Mrs. Adams and her attendants lost their way in the woods between Baltimore and Washington, and wandered for eight or more miles before they could find the track or a guide. They finally encountered a negro, who pointed out the road. We can imagine the fatigue of the travelers when the city of Washington was finally reached—"only a city in name," wrote Mrs. Adams. "Here and there is a small cot without a glass window interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing any human being." Secretary Wolcott wrote: "You may look in almost any direction, over an extent of ground nearly as large as the city of New York, without seeing a fence or any object except brick-kilns and temporary huts for laborers. Several houses are built and erecting, but I do not perceive how the members of Congress can possibly secure lodgings unless they will consent to live like scholars in a college, or monks in a monastery, crowded ten to twenty in one house, and utterly secluded from society. There appears to be a confident expectation that this place will soon exceed any city in the world. No stranger can be here to-day and converse with the proprietors without conceiving himself in the company of crazy people." Our personal sympathies are with Mrs. Adams,

THE GREAT HISTORIC EAST ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE AT WASHINGTON.

[*Engraved from a photograph made in* 1886.]


The Capitol at Washington.

FROM AN AUTHENTIC DRAWING OF THE TWO WINGS OF THE BUILDING IN 1808.

[*Copied through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

who found the White House in so unfinished a condition that she was puzzled to know how to render it habitable. Her first cry was for *wood.* The weather was cheerless and chilly, and fires imperative. "Surrounded by forests, can you believe that *wood* is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it!" she wrote to her daughter. "The house is upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in proper order; an establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary," she added, with caustic irony. "To assist us in the great castle, and render less attendance necessary, bells are wholly wanting. We have not the least fence, yard, or other convenience without, and the great unfinished audience room (east room) I make a drying-room to hang up clothes in."

With all these drawbacks, Mrs. Adams contrived to make the White House tolerably comfortable, although she had a cold time infusing into it the sunshine and warmth of every-day life—which makes us shiver even now to talk about. The principal stairs were not up, yet she converted the oval room, on second floor—now the library—into a drawing-room, and was surprised at the number of visitors who called, considering that she lived in *the wilderness*. She fixed a day, and maintained the same forms and ceremonies in receiving as did Mrs. Washington. On January 1, 1801, the first New Year's reception was held in the White House by President and Mrs. Adams.

I hold at this moment in my hand a very remarkable antiquarian volume entitled, *Look Before You Leap*, published in London by the British Government about the time of the Jay treaty, for the avowed purpose of discouraging emigration to this country. It is a rare copy, probably the only one in the United States, and its contents are so quaintly picturesque, particularly its description of the new city of Washington, that a few passages are quoted for the reader's entertainment. The work, so says the title-page, is "seriously addressed to artizans, farmers, husbandmen, and others, who are desirous of emigrating to America, in which is pointed out the probability of their success in their several professions on that continent, with the various artificcs and deceptions practiced by American crimps and cajolers, to induce the credulous and unwary to transport themselves to that quarter of the world." It purports to be the third edition of the volume, and is advertised to be sold *at the very reduccd price of two shillings.* "By this means it will be in the reach of all persons interested in emigration, who ought to avail themselves of the important particulars so necessary to be known by every prudent person, who is not accustomed to *jump in the dark*, *or rashly venture on quick sands*." In the preface occurs the following:

> "There is a species of American agents, who are a kind of jackalls, employed in providing prey for such ravenous animals as the character which I have already described. I mean the persons who are continually publishing the most delusive and flattering accounts of this land of promise. These invaders of domestic happiness, and improvers of popular discontent, profusely inform the miserable inhabitants of this unhappy island (Great Britain), of the hardship under which they are groaning. They then in flowing declamations point out the superior advantages enjoyed by all classes in America, with such glowing colors, and intoxicating language, that it seldom fails to have the desired effect. Examine the descriptions given by Franklin, Morse, Jefferson, Brissot, Winterbotham. Some of these gentry have manifested considerable ingenuity in painting a most bewitching picture of the situation, climate, and advantages of the Federal city of Washington. The colouring of which is so high, that it seems to be marked out as the emporium of encouragement for artizans of every description. How strictly such a description accords with the truth, the reader is left to judge after consulting the annexed letters, which were composed on the identical spot, so glowingly exposed by the American emissaries to the serious attention of persons inclined to emigrate"

One of the letters referred to is from a young man to his parents in England, dated Washington, July 4, 1795. He says:

"The city of Washington, which is to be the seat of the American Legislature in the year 1800, at present does not contain over *forty brick houses*, and these are not half finished; the remainder are *wooden huts*, and the worst I ever beheld. The five streets so pompously lain out in the map which we examined in London, are *avenues cut through the woods*, with not a solitary house standing in either of them. At George Town, which is about a mile from this city, the buildings are at a stand for want of money, which is *a very prevalent evil* in this part among the builders, but where I am at work I am told the cash is sure. The FEDERAL CITY, as it is called, is situated on an eminence, overlooking the Potomac River, and also surrounding hills and vales, but is by no means so pleasant, fertile, or healthy as represented. The hills are barren of everything but impenetrable woods, and the valleys are mere swamps, producing nothing except myriads of toads and frogs (of an enormous size) with nauseous reptiles. The ague and fever are dreadful scourges to new comers; even the natives, and those who have passed what is called the *seasoning*, frequently fall victims to their ravages. The extreme variability of weather, together with the stagnant waters in the swamps, and the uncleared lands are deemed the chief causes of the ague and fever. This place is a mere whim of the PRESIDENT of the United States, and lies contiguous to his own estate. I think he has manifested a great portion of vanity in the ardent desire he has expressed in wishing to perpetuate his name by building a metropolis under so many disadvantages, both in respect of climate and situation. During his life it may, out of compliment to him, be carried on in a slow manner, but I am apprehensive (and that not without reason) that as soon as he is *defunct*, the city which is to be the boasted monument of his greatness will also be *defunct*. Excepting the capitol and President's house, all the other buildings are begun by a parcel of adventurers and speculators, who, after having experienced the *effects of their own folly*, generally retire into some other State, disappointed in their expectations.

Another letter, from John Bogue, is dated, Alexandria, September 15, 1795.

"Washington has more the appearance of a *desert than a city!* There are not more than *forty good houses* in the whole place, and those not finished. They inform me the reason why it is at such a stand, is on account of some of the managers (Major L' Enfant) having been so roguish as to embezzle the money entrusted by the States to their charge. I have visited it several times, and must confess, if the capitol and President's house are ever completed, they will be two very fine edifices. The capitol will stand upon more ground than Somerset House. But what will these solitary buildings signify, if the others do not go on with greater spirit? For it can hardly be conceived that the President and Congress will ever exercise their legislative functions in an uncultivated place, surrounded by an uncleared wilderness."

These examples will show the general character of all. Kentucky is described as the Canaan of "all the abandoned, the credulous, the unsettled, the wretched," and said to be nine hundred miles from the seashore, "through a continued wilderness intersected by rivers, and inhabited by savages, always upon the watch for traveling parties, whom they never fail to attack, and cut off those whom they can overpower." America is stigmatized as the "grave of thousands of Europeans;" and one of the writers (from Alexandria) says, "The rascally historians of *this country*, by their ignorant or wilful misrepresentations, are in a great measure *guilty of murder*." There is significance in the fact, that England should have thought it proper to collect such material, and circulate it broadcast for the purpose declared. The beginnings of a great city, such as Washington has become within the century, could hardly have been better told had the motive been more honorable and just. It is precisely what interests us in this age of progress, to read of the experiences, and learn the steps, by which greatness has been achieved. The accounts of these homesick Englishmen differ very little from our own authentic records. In 1800 John

THE RED ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE AT WASHINGTON.

[*Engraved from a photograph made in* 1886.]

Cotton Smith wrote, "One wing only of the capitol has been erected, which, with the President's house, a mile from it, are striking objects in dismal contrast with the scenes around them. Instead of recognizing the avenues and streets portrayed on the plan of the city, not one was visible unless we except a road, with the buildings on each side of it, called the New Jersey Avenue. The Pennsylvania (avenue) leading, as laid down on paper, from the capitol to the Presidential mansion, is nearly the whole distance a deep morass, covered with alder bushes. The roads in every direction are muddy and unimproved. There are but few houses at any one place, and most of them small, miserable huts, which present an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people are poor, and as far as I can judge, they live, like fishes, by eating each other."

With the advent, however, of the President and Congress, there was a forward movement in improvements. Houses went up in a hurried manner, and an effort was made to accommodate the new comers as comfortably as circumstances would permit. Mrs. Adams resided only one winter in the White House; Jefferson took possession in March, 1801, with Aaron Burr as Vice-President, and James Madison Secretary of State. The wife of Mr. Jefferson had been dead some nineteen years, and his daughters, Mrs. Randolph and Mrs. Eppes, were only with him on two different occasions as visitors. Mrs. Madison presided whenever there was occasion through the presence of ladies among the guests of the President. The winter after Mr. Jefferson's second inauguration, 1805–1806, Mrs. Randolph spent some two months at the White House with her children. Her oldest daughter was then fifteen years of age. Jefferson abolished levées, lest the custom introduced by Washington lead to the ceremonials of a court. The Federalists declared it was because the new capital was nothing but a little village in the woods. He also abolished the kingly custom of speeches and answers at the opening of Congress, substituting a written message to be read by the clerk. The Federalists maliciously suggested it was on account of his tall, ungainly figure, and total destitution of gifts as a public speaker. Jefferson gave up many of the forms, while he clung with instinctive tenacity to the substance of power. Before the eight years of his Presidency drew to a close, a material advance in population and improvements was observable in Washington, and all Europe was in arms. Napoleon was nearing the pinnacle of his greatness, and every human interest was subordinate to his gigantic wars. The Embargo was Jefferson's distinguishing policy, through which the trade of the whole world was brought to a standstill, and which did not work well. One half the nation lauded him as a political saint, and the other half charged him with intolerable tyranny. He retired from public life with war threatening, both at home and from abroad.

Mrs. Madison's unpretentious house during these eight years had been the radiating point for whatever there was of society in the little capital. Happy and handsome, tolerant and sincere, she made friends with all parties, harmonized all differences of opinion in her presence, and won cordial admiration from every source. She was a noble, genuine woman, and her wealth enabled her to perform acts of generosity which were boundless in their results for good. Jefferson was very proud of her, about which hovers a bewitching romance, he having loved and courted her mother—who chose, however, to marry John Payne. As the wife of the President, Mrs.

MRS. JAMES MADISON.

Madison immediately revived the levées established by Mrs. Washington, which have been continued to the present time. She was thirty-seven when she entered the White House as its mistress, ambitious to make her husband's administration brilliant and successful. She delighted in company, and her hospitalities were on the most generous scale. She had a pleasant party of friends always about her. Mr. Madison often said that when worn and weary with his harrassing cares, a visit to his wife in her sitting-room, where he was sure of a bright story and a good laugh, was as refreshing as a long walk. Mrs. Madison was approached as "the queen," and the President's house was called "the palace." Dress was a matter of serious moment. On New Year's day, 1813, Mrs. Madison received in a robe of pink satin, trimmed elaborately with ermine, gold chains and clasps about her waist and wrists, and upon her head a white satin and velvet turban, with a crescent in front, and crowned with nodding ostrich plumes. The guests came in great numbers, until President Madison, who was low of stature, was pushed and jostled and nearly lost in the crowd; but Mrs. Madison was at all times visible to the throng through her towering feathers.

The White House had never been finished, the east room was unfurnished and unoccupied, and the structure was totally destitute of ornament, without even any front vestibule. The grounds were uninclosed, and building materials scattered carelessly about. The most thrilling memoirs connected with the place are in connection with its destruction by fire in 1814. The story has been often told.* Rome, in the worst days of Europe, never experienced any such fate as our national capital. With the unfinished capitol building was destroyed the valuable private library of Congress; the walls of the edifice stood firm, and were used in rebuilding. The shell of the President's house was likewise left, like a monument of the middle ages, to mark the track of the barbarian. Mrs. Madison packed as many cabinet papers into trunks as would fill one carriage, and saved some silver plate. She also secured the large portrait of Washington by Stuart, and when the process of unscrewing it from the wall was found too slow, she ordered the frame to be broken and the canvas rolled. The President rented a house called the Octagon, owned by Colonel Taloe, and resided there the following winter. In February, 1816, the levée held by the President and Mrs. Madison is said to have been one of the most brilliant ever remembered in Washington. The Peace Commissioners to Ghent and the military heroes of the late war were present, the latter in full uniform; and the Justices of the Supreme Court appeared in their robes. Both houses of Congress, leaders of all parties, citizens and strangers, thronged the apartments. The diplomatic corps were in magnificent costumes, of whom was Sir Charles Bagot, special ambassador from our late enemy, Great Britain. At this time Mrs. Madison was forty-four, and is represented with much rouge on her cheeks, and always appearing in a turban.

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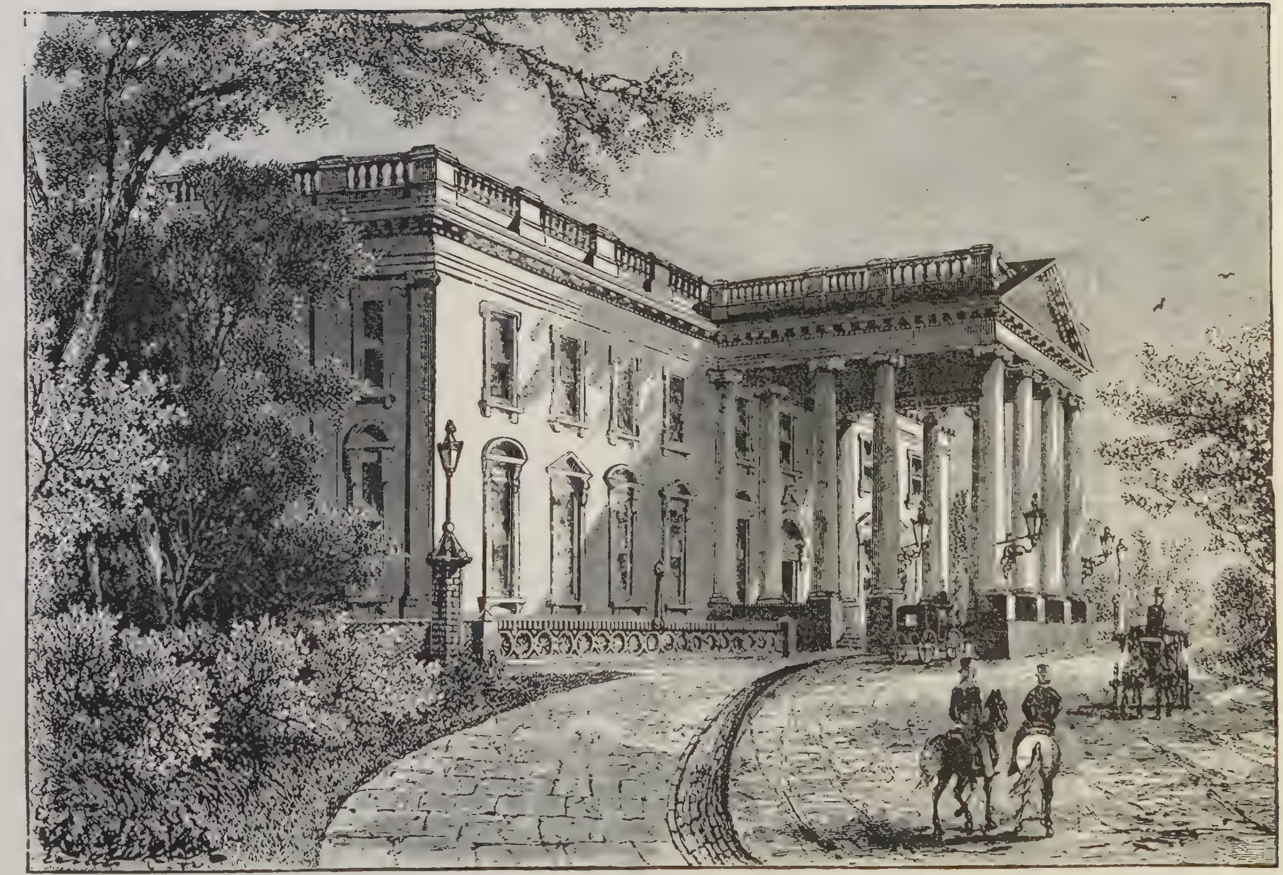
* See Magazine of American History, XIV. 438; XV. 85.

A small work descriptive of the District of Columbia was published in Paris in 1816, which furnishes some curious items. It says: "In digging wells in the city of Washington, trees, in a sound state, have been discovered at different depths from six to forty-eight feet, near the *New Jersey* Avenue, and also at the place called the Twenty Buildings." It further says that "nearly half the population of Washington is of Irish origin. In one of the streets of Washington we observed a sign-board with the following inscription: 'Peter Rodgers, sadler, from the green fields of Erin and tyranny to the green streets of Washington and liberty.' The President's house resembles Leinster House in Dublin, and is much admired. Even the poet Moor styles it as a 'grand edifice,' a 'noble structure.' The view from the windows fronting the river is extremely beautiful."

In 1817, James Monroe became President, and his administration, like that of each of his predecessors, extended eight years. Mrs. Monroe was a beautiful woman, whom Monroe met, courted, and married during the gay winter following Washington's first inauguration. She was Eliza, daughter of Lawrence Kortwright, of New York, one of the belles of the metropolis, who was ridiculed for having rejected so many dashing adorers and chosen a plain member of Congress. Nearly ten years of her life had been spent at European capitals while accompanying her husband on his various missions to foreign courts, and her daughters were educated in France. Eliza, the eldest daughter, who married Judge Hay, was in the same class and on terms of intimacy with Hortense Beauharnais, afterwards Queen of Holland, and their teacher was the celebrated Madame Campan. Mrs. Monroe was extremely exacting in the matter of appropriate dress to be worn at her receptions in the White House. On one occasion admission was refused to a near relative who was not prepared with a suit of small-clothes and silk hose. Mrs. Monroe first carried into execution the custom of not returning calls. The growth of Washington had made it necessary to draw some line, and the question of propriety as to indiscriminate visiting on the part of the wife of the President was hotly debated. A social revolution was imminent. The contest grew serious, involving diplomatic and State correspondence. Mrs. Monroe remained firm. The difficulty was finally adjusted by John Quincy Adams, who drew up the



THE WHITE HOUSE AT WASHINGTON. OFFICIAL HOME OF OUR PRESIDENTS.

formula to regulate the etiquette of the social superstructure at the capital. Mrs. Monroe's youngest daughter, Maria, became the wife of her cousin, the New York postmaster, Samuel L. Gouverneur, the wedding ceremony being performed at the White House. President Gilman, in his *Life of James Monroe*, inserts a description of the last levee at the White House in which the President and Mrs. Monroe figured, written by Mrs. Tuley, of Virginia. She says: "My impressions of Mr. Monroe are very pleasing. He is tall and well formed; his dress plain, and in the old style—small-clothes, silk hose, knee-buckles, and pumps fastened with buckles. We passed on, and were presented to Mrs. Monroe and her daughters, Mrs. Hay and Mrs. Gouverneur, who stood by their mother and assisted her in receiving. Mrs. Monroe's manner is very gracious, and she is a regal-looking lady. Her dress was superb black velvet, neck and arms bare and beautifully formed; her hair in puffs, and dressed high on the head, and ornamented with white ostrich plumes; around her neck an elegant pearl necklace. Though no longer young, she is still a very handsome woman. Mrs. Hay is very handsome also—tall and graceful, and, I hear, very accomplished. Her dress was crimson velvet, gold cord and tassel round the waist, white plumes in the hair, handsome jewelry, bare neck and arms. Mrs. Gouverneur is also very handsome; dress, rich white satin, trimmed with a great deal of blonde lace, embroidered with silver thread, bare neck and arms, pearl jewelry, and white plumes in the hair. By the by, plumes in the hair seem to be the most fashionable style of head-dress for married ladies. All the lower rooms were opened, and they were warmed by great fires of hickory wood, and with the handsome brass andirons and fenders, quite reminded me of our grand old wood-fires in Virginia. Wine was handed about in wine-glasses, on large silver salvers, by colored waiters, dressed in dark livery."

The White House had been partially rebuilt when Mr. Monroe took up his abode in it, but it was some time before it was furnished with the comforts and elegancies desired. Mr. Monroe's silver plate was his own property, and bore his initials. It was purchased of him by the Government, and used in the White House until Van Buren's time. During his administration, his Secretary of State was John Quincy Adams, perhaps the most distinguished American then actively engaged in public life. Besides inheriting strong intellectual qualities, Mr. Adams had been a participant in the diplomatic questions evolved by the wars, and his varied experiences and vast information at this juncture can never be overestimated. In 1825 he became President, succeeding Monroe. His wife was the daughter of a Maryland gentleman residing in London, and she was born, educated, and married in London. She was small-sized, fine-looking, graceful; and her cleverness, versatility, and vivacity rendered her one of the most agreeable women of her time. As a bride, she went to Berlin with her husband, remaining at that court four years. She afterwards accompanied Mr. Adams when he went on his mission to St. Petersburg, and was there six years—during that troublous period when Europe was literally a battle-field, while Napoleon was struggling and failing to reach the gates of the imperial capital. Called by President Monroe to the chair of state, Mr. Adams and his family returned from Europe and went to reside in Washington. Mrs. Adams was gifted in the art of pleasing, and quickly drew about her all that was elegant, refined, and scholarly in fashionable society, and for eight years was of great assistance to Mrs. Monroe. One of her first and most agreeable social duties in the "Palace of the Presidents," was the entertainment of Lafayette, the nation's guest, for one week. During his visit, and it might be added, during the entire administration of the learned Adams, the varied groupings of great men in the White House were, if possible, more effective than at any other epoch in its history. The Vice-President was the intrepid John C. Calhoun; the Secretary of State was Henry Clay—buoyant and imperious, a singular contrast in personal appearance to the President. Mr. Adams, courtly and cold, was of medium stature, slightly stout, with every indication of robust health, complexion fair, eyes bright and pleasing, and intellectual features round and full. Mr. Clay was ardent and impulsive; in person tall, erect, and commanding, head small but shapely and well poised, countenance clear, expressive and variable, and blue eyes, almost fiery under excitement. He was then in the zenith of his popularity, and the target for all the merciless shafts of the defeated party in the late election.

General Jackson, who was already deeply concerned in the spirited contest for the next Presidency, even before Adams had met his first Congress or made his future policy known, was as genial and gracious in Mrs. Adams' "drawing-rooms" as if peace reigned among the politicians. But he never forgave Clay for supporting Mr. Adams. Daniel Webster and De Witt Clinton were often at those gatherings, the great, the good, and the wise from other lands mingled in the scenes, and the genius, worth, and learning of all the States in the Union were represented at the "court of the younger Adams." The State dinners at that period were marvels of elegance; and every second *levée*, by some mysterious caprice, was considered exclusively fashionable. It was said in after years that "society in Washington gave tone to the whole country during Mrs. Adams' enchanting and intellectual régime."

Jackson came into the White House in 1829 like a whirlwind. He was then sixty-two years of age, a little over six feet high, with a long, thin face and obstinate white hair brushed stiffly into a standing position above his forehead. He was best known to the public as a successful general. He had none of the advantages of his predecessors in having been thoroughly drilled in statesmanship before taking the Presidential chair—he knew nothing about the practical machinery of the government department. But he was straightforward, capable of learning, and irresistible as a political ruler. The White House was a stirring place during his administration; quarrels in high places and quarrels in all places were perpetual. The de-

MRS. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

[*From the painting by Leslie.*]

tails of his Presidential life, if fully written out, would present one of the most extraordinary pictures ever painted upon those historic walls. His intense personality and dashing boldness attracted the masses like a magnet. Mrs. Jackson died in the interim between his election and his inauguration, and Mrs. Donelson, the young wife of his nephew and private secretary, Major Donelson, presided over the President's house. She was very materially assisted and guided by Mrs. Edward Livingston, whose husband was appointed Secretary of State in 1831, a gifted woman who had been on terms of the warmest friendship with Mrs. Adams. President Jackson, toward the last of his administration, abolished supper tables at the "drawing-rooms," which had hitherto been a special feature of such entertainments. The growing population, and the vast crowds attending them, rendered the custom of offering refreshments insupportable—and it has never since been resumed. It is said that on the occasion of one levée, "Sir Charles Vaughan rolled up to the palace in his carriage, in full court dress, to pay his respects to the President; but he saw such a crowd of all sorts and descriptions pushing into the Executive mansion, that he cried out roughly to his coachman to drive home, 'this is too democratic for me!'"

The wife of Martin Van Buren died seventeen years before his election to the Presidency, in 1837. He had been Secretary of State for two years, and Vice-President during the last four of Jackson's administration. It was predicted that his accession to the Presidential office would restore the high tone of bygone years to society, for he was a gentleman in every sense, cultivated in his tastes, and polished in his manners. He never inspired enthusiasm like Clay, and was no enchanted prince for the people to carry on their shoulders like Jackson, but he was always a studious and conscientious public servant, self-possessed, cheerful, and polite. He was accused by many of his own party of dressing too well, living too well, being too aristocratic in the choice of his associates, in short, "no democrat." The social world saw signs of promise in all this, and built air castles thereon. Reports were circulated that the White House was to be inspired by the genius of distinguished New York ladies. It was a mistake, however. The President did not open his drawing-rooms often, and complaints multiplied. The second winter his son Abram, who was his private secretary, brought his beautiful South Carolina bride (a cousin of Mrs. Madison) to the Executive Mansion. But even then there was not as much gayety as in former administrations. The President gave a dinner every Saturday, inviting the members of both Houses of Congress in rotation. At one of these, when Henry Clay was present, a servant whispered in Mr. Van Buren's ear that the house was on fire; he thereupon rose very coolly, apologizing in a low voice to the gentleman sitting nearest him, and left the room. He found the whole kitchen department in flames, but a few pails of water quenched them, and the trouble ended. He returned to the dinner table and humorously described the scene in the basement. Mr. Clay turned to him and said with a smile: "Mr. President, I am doing all I can to get you out of this house; but, believe me, I do not want to burn you out."

MRS. JOHN TYLER.

[*The President's Bride in* 1844.]

Mrs. Madison and Mrs. John Quincy Adams were living in Washington at that time, and both received on the same day; thus, persons who went to the White House to call on a President had often the novel pleasure of visiting an ex-President and the widow of an ex-President before returning home. Mrs. William Henry Harrison was never in the White House, her delicate health preventing her crossing the country with her husband on his way to Washington in February (1841), and his death following so swiftly after his inauguration. The tenth President, John Tyler, buried his first wife from the White House in 1842. There seemed to be an era when sad memories were the rule, not the exception. On the 28th of February, 1844, President Tyler invited a pleasure party to accompany him down the Potomac on the sloop-of-war *Princeton*. Five hundred guests were on board. In passing Mount Vernon Captain Stockton fired a salute, and the great gun burst, killing instantly the Secretary of State, A. P. Upshur, the Secretary of the Navy, Governor Gilmer, Commodore Kennon of the Navy, Virgil Maxcy, David Gardiner of New York city, and one other gentleman. Several persons were injured. The President and all the ladies escaped. Judge Wilkins, the Secretary of War, was "saved by a witticism." He was standing beside Governor Gilmer, and seeing the gun about to be fired laughingly said: "I don't like this; I believe I shall run," and suiting the action to the word, left that part of the vessel. Miss Julia Gardiner was one of the guests on the occasion, and was overwhelmed at the death of her father. The catastrophe plunged our national capital into the deepest mourning. The six victims were buried from the great historic East Room of the White House. President Tyler in subsequently trying to comfort the bereaved daughter, fell in love with her, and a romantic wedding followed. "The Bride of the White House," as she was called, was very beautiful and accomplished. Descended from the early lords of Gardiner's Island, belonging to one of the best New York families, bred in luxury and carefully educated, and having been abroad with her parents, been presented at the French court, and seen much of the world for one so young, she was admirably fitted for her important and onerous duties. "All who knew her," it is said, "remember the charm of her conversation, her wit, her piquancy, and her radiant countenance, bewitchingly grave and gay, old and young." The President came quietly to New York to be married. The ceremony was performed in the Church of the Ascension, and the wedding breakfast was served at the home of the lady's family in Lafayette Place. The New York public knew nothing of what was going on, nor even that the President was in the city, until enlightened by the guns of the forts and the shipping as he departed—and by the newspapers on the following morning. Mrs. Tyler's receptions at the White House were notable in many respects, and left very agreeable impressions. Mrs. Madison was always present, and she was also a constant guest at the State dinners.

The administration of James K. Polk, beginning in 1845, was one of great importance in our national history; it covered the settlement of the Oregon boundary question, the creation of the department of the interior, the admission of Wisconsin as a State, the annexation of Texas, and the consequent war with Mexico. Mr. Polk had been in Congress fourteen years, residing in Washington, and was one of the most conspicuous adversaries of the policy of John Quincy Adams. As President, he drew about him a distinguished class of men and women. James Buchanan was his Secretary of State, George Bancroft, the eminent historian, Secretary of the Navy, Governor William L. Marcy, Secretary of War, and Cave Johnson, Postmaster-General. Mrs. Polk was a lady of forty-two, well-informed, dignified and pleasing. By many she was considered very handsome, with her dark bright eyes, black hair, and Southern complexion. Her entertainments were popular and largely attended, although by some pronounced too severely formal and correct to be otherwise than oppressive.

But the annexation of Texas, and the Mexican war gave to the country in a great Whig victory its next President, General Zachary Taylor, whose administration was memorable as the period when the strife between the free and slave states reached a crisis that seriously threatened the Union —a crisis avoided by a compromise. The walls of the old White House seem to ring yet with the bitter violence of those debates. The questions coming before the President immediately after his inauguration, in 1849, were of the most weighty character. They touched the organization of the large territories, so recently acquired by conquest and treaty, the admission of California, and the settlement of the boundary line between Texas and New Mexico. The hospitalities of the White House were much curtailed during the short time that it was Taylor's home, and his sudden death in July, 1850, elevated the Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, to the Presidency—who, calm and dignified, had been presiding over the Senate with an urbanity never surpassed. The age was progressive, and as Chief Magistrate of the nation, Fillmore lent his aid to various exploring expeditions—to the Chinese seas and Japan, to the Valley of the Amazon, the rivers of Africa, etc. He was visited by Louis Kossuth, and other foreign notables, and gave numerous dinners. Mrs. Fillmore was in delicate health, but joined her husband soon after the season of mourning for President Taylor was past, and presided over the customary entertainments with satisfaction to all, whenever her physical strength permitted.

MRS. JAMES K. POLK.

Franklin Pierce was the youngest man, at the time of his inauguration in 1853, who had ever occupied the Presidential chair, being only forty-nine. He had been in the House four years, a United States Senator five years, and twice declined positions in the Cabinet of Mr. Polk. His Secretary of

State was Governor Marcy, the Secretary of War Jefferson Davis. Prominent among the exciting events of his Presidential life was the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and the beginning of the troubles in Kansas. A shocking railroad accident occurred on the Boston and Maine Railroad prior to the inauguration, in which the President-elect, Mrs. Pierce, and their only son, were in a car that plunged over an embankment. The General and Mrs. Pierce were severely though not dangerously injured, and the dear boy was killed. This domestic affliction coming in the hour of his triumph was crushing. Mrs. Pierce did not recover from it for years. As a matter of official duty she presided at the White House receptions unless too ill, and sweetly struggled to conceal her grief. The political tempest raging in 1856, instigated conferences at the White House of the most extraordinary character. The West was the great disturber of the public repose. James Buchanan came into office in 1857, when good men and true were horrified with each other's opinions. There were two ways—and sometimes more—of interpreting every movement or measure. The skies were black and threatening. Peacemakers were industrious but helpless. The most stately and agreeable hospitalities were dispensed by the President's niece, Miss Harriet Lane, who has gone into history as a charming woman with deep violet eyes, golden hair, classic features, and a mouth of peculiar beauty. When in England with her uncle, her first appearance in the "Queen's drawing-room" produced a marked impression, and she received the most flattering attentions from the Queen and other members of the Royal family. The Prince of Wales was entertained at the White House by President Buchanan and Miss Lane, as a private gentleman, as well as in royal state; but political, not social, affairs absorbed the public mind. Probably no President was ever more heartily rejoiced to leave the White House at the end of one term than Buchanan. War was coming like a cyclone. A curious incident has been related to me by a general of the army, who was a prominent politician at the capital, of the same faith as Buchanan. It was during the sessions of the great Peace Convention in Washington that he entered the library at the White House to speak to the President on a matter of moment, and unintentionally witnessed the scene described; Mr. Buchanan was sitting in an arm-chair looking up with an amazed expression of countenance, and General Benjamin F. Butler standing before him was looking down lightning into his eyes, and telling him with a force of language not easy to print, that he *must* "hang the Peace Commissioners."

The memories hovering about the White House during the Civil War are of the most variable character. The public never tires of hearing about

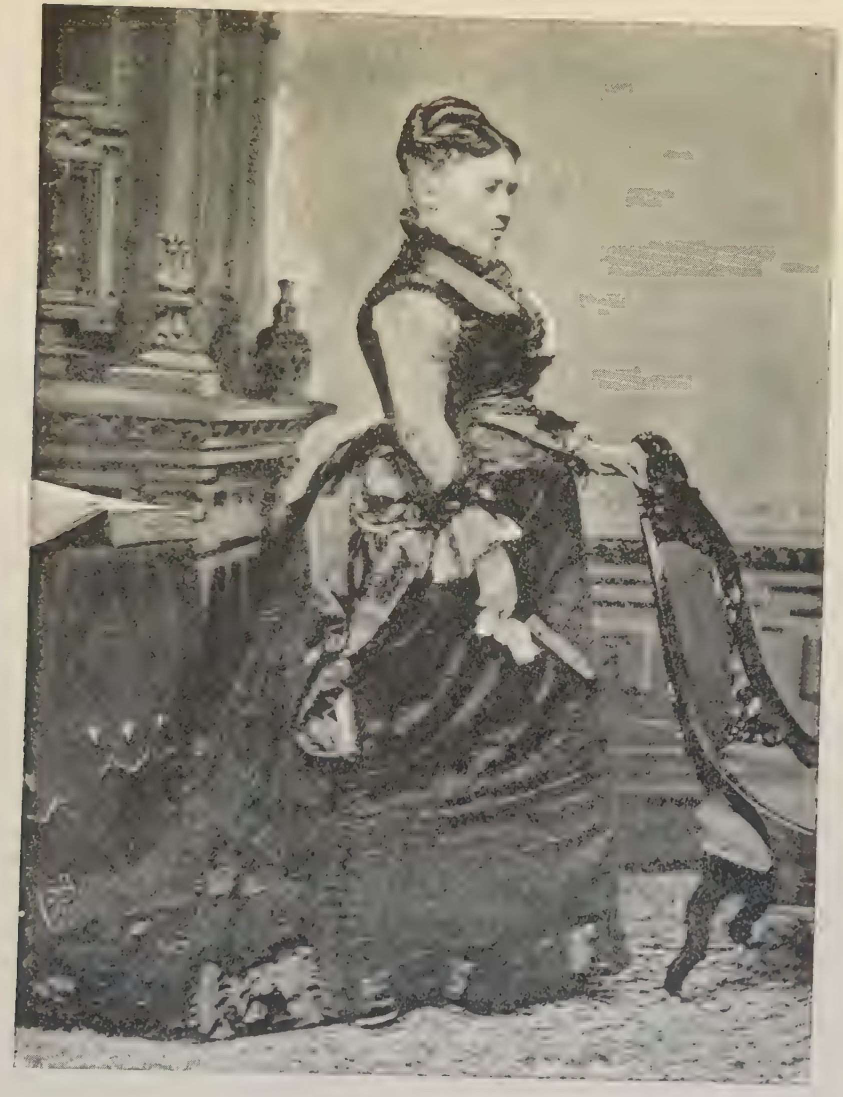
Mr. Lincoln, and strange to say there seems always something new to tell. No conditions had ever before existed nor ever again can arise which would put it in the power of a chief magistrate to issue an Emancipation Proclamation. Nor will America ever forget that the White House was where Lincoln wrote that immortal document. During those troublous years the old edifice seemed full of him. In a certain sense he magnetized it. There was no darkness which his flashes of humor did not illumine; no business too grave for the illustrative story. General Fry relates that on one occasion the governor of a State visited the Secretary of War's office with a storm of complaints and demands; from whence he went direct to the President in a towering rage. Meeting Mr. Lincoln General Fry inquired if he had been obliged to make large concessions to satisfy the irate governor. "Oh, no," he replied, "I did not concede anything. *You* know how that Illinois farmer managed the big log that lay in the middle of the field? To the inquiry of his neighbors one Sunday he announced that he had got rid of the big log. 'Got rid of it!' said they, 'how did you do it? It was too big to haul out, too knotty to split, and too wet and soggy to burn; what did you do?' 'Well, now, boys,' said the farmer, 'if you won't divulge the secret, I'll tell you how I got rid of it—*I ploughed around it.*' Now," said Lincoln, "don't tell anybody, but that is the way I got rid of Governor ———. *I ploughed around him*, but it took me three mortal hours to do it, and I was afraid every minute he would see what I was at."

The tragic death of this brave, earnest, hopeful Christian President, touched the national heart with a sorrow such as it had never known. He had been slain—slain by an assassin, while interposing the hand of his great charity and mercy in the reconstruction of the Union. Minute guns reverberated from mountain to mountain across the continent. The whole country was in tears. Merchants closed their stores as if by one common impulse, and emblems of mourning everywhere appeared. His sacred ashes were borne from the Executive Mansion to his Illinois home and committed to their final resting place. At this critical hour in our country's history Vice-President Andrew Johnson succeeded to the Presidential chair. The complications created by the bloody contest just closed were appalling. No successor to the martyred Lincoln could have found a pathway free from storms. In June, 1865, the family of President Johnson joined him at the White House, which was in a scarred and dismantled condition through having been occupied so much by soldiery during the war. Congress made an appropriation of $30,000 for its renovation and refurnishing, and it became once more habitable. Mrs. Johnson never appeared in society, but her two daughters, Mrs. Patterson and Mrs.

Stover, assisted the President in doing the honors of the Executive Mansion. The unpopularity of Mr. Johnson's administration increased with the years, and prepared the way for the enthusiastic election, in 1869, of the victorious soldier, General Grant.

Long before President Grant took possession of the White House, he was the most conspicuous figure in the public life of the country. He was not a statesman—that is, when he entered the Presidency, he had little, if any, experience in civil administration; but he brought to his aid some of the ablest statesmen of the land, and he soon made himself thoroughly familiar with the problems of statecraft. His Secretary of State was Hamilton Fish, of New York; his Attorney-General, the well-known jurist, E. Rockwood Hoar; the Secretary of the Treasury, George S. Boutwell. In his cabinet meetings, he usually brought before his counselors all questions that had arisen, asking each minister, successively, to express his views, and would then reach his own conclusions, and direct the course he deemed wisest and best to be pursued. His administration was distinguished by a cessation of the strifes engendered by the war, a reduction of the national debt, and a settlement of the difficulties with England growing out of depredations committed by English privateers while the conflict was in progress. Mrs. Grant endeared herself to the country during the eight years that her husband occupied the Presidential chair, through her untiring courtesy and uniform good taste in presiding over the Executive Mansion. Once more a galaxy of brilliant men and lovely women surged through its doors from the Southern—from all the States in the Union; and the oil of healing was gently poured upon the painful wounds produced by the late war. Mrs. Grant passed the ordeal of life in the White House with less of criticism than any of her predecessors, and retired with the good wishes of all who knew her. She was ably assisted in her social duties by the courtly Mrs. Fish, wife of the Secretary of State—who, also, in her own house, through the punctilious observance of every conventionality, contributed largely to the smooth progress of affairs. There were frequently present in Mrs. Fish's drawing-rooms, at her weekly receptions, from six to eight hundred guests; and with such business care was her social record kept, that rarely, if ever, was any one who left a card (with address) omitted in her round of returning visits. At her formal evening receptions, as many as one thousand were usually invited by card; and her queenly dignity and unflagging affability, through all those eight important years, was of far more consequence in the national outlook than might seem to the casual reader of these lines.

A curious incident in connection with the inauguration of Rutherford



MRS. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

[*Engraved from a photograph.*]

B. Hayes, in 1877, is another of the memories of the White House. The 4th of March came on Sunday, and it was said the oath of office must be taken on the Sabbath precisely at noon, or the United States would be without a President for twenty-four hours. The news-seekers rushed on Sunday morning to the White House to find out about it; but all was quiet, and the attendants knew nothing. Then they went in hot haste to Senator Sherman's, without becoming any wiser, and from there on the double-quick to the mansion of Chief Justice Waite, to find he had gone to church as usual with his family. The mystery deepened. All sorts of wild rumors were afloat. Extras startled the quiet church-goers, and the stir in the streets was unprecedented—for the Sabbath. After several unsuccessful attempts to elicit information from the White House, the Chief Justice was again visited in the afternoon, and this time found and catechised. "Has the oath been taken?" was asked. "Not to-day," was the reply. "*When* was it taken?" shrewdly continued the interviewer, who thereby learned that it had been administered at the Executive Mansion on Saturday evening, just before the State dinner; but as it was to be repeated on Monday, in the presence of the people, it had not been esteemed necessary to make the matter public. Thus Washington was denied a sensation.

Shortly after the inauguration, the Grand Duke Alexis, of Russia, was entertained at a State dinner in the White House, Mrs. Hayes presiding in a robe of creamy white silk trimmed with flowers. The receptions of Mrs. Hayes attracted immense throngs—on one occasion it took persons two hours to pass through the doors. She was a popular hostess, a lady of culture, a brunette, with glossy black hair drawn back from her forehead, and dressed in a Grecian coil. At the informal gatherings, nearly every evening, in the library of the White House, she entertained in an easy, courteous, cordial manner, moving about among her guests scattering pleasant words, which had the effect to make everyone pleased with themselves. The great lawyer, William M. Evarts, was Secretary of State under President Hayes, and Mrs. Evarts, assisted by four young lady daughters, glided gracefully into the niche vacated by Mrs. Fish.

The White House contains twenty rooms, including offices, parlors, reception rooms, library, and state and family dining-rooms; the conservatory opens from the first floor. Yet so much of this space is for the uses of the Government that the families of our Presidents are much curtailed in their private accommodations.

The distressing associations connected with President Garfield's brief life in the White House, in 1881, are still fresh in the public mind. We turn the leaf tenderly. The country was at peace with all the world—at peace with itself. A man in whom the country trusted had been chosen to its highest office, and just entered upon his important work—with a future more promising and attractive than had dawned upon any preceding administration for many a decade—when the startling blow came.

MRS RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[*Engraved from a photograph.*]

Our chief magistrate was felled by an inconsequential and miserable assassin! For nearly three months he lingered, hanging between life and death, and the whole nation was in prayer. It seemed as if all the life currents of the American people were driven by a single pulse. Mrs. Garfield and her children drifted into a sort of dear membership in every household. The one thought everywhere was for news from the sick chamber, and strong men wept as hope and despair, anxiety and uncertainty, alternated, without understanding the unbidden tears. And when death came at last, the bells on both sides of the Atlantic tolled in unison, and the whole civilized world sympathized in America's great national sorrow.

MRS. JAMES A. GARFIELD.

The position which Chester A. Arthur was called upon to fill at this critical juncture was one of great delicacy and difficulty. No President had ever taken the oath under such trying circumstances. He was, however, a true American, and while oppressed with the overwhelming agonies of the situation, he entered upon his duties with manly fortitude, henceforward guarding the dignity of the Presidential office with consummate discretion. As time rolled on he developed unexpected resources, and soon won the public respect and confidence. He was a widower, and his married sister, Mrs. John E. McElroy, presided over his household. President Arthur was a very handsome man, and his bearing was princely. He had no eccentricities in dress, was always quiet, self-possessed, and affable—a specimen of the perfect gentleman. The White House was in deepest mourning the first winter of his residence in it, and closed to visitors. On the 28th of March, 1882, he instituted a formal renewal of its relations with the outside world by a brilliant reception. On this occasion he was assisted in receiving his guests by ex-President and Mrs. Grant, the latter

MRS. JOHN E. McELROY. (MARY ARTHUR.)
[*Engraved from a photograph.*]

in toilet "rich enough for a queen," it was said. She wore white satin with low neck and short sleeves, and a coronet of diamonds in her hair composed of horseshoes ingeniously clasped together. Later on President Arthur's entertainments—his dinners in particular—were exceptional in elegance. Mrs. McElroy was a lady of gentle and refined manners, cordial and sincere. Like her distinguished brother she was gifted in the social art, and was wholly without ostentation. As a hostess she was attentive and thoroughly agreeable. The Washington community became very fond of her. President Arthur's administration was in no sense an eventful one; but it stands well in the imposing catalogue so briefly sketched in these pages, and history will hereafter give it just measure.

Our twenty-second President, Grover Cleveland, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1885, a little more than two years ago; and he is now doing his best to make plenty of work for the coming historian. Of our long line of Presidents he was the only one except Buchanan to enter the White House a bachelor. His sister, Miss Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, became the presiding genius of the Presidential home, and for something over a year dispensed its generous hospitalities in the most charming manner. She came before the country a bright, intellectual, highly educated young woman, a finished classical scholar, acquainted with many languages, and with a taste for literary studies and pursuits which rendered her an extremely interesting character. Presently a love-romance mixed itself up with political measures and affairs of state, and the world was electrified with the news that the head of the nation was about to be married! Two continents ceased breathing, as it were, while the enterprising newspaper-press endeavored to verify the bewitching report. It is doubtful whether an earthquake in New York city or a war with Europe would have created so perfect a sensation or half as much genuine excitement. When the story was found to be a true one—and the wedding ceremony was actually performed in the White House, the nation smiled and applauded. In pleasing himself the President had, curiously enough, pleased everybody else. His choice of a bride was approved. It was said, "Nothing in his life had been so becoming to him as the doubling of it," and praise and congratulations filled the air. This romantic episode adds fresh interest to the White House. There have been other weddings under its roof, and one other President brought his bride here during his term of service, as we fondly remember. But President Cleveland is the only one of our honored twenty-two who, while holding the highest office on the earth, has seen fit to add a love-chapter to the history of the President's house, with a veritable and a very beautiful wedding *in it*.

When Washington, majestic and true, first occupied the Presidential home there were but thirteen sparsely populated States; now there are thirty-eight, all rich and prosperous. From the first to the twenty-second President, and across this mighty continent, we need to take a broad sweeping view in order to see the White House in its proper light, and intelligently appreciate its impressive, far-reaching, and precious memories.

MISS ROSE ELIZABETH CLEVELAND.

[*Engraved from a photograph.*]

Martha J Lamb

REPUBLICANISM IN SPANISH AMERICA

When the government of the United States recognized the independence of the Spanish-American colonies, in 1822, persons not acquainted with the people of those countries wondered why that step had been so long delayed. They were familiar with the circumstances which had made Spain the secret enemy of Great Britain during our contest for independence, and did not expect our infant republic to hastily undertake an expedition of knight-errantry to the prejudice of a friendly European power. But they could not quite understand why that portion of the American continent which had been the first to come within the pale of Christian civilization should be content to remain under the Spanish yoke for more than a quarter of a century after the independence of the Anglo-American colonies had been acknowledged by the civilized world.

And yet there was nothing strange or unusual in this delay. In their history, traditions, and civilization, the peoples of the two Americas had very little in common; and their ideas of freedom, and of civil government, were as dissimilar as it was possible for those of two Christian peoples to be. The Anglo-American settlements had never been colonial in the Spanish sense of that term. They had been autonomic communities from the very outset. They had never endured, even for one brief month, the ecclesiastical tyranny, the commercial restrictions, the political vassalage, and the studied insults to which the Spanish colonies had submitted, almost without remonstrance or protest, for nearly three centuries; and the moment they discovered a disposition to reduce them to a colonial condition, such as existed in Spanish America, resistance began, which culminated in their complete independence of the mother country. The Spanish-Americans, on the other hand, had never known the meaning of liberty in any sense, either civil, ecclesiastical, or political. The native population had been reduced to the most abject condition of personal servitude. The creole population had been trained to look upon the imported magistrate as an autocrat with divine authority to do as he pleased, provided only that he pleased a foreign master. And, with all classes, the authority of the Roman Church was supreme, in matters temporal as well as spiritual. It had prohibited the teaching of the liberal arts and sciences. It had restricted education to the Latin grammar and the Catechism. It had limited the public and private libraries to the writings of the Fathers and to civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. It had strictly prohibited the study of modern geography, and forbidden the reading of books of travel. Even such innocent fictions as *Robinson Crusoe* had been placed under the ban, and there had never been a newspaper or other periodical in the whole country that was not conformed to the strictest rule of the Roman Index. The viceroys and governors-general were foreigners, with no permanent interest in the country and no sympathy with the people. The ports and harbors had never been open to commerce, and it was made a death penalty to trade with any but Spaniards. A whole population, thus kept wasting and pining away in secluded ignorance for ten generations, could not be expected to suddenly realize their true condition, or to improvise means for utilizing the advantages of their singularly rich and beautiful country.

True, the example of the United States had not been without its influence, even upon a people thus unfortunately situated. At an early day after our independence, a latent spirit of discontent began to manifest itself on the borders of the Caribbean. But it was confined to a small circle of educated men who were hopelessly in advance of their time, and since it was wholly unsupported by local public sentiment, it was easily stifled by the blood of a few victims.

The cradle of this discontent was within the territory of what is now known as the United States of Colombia. It gradually extended to other provinces, and began to attract attention abroad as early as 1790. Some New Granadians had been expelled and sought refuge in Italy, and in their wanderings fell in with the British minister at Rome, who procured them an invitation to take up their abode in London. England was still on bad terms with Spain, and the minister saw a favorable opportunity for stirring up dissension and strife in the Spanish colonies. And it is said that, even after a treaty of peace had been signed, the British ministry gave to General Miranda and his associates secret assurances that the independence of the Spanish-American colonies would be kept in mind.

Very soon thereafter they were encouraged from another quarter. The French Republicans, whose scheme of emancipation and fraternity embraced the whole world, proclaimed a purpose to republicanize Spain and liberate her trans-Atlantic colonies. This Quixotic scheme had an ending, of course, with the hopeless collapse of the French Republic, and the English government was again applied to by the Spanish-American patriots. They proposed to declare the colonies independent on condition of a loan of £30,000,000, to be returned in easy installments after a new government had been established and acknowledged. No tangible security for the return of this loan was offered; but, as an inducement, it was proposed to open navigation between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, via Lake Nicaragua and the river San Juan, and to give to Great Britain the absolute freedom of all the ports and of the Isthmean transit. And it was further proposed to establish such a connection between the Bank of England and those of the colonies as would give English merchants the control of all mineral exports. Several conferences took place at London, looking to the consummation of some such scheme as this, but negotiations were soon broken off by the renewal of hostilities with France.

Even as late as 1808, when the subject of independence began to be more freely discussed, the indifference and apathy of the masses gave very little hope of success ; and nothing but a train of extraordinary circumstances, wholly beyond their control, made success possible two years later. The treaty of Bayonne had incidentally transferred to France all Spanish possessions in America; and Napoleon, who had been forced to part with Louisiana, now turned his attention to Mexico and the countries south of the Isthmus. But before he could take actual possession of what he claimed under the treaty, hostilities were renewed in Europe, and the French invasion of Andalusia gave the malcontents of New Granada and Venezuela their supreme opportunity. In July, 1810, they deposed the Spanish authorities, almost without a struggle ; declared the country independent, and intrusted its government to a Supreme Junta of their own choosing. Some of the royalists fled to Spain, others took refuge in the West Indies, and others professed adhesion to the patriot cause in order to betray it at the first opportune moment. The armed conflict which soon followed is probably without a parallel in the history of modern warfare. It partook more of the nature of a civil war than an organized contest between rival governments ; and for acts of atrocious cruelty and wantonness, probably never had an equal among the wars of the savage tribes who fought over disputed boundaries centuries before the country became known to European Christians.

In the midst of this anarchy and confusion, a new danger threatened the patriot cause. The overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte had resulted in the formation of a league between the monarchies of Europe, nominally to regulate the relations of the states of Christendom by the principles of Christian charity, but really to preserve the power and extend the influence of the existing dynasties. This league was known as the "Holy Alliance," and was first made public in 1816. It excluded every member of the Bonaparte family from any of the thrones of Europe. It put down the revolution in Naples, and strengthened the Austrian power in Piedmont. It restored the Bourbons in France, and reëstablished absolutism in Spain. And it proposed the re-conquest of the Spanish-American colonies, the restoration of a portion of them to their ancient allegiance, and the partition of others among the signatory powers. This hastened the recognition of the new Spanish-American republics by the United States, and culminated in what is known as the " Monroe Doctrine."

Among the new states thus formally admitted into the great family of nations, none seemed more promising of future prosperity and greatness than the Republic of Colombia, founded by Bolivar. Its geographical position gave it great commercial advantages. Its territory, extending from the Orinoco on the Atlantic to the northernmost limits of the Isthmus of Panama on the Pacific, embraced every variety of climate ; for such is the peculiar topographical conformation of the country that the temperatures of the three grand divisions of the globe are often found within the area of a few square leagues. Its soil was inexhaustibly fertile, and its virgin forests abounded with the rarest species of cabinet and dye woods. Its mineral deposits were believed to be equal to those of Peru and Mexico. And the circumstance that it had been the cradle of discontent with despotic rule, induced the belief that the masses of its people were more intelligent and self-reliant than those in the other Spanish-American states. But like our own Federal Union of 1777, the government was merely an ideal structure. It was a nation without citizens or subjects. Its constituent elements were not men and women who owed it primary allegiance, but political entities known as " sovereign states ;" and, after a feeble existence of less than six years, it fell to pieces.

Upon its ruins arose three new national entities, each under the name and form of a Federal Republic ; and in each of which the errors of the first were substantially repeated. The little provinces were subdivided into " sovereign states," and the mystery of the Trinity outdone in the effort to harmonize plural sovereignties with unity of authority. To make matters worse, the French Republican ideas of personal liberty, as taught by Rousseau, and adopted by Jefferson, had already taken deep root in the public mind ; and such influential leaders as Santander, taking their cue from Mr. Jefferson, started out with the assumption that every enfranchised citizen was a sort of nondescript sovereign, floating at random in the universe, and governed by laws inherent in himself, rather than a member of the political society into which he had been born or adopted. It was quite natural, therefore, that Venezuela should have become a military despotism, since that was the only means of saving its civilization ; that in New Granada, where interests were more diversified, the government should, by legalized revolution, become little else than an organized anarchy ; and that in Ecuador, where the masses were less intelligent and the Church more powerful, an ecclesiastical hierarchy should be established under the name of a Republic.

In the thirty years intervening between 1832 and 1862, New Granada had as many as five successive constitutions of government ; and under none of them did the country enjoy as many as three successive years of domestic peace. There was some sort of "revolution," local or general, on an average of about every two and a half years ; and at no time, even during its most tranquil moments, did the government inspire public confidence. After the Mosquera Revolution of 1862, which disestablished the Church, disfranchised the clergy, and confiscated all church property save only the cathedrals and chapels in actual use for public worship, another new constitution was adopted. It changed the name of the country from that of New Granada to the United States of Colombia, but incorporated all the defects of the federal system which had characterized its predecessors ; and in addition thereto, it made all offices elective for short terms by universal suffrage. Worse than all, it emphasized the old doctrine of "state sovereignty" by depriving the general government of power to preserve public order in any state where, in the contest over the local officers, an appeal had been taken from ballots to bullets. This constitution, the sixth in the order of sequence, remained in force until 1885 ; and during that entire period of twenty-two years, there were eleven "revolutions," local and general. In 1886, after the close of the general revolution of 1885, another new constitution was adopted. It abolishes the principle of "state sovereignty," remands two of the nine states to a territorial condition, restricts the suffrage to a property qualification, extends the Presidential term from two to six years, changes the senatorial term from two to six years, provides for a censorship of the press, and makes the judiciary, state and national, independent of politics. In other words, it changes the form of government from a federal to a consolidated republic, whose operations shall be directly upon the individual citizen instead of upon political corporations known as "States."

These are not exceptional examples in the constitutional and political history of the Spanish-American republics. In the Provinces of the Platte, now known as the Argentine Confederation, intestine broils and violent contests for power have been the rule rather than the exception. In Peru, the last of the Spanish-American possessions to set up the standard of independence, the government has undergone a series of violent changes ; and under all its multiform phases, it has generally been a military protectorate under the name of a republic. In Guatemala, and in others of the Central American States, the government has usually been republican in name and oligarchical in fact. The history of Mexico, during the first fifty years of its independent existence, contains little beyond ever-recurring acts of violence, and the rapid and summary deposition of one President after another. In Chili, there have been fewer constitutional changes and less general disorder; but it is precisely in Chili where we find less of the so-called "democratic principle," as well as a less general mixture of races. In its political constitution, Chili is, and has always been professedly the least democratic of any of the modern republics of the world. Its executive is chosen for long terms; its judicial officers for life or during good behavior. In its legislature, composed of two Houses, the deputies sit for three and its senators for nine years, retiring in thirds at the end of every third year. The suffrage is limited to a property qualification of $500 in realty, $1,000 in personal effects, or to an annual income of not less than $100; and this pecuniary qualification is exceptionally doubled in the wealthier localities of Valparaiso and Santiago.

In view of this general experience during the past half century, it is sometimes asserted, even by Spanish-Americans, that the people of those countries were not fully prepared for self-government at the time of their emancipation. This is probably true, at least as to the masses; and it would be equally true of any other people similarly situated. But the question naturally arises, when would they have become fully prepared under the old régime? It is a familiar maxim in the Spanish classics that all things require a beginning; and the beginning in most things is oftener a series of blunders than otherwise. Nevertheless, without the beginning, and the consequent blunders, success is never attained. The prisoner, suddenly released from his dark cell after long years of confinement, is seldom fully prepared for liberty. The very sunlight for which he has been longing, dazzles and blinds him; and, in his bewilderment, he is likely to mistake a firebrand for a pruning-hook. But the remedy for such apparent insanity is not in remanding him to his dungeon, but in permitting him to continue his experiments as a free and responsible agent. Good government is seldom made to order in the form of a written constitution. It is almost always evolved from a long series of actual experiments. And, whilst all must agree that Republicanism in Spanish-America can hardly be called a success, it is yet too soon to pronounce it a hopeless failure.

William L. Scruggs.

THE WABASH COUNTRY PRIOR TO 1800

For thirty years after Pontiac's conspiracy the French settlements in what is now Indiana, were left in peaceful isolation. With the exception of Clark's expedition to Vincennes no warlike movement of any note was made in the Wabash country. This quietude suited the French inhabitants, who lived in perfect peace with their red neighbors and with all the rest of the world. We find them equally loyal subjects of Louis of France, George of England, and the Continental Congress. They made discretion not only the better but the prominent part of their valor, and toiled and spun unmolested, where a more martial people would have been continually harassed if not completely annihilated. The presence of such a population, long before the old French War, modified the Indian character. After the chain of forts had been built between Detroit and New Orleans, it was the natural pathway of communication. From Lake Erie bateaux could go up the Maumee; then after a light portage the Wabash was reached, when the current alone would take them to the Ohio and Mississippi. This brought the races into contact, and, as might have been expected, it engendered difficulties; and considering the kind of men that often came down this route it is strange there was no fighting. Dissolute young Frenchmen were sent to the New World to "sow their wild oats," but, unlike their Spanish and English brethren, they did not esteem the shooting of Indians altogether a pleasing pastime. A complete history of these early times has not been published—I shall not say written—for doubtless in more than one old château in France there are manuscripts telling much that is interesting about these days in the wilderness.

As late as 1778, when General George Rogers Clark captured Vincennes, it was found that the Wabash Indians were well disposed toward the "Long Knives," as the Americans were called. They had not then imbibed that deadly hatred which intensified in the savage as he retired westward from advancing civilization. As time rolled on the red men from the East reached and made a stand at the Wabash. They came bitter with the memories of a losing warfare and ready for any kind of revenge. In 1790, there were two French towns on the Wabash in Western Indiana—Vincennes and Ouiatenon—the latter about a hundred miles north of Vincennes. When the Indians under "Little Turtle" and Captain Wells began their depredations those in the vicinity of the Wabash also took up the hatchet. General Charles Scott was sent to Ouiatenon in May, 1791, with a force of five hundred men, and without a battle scattered the savages who were collected near that place. The town consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well built, inhabited by the French settlers with whom the Indians traded. It was suspected that the town harbored the Indians and from it they proceeded on their raids to Kentucky. Whether or not the town deserved its fate, this suspicion, once entertained by the Kentuckians of that day, was sufficient to seal its doom. Pioneer vengeance was quick and effective. Ouiatenon was burned, and the whole country utterly laid waste.*

The battle of "Fallen Timbers," for a time, completely prostrated the Indian power in the West. Then came peace, and a gradual move toward the Wabash by the tribes of Ohio. During this time there came upon the scene that remarkable Shawnee, Tecumseh, or the "Shooting Star," who ardently hoped that by a united effort the tribes might drive the settlers out of the west or keep them east of the Wabash. His knavish brother, the "Prophet," by working on the inherent superstition of the red men, collected followers at the "Prophet's Town," a few miles from the present site of the city of Lafayette. He pretended to have supernatural visions and foretell the future, by virtue of which he was to be the spiritual head of the confederacy which Tecumseh hoped to form of all the tribes from the lakes to the Gulf.

The gathering together of such a promiscuous lot of Indians in the "Prophet's Town," attracted by the "séances," could only breed trouble. General Harrison, who had been appointed governor of Indiana, was anxious to put an end to it. British agents, on the other hand, were equally determined to incite the Indians to war against the new government. In due time negotiations began between General Harrison and Tecumseh and the "Prophet," which ended one day in August, 1811, in pompous evasion and picturesque nothingness! Tecumseh, with twenty warriors, floated down the river on a diplomatic trip to the Southern tribes, while the "Prophet" returned to his town at Tippecanoe.

I may well pause at this point for a brief allusion to the fortunes, misfortunes, and final decay of the tribes represented in this confederacy. First, the Miamis, by successive removals, finally settled on a reservation near Peru, Indiana, and lived there many years. Those who did not move West from there, became citizens, and their descendants are still in Indiana. The part of the tribe which went West, first settled in Kansas and then moved to the Indian territory, where it was absorbed by the Cherokee Nation, in which it comprises less than forty families. The Shawnees divided; part went to Canada, and were known as British Indians, others to Kansas and gave the name to a beautiful section; thence, in 1867, to Indian Territory, where they sank their tribal organization and took "head rights" in the Cherokee Nation, of which they are citizens. The Delawares, after two centuries of moving—from the shores of Chesapeake to the banks of the Wabash, from Indiana to Kansas—finally dissolved their tribal organization, and became prosperous citizens of the Cherokee Nation, in Oklahoma. The Pattawatomies moved to Illinois, thence to Iowa, and thence to Kansas, where fourteen hundred voted to become citizens of the United States; the remainder joined the wild Indians of the plains. The Kickapoos remained warlike to the end. They are scattered among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and in Old Mexico, and are as deadly enemies to the whites as when they fought in the woods on the Wabash.

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* The destruction of Ouiatenon was so complete that the exact site of the town is now unknown.

After writing a long report to Hon. Wm. Eustis, Secretary of War, in which he recapitulated the depredations of the Indians, and avowed his determination to march against them, General Harrison on the 26th of September left Vincennes, on his way to the "Prophet's Town." The governor desired a settlement without a fight, and yet made all preparations for a vigorous chastisement of the "Prophet." He left Vincennes with a force of 1225 men, of which he had in camp at *Battelle des Illinois*, on the 12th of October, 1020, non-commissioned officers and privates, including fifty-one sick. The officers were: One commander-in-chief, two aids, one adjutant of the army, one brigade major, one forage-master, one colonel, three lieutenant-colonels, four majors, sixteen captains, thirty-two subalterns, one paymaster, four adjutants, one surgeon, and two surgeon-mates. If the troops were not "ably officered" it was by no means for the want of material. This was the effective force after leaving a garrison for Fort Harrison, which was built sixty-four miles above Vincennes. The line of march was up the river bank on the east side, until a few miles above Big Raccoon Creek, in what is now Parke County, where the army crossed to the west side. It proceeded to the Vermillion River, then a halt was made, and a small block house built for the protection of stores. Here a report was sent to the Secretary of War, dated November 2, 1811, in which the commander apprehends an attack.

The course of the river becoming too winding to protect provision boats, the contractor was ordered to send to Vincennes for "five or six wagons." From Vermillion River the line was across the country and no longer on the river bank. The heavy baggage was left at the block-house. The order of march was similar to that of General Wayne on his route to "Fallen Timbers." The infantry were in two files on each side; the mounted men in front and rear and on each flank. Sometimes the mounted riflemen would exchange places with the other mounted men from front to rear, as circumstances favored such a movement. General Harrison was tireless in his supervision of the troops, and with great skill made the best of every situation.

On the evening of November 6, 1811, the army arrived near the "Prophet's Town," and some negotiations were begun. The general says: "A correspondence was immediately opened with the 'Prophet,' and there was every appearance of a successful termination of the expedition without bloodshed. Indeed there was an agreement for the suppression of hostilities until further communication should take place next day." But the known character of the "Prophet" was sufficient reason to suspect exactly the opposite of his professed intentions. The army bivouacked for the night in order of battle. Each man slept opposite his place in ranks, which were single or Indian file, for, as General Harrison had said, "In Indian warfare, where there is no shock to resist, one rank is nearly as good as two, and in that kind of warfare, the extension of line is a matter of the first importance. Raw troops manœuvre with much more facility in single than in double rank."

General Harrison had arisen at a quarter-past four, and the morning signal to fall in was about to be given when a single shot was fired by a sentinel on the left flank; no resistance was made by the pickets who fled to the camp. In a minute the Indians were upon the army, firing at close range and yelling like demons. The flashes from their rifles was all that could be seen in the blackness preceding the dawn of a November morning. As planned by the "Prophet," the attack was nearly successful; but the little army was not to be routed in that manner. It was here that the large number of officers was used to good advantage. These officers had been carefully selected, were brave men, and had seen service. Everywhere they encouraged the soldiers to stay in line, and were quick to take advantage of every weak point of the enemy. The fight continued until daylight, when a vigorous advance by the mounted men and infantry, with fixed bayonets, drove the Indians from their front, and they scattered and fled in a manner to render pursuit ineffective. The losses were heavy, considering that only about seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates were engaged; fifty-two privates and ten officers were killed, and one hundred and eighty-eight wounded. The commander thought the

Indians suffered a greater loss, but as they carried off all their wounded and many of the dead, no return could be given. It may be supposed that the general's opinion was well founded, as the muskets used a cartridge containing *twelve* buck-shot, and in those days almost every man west of the Alleghenies was a good rifle shot.

The names of the officers killed are perpetuated by the State in whose defense they lost their lives. They were men of high standing in the West, particularly Major Joseph H. Davies, who was shot from his horse at daylight while leading a charge of the dragoons. In Kentucky he had been a lawyer of great ability and an orator of wonderful power. When Aaron Burr came West to work out his design for a government in the Southwest, Major Davies wrote several letters to the President, and without receiving any authority, thinking it would be too late if he waited longer, resolved to boldly charge Burr as guilty of treason: being United States Attorney, he went before Judge Innis, at Frankfort, with the accusation that Burr was organizing a force to make war against the provinces of Mexico. Judge Innis refused to issue the process asked for, and in due time Burr appeared with his counsel, Henry Clay and Colonel Allen. Major Davies was fully convinced that Burr designed the secession of the Southwest, but he had to fight against public opinion, and though he tried with all the skill and energy of his nature he could not fasten the charge. Important witnesses could not or would not appear, and at this juncture Burr demanded a trial. Judge Innis (afterwards suspected of favoring an attempt to make Kentucky a Spanish province) decided every point against Davies—the influence of Burr was too potent, and the conscientious attorney lost his case. He afterwards came to Vincennes and joined the expedition as a private, and at the solicitation of the soldiers was made major of dragoons. General Harrison said: "His conduct justified their choice. Never was there an officer possessed of more ardor or zeal to discharge his duties with propriety, and never one who would have encountered greater danger to purchase military fame."

The return to Vincennes was accomplished without difficulty. It was eventless, unless mention is made of one circumstance: In Parke county, on the east bank of the Wabash, at a magnificent bend of the river, is "Blue Grass Landing." Here Harrison's men found "blue grass" growing wild. When returning, some of the Kentuckians pulled up the grass and carried the "tops" home, that they might have the seed. Accordingly, it has been claimed that the original "blue grass" of the beautiful section of Kentucky known by that name, came from this quiet spot on the Wabash. Forty years ago a gentleman of western Indiana had a correspondence with Henry Clay on the subject, whom he convinced that Indiana and not Kentucky was the original home of the "blue grass," but for some reason the claim has not been generally recognized. But here the grass grew and still grows; seed was taken to Kentucky, and some at least of the verdure of the "Blue Grass Country" had its origin on the Wabash.

On the 28th of December General Harrison addressed the Secretary of War concerning the "torrent of abuse" which was "leveled at him by the papers." What was considered a glorious victory at Vincennes was called a "horrible butchery" and "most distressing disaster" by politicians, who even at that early day had learned that the business of the party out of power was to find fault with those who were in. The general said in his letter, "If these observations had been confined to the federal prints I should have disregarded them, but none of them have been more rancorous than the paper called the *Baltimore Whig*."

The next year an attack was made on Fort Harrison, which was commanded by Captain Zachariah Taylor, who, though sick, arose from his bed, and fought with his small force to such good advantage that the Indians were repulsed. This was the last battle on the Wabash.

It is worthy of notice that the two battles fought on the Wabash made the foundation for a military fame which elected two Presidents of the United States. Like the services performed by them on Indiana's river, there is a similarity in their careers. Both were elected by the Whigs to the Presidency, and both died before their administrations had scarcely begun. Both had been brave and successful soldiers, and as such will ever be remembered by a grateful people. They won that for which they faced death, and the world worships at the shrine of military glory. As successful soldiers their names are indelibly written on the pages of our country's history, one associated always with Tippecanoe and the Thames; the other with Buena Vista and Monterey.

"On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread."

Isaac R. Strouse

ROCKVILLE, INDIANA.

CANADA DURING THE VICTORIAN ERA

A SHORT HISTORICAL REVIEW IN TWO PARTS

PART I.

It was in the age of a great English queen that England first recognized the fact that her mission was on the ocean, and it was then that her enterprising sons first sought adventures in the mysterious West.

Spain and Portugal had won a colonial empire from which they drew great treasures, the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru, the silks and spices of the East, long before England had gained a foothold in the New World. Sebastian Cabot, it is true, had sailed along the shores of the northern continent even before Columbus touched the mainland of South America. Frobisher had ventured, many years later, among the icebergs and rocks of the North, and Raleigh and Gilbert had attempted to found a settlement in countries where, in the poetic language of those days, it was thought "men live after the manner of the golden age." By the close of the reign of Elizabeth, however, England did not own a single colony in the Western Hemisphere; but the brilliant successes of Drake and Hawkins in the Spanish seas stimulated the pride and enterprise of Englishmen, and from the moment the Armada was scattered by the winds of heaven, the maritime supremacy of Spain began to pass to the foe she at once feared and hated. Spain, Portugal, and Holland were soon left behind in the competition for maritime and colonial dominion, and the conflict was eventually fought out between France and England on the continent of America. Jacques Cartier had discovered at an early date* the great valley of the St. Lawrence, and gave France her claim to a vast territory. Several attempts were made to found settlements, but none succeeded until the first part of the seventeenth century. Both England and France entered about the same time on a career of colonization in North America. Champlain was already encamped with his little band of settlers on the picturesque heights of Quebec† when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the rock-bound coast of New England. Then, for a century and a half, the

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*In 1535; he reached Hochelaga, now Montreal, 2d October in that year. Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, i., 17–19.

† Champlain arrived at Quebec (Stadaconé) on the 3d July, 1608, and laid the foundations of the picturesque town. Charlevoix, i., 188.

colonies of England and France struggled for the mastery. The sturdy independence of the English colonists, accustomed to think and act for themselves, left as a rule to govern themselves in accordance with the free instincts of Englishmen, was in decided contrast with the subserviency of the French colonists, kept constantly in trammels by the king and his ministers, who were always opposed to the merest semblance of local self-government. Under the influence of the freedom they enjoyed, and the energy and enterprise peculiar to a commercial and maritime people, the English colonists, who inhabited a relatively narrow strip of territory from Maine to Carolina, soon outnumbered the population of the struggling community that dwelt on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

In the history of the French Canadian there is much to interest us. His patient endurance, his fidelity to his country, his adventurous life in the wilderness of the West, afford themes for poetry, history, and romance. The struggles of Champlain, the adventures of La Salle in the valley of the Mississippi, the exploits of the *coureurs de bois* and gentlemen adventurers on the river and among the forests, the efforts of Frontenac and other French governors to found a new France on the continent, have already found in Parkman an eloquent and faithful historian. France dreamed once of founding a mighty empire which would stretch from the island of Cape Breton, or Ile Royale, through the valleys of the St. Lawrence, the Ohio, and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and of eventually having the supremacy in North America; but the genius of Pitt relieved the English colonists of the fears they entertained with reason when they saw a cordon of forts stretching from Louisbourg to the heights of Quebec, to Champlain, Niagara, and the forks of the Ohio. With the fall of Quebec and Montreal in 1759–'60, France left the New World to England,* and of all her former possessions she now retains only some insignificant islands off the southern coast of Newfoundland, where her fishermen continue to prosecute the fisheries as centuries ago before a European had founded a settlement in Canada. The conflict with France had done much to restrain the spirit of self-assertion among the English colonists, and to keep them dependent on England; but at the same time it had showed them their power, and taught them to have much more confidence in their own resources as a people. The capture of the formidable fortress of Louisbourg, one of the triumphs of Vauban's engineering skill, by the New England volunteers under Pepperrell, and the fleet under Shirley, was the principal incident in their history which showed the people their strength, and nerved them to enter into what must have seemed to many a hopeless struggle with England. The fall of Quebec may be considered the first step in the direction of the independence of the old English colonies.

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* The Treaty of Paris, which closed the Seven Years' War, and gave up Canada forever to England, was signed on the 10th of February, 1763. Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii., 407.

When the war of independence was over, Canada was only a sparsely settled country, in which the French Canadians were very largely in the majority. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island there was a small English population, chiefly composed of United Empire Loyalists.* A considerable number of the same class came over from the United States and settled in the Eastern Townships of French or Lower Canada, and in the province of Upper or Western Canada. During the war of independence the French Canadians resisted all attempts that were made to induce them to unite their fortunes with the revolted colonies. The British Government and Parliament had seen the necessity of conciliating the conquered people, and had passed, in 1774, what is known as the Quebec Act,† which gave additional guarantees to that nationality for the security of their property, and the preservation of their language, religion, and institutions. Owing in a great measure to this conciliatory policy, and to the efforts of the priests, who have always been firm friends of British rule, the French people of Lower Canada remained faithful to the King of England, and the history of those times records the death of the brave Montgomery and the defeat of his troops, deluded by the belief that Canada would be an easy conquest as soon as the invaders set foot within its limits.‡

With the settlement of Upper Canada by the Loyalists and the English population that subsequently flowed into the country, it was thought advisable to establish two provinces, in which the French and English elements would be kept separate and distinct.§ With the light that experience has given us in these later times it was a great mistake in the opinion of many statesmen to have isolated the races, and by hedging in the French at the very commencement of their history, to have prevented the gradual absorption of all nationalities into one great English-speaking people. Parliament formed a legislature for each province, and wished the people of Canada God-speed in the new experiment of government on which they were entering. No doubt can exist as to the sincerity and good wishes of the English statesmen of those days, but it cannot be said they always builded with wisdom. In the first place, they erected a structure of provincial government which was defective at its very foundation. There was an entire absence of institutions of local government in French Canada,* of that system which from the earliest period in the history of the old English colonies enabled them to manage their local affairs. May it not be said with truth that England herself has received no more valuable heritage than that system of local self-government which, cumbrous and defective as it may have become in the course of centuries, can be traced back to those free institutions in which lay the germs of English liberty and parliamentary government?

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* In 1784 there were in Upper Canada 10,000 U. E. Loyalists; in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 20,000. In 1790, the population of Canada was 161,311, of whom 120,000 were French. —Census of Canada, 1871.

† Imperial Statute, 14 Geo. III., c. 83.

‡ Montgomery made his attack on Quebec on the night of the 30th December, 1775. Garneau, iii. 5.

§ Constitutional Act, 1791, or 31 Geo. III., c. 31.

But in Canada there was no semblance of township or parish government, as in New England or even in Virginia. The people of Canada were called upon to manage the affairs of a state before they had learned those elements of government which necessarily existed in the management of the local affairs of every community, whether it were town, township, or village. It was, indeed, surprising that a people like the French Canadians, unaccustomed to Parliamentary institutions, or local self government in its most elementary form, should in the early stages of their legislative history have shown so much discretion. As a matter of fact, they discharged their functions for a while with prudence and set to work to understand the principles on which their system of government rested. For some years the machinery of government worked fairly enough, and the public men of both provinces performed much useful legislation. The war of 1812–15, in which Canada performed her part with credit, in a measure prevented any outbreak of political conflict, since all classes of people recognized the necessity of uniting at such a crisis to defend their homes and country. But, when peace was proclaimed and the legislatures were relieved from the pressure that the war had brought upon them, the politicians again got the upper hand. The machinery of government became clogged and political strife convulsed the country from one end to the other. An "irrepressible conflict" arose between the government and the governed classes, especially in Lower Canada. The people who, in the days of the French régime, were without influence and power, had learned, under their new system, defective as it was in essential respects, to get a very correct insight into the operation of representative government as understood in England.

They found they were governed not by men responsible to the legislature and the people, but by governors and officials who controlled both the executive and legislative councils. If there had always been wise and patient governors at the head of affairs, or if the Imperial authorities could always have been made aware of the importance of the grievances laid before them, or had understood their exact character, the differences between the government and the majority of the people's representatives might have been arranged satisfactorily. But, unhappily, military governors like Sir James Craig only aggravated the dangers of the situation, and gave demagogues new opportunities for exciting the people. One cannot but feel that the Imperial government as a rule were sincerely desirous of meeting the wishes of the people in a reasonable and fair spirit, but, unfortunately for the country, they were too often ill-advised and ill-informed in those days of slow communication, and public discontent was allowed to seethe until it burst forth in a dangerous form.

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* See Lord Durham's Report, p. 35; Bourinot's *Local Government in Canada;* Johns Hopkins University Studies of Political Science.

In all the provinces, but especially in Lower Canada, the people saw their representatives practically ignored by the governing body, their money expended without the authority of the Legislature, and the country governed by irresponsible officials. A system which gave little or no weight to public opinion, as represented in the house elected by the people, was necessarily imperfect and unstable, and the natural result was a deadlock between the legislative council controlled by the official and governing class and the body elected by the people. The governors necessarily took the side of the men they had themselves appointed, and with whom they were acting. In the maritime provinces, in the course of time, the governors made an attempt to conciliate the popular element by bringing in men who had influence in the Assembly, but this was a matter entirely within their own discretion. The system of government was generally worked in direct contravention of the principle of responsibility to the majority in the popular house. Political agitators had abundant opportunities of exciting popular passion. In Lower Canada, Papineau, an eloquent but impulsive man, having rather the qualities of an agitator than those of a statesman, led the majority of his compatriots. For years he contended for a legislative council elected by the people, for it is curious to note that none of the men who were at the head of the popular party in Lower Canada ever recognized the fact, as did their contemporaries in Upper Canada, that the difficulty would be best solved, not by electing an upper house, but by obtaining an executive which would only hold office whilst supported by the majority of the representatives in the people's house.* In Upper Canada, the radical section of the Liberal party was led by Mr. W. Lyon Mackenzie, who fought vigorously against what was generally known as the Family Compact, which occupied all the public offices and controlled the Government. In the two provinces, these two men at last precipitated a rebellion, in which blood was shed and much property destroyed,* but which never reached any very extensive proportions. In the maritime provinces, however, where the public grievances were of less magnitude, the people showed no sympathy with the rebellious elements of the upper provinces. The agitation for responsible government in those colonies was led by Mr. Joseph Howe, who, in the course of his public life, was always animated by truly loyal British feelings, and was never influenced by passion to step beyond the limits of legitimate constitutional agitation.

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* Lord Durham's Report, p. 47.

Such was the political situation in Canada when Queen Victoria ascended the throne.† If we survey the general condition of things in those troublous times, the prospect was not encouraging. The total population of the two provinces did not exceed one million souls, of whom nearly one-half were French Canadians. Trade and commerce were quite paralyzed by the political discontent which had existed for years, and had already broken out into rebellion. The value of the whole trade of British North America—that is, of the imports and exports in the aggregate—was about twenty-five million dollars. The principal trade was in fish and lumber, for the export of which a considerable number of vessels was yearly built in the maritime provinces. Not more than four or five banks existed, and none of them had a large capital except the old Bank of Montreal, which has always been the most important monetary institution of this continent.

The total revenue at this time could not have gone beyond seven hundred thousand dollars, and in more than one province the revenue was insufficient to meet the legitimate expenses required for public works and other necessary improvements. In Upper Canada the situation was extremely serious. In consequence of the construction of public works, commenced in the infancy of the colony, a debt of five million dollars had been accumulated when the whole revenue did not reach three hundred thousand dollars, and was inadequate to pay the interest. A financial crisis in the United States had led the banks to suspend specie payments, and aggravated the difficulties of the commercial situation in Canada. The banks of Lower Canada found it necessary to follow the example of similar institutions in the American republic, though those of the upper province, to their credit, successfully tided over the crisis, and materially lessened the weight of financial embarrassment. The total production of wheat was not beyond five million bushels, of which nearly four-fifths at that time was raised in French Canada. The French *habitants* carried on their agricultural operations with little energy or skill, and from their ignorance of the system of the rotation of crops and of the true principles of farming, were rapidly impoverishing the soil, so that in the course of a few years their wheat crop diminished, and its quality became much inferior. Their farms were on the banks of the St. Lawrence—deep, narrow strips—and their houses were crowded as near the river as possible, as affording the most satisfactory means of communication in early times between the settlements. The most noteworthy buildings were those belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, which then, as now, dominated the province. The system of land tenure in French Canada was not one calculated to stimulate industry and develop the country. In early days the seigniorial tenure, established by Richelieu,* with the idea of founding a Canadian *noblesse* and encouraging settlement, had had some advantages. It was the feudal system modified to suit the circumstances of a new country. It made the *seigneur* and the *habitant*, or *censitaire*, equally interested in the cultivation of the soil. The dues and obligations under which the *censitaire* held his land were in early times by no means onerous. The *seigneur* was obliged to cultivate and settle certain portions of his land at the risk of losing it within a fixed period, a penalty frequently enacted under the French régime. He had to erect a mill for the grinding of grain raised in the district, a great convenience to the *habitants* in early times.

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* The rebellion in Lower Canada broke out in 1837. Sir John Colborne was in chief command of the forces, and soon quelled the rebellion. Garneau, iii. 341, *et seq.* In Upper Canada, Sir F. Bond Head was Lieutenant-Governor, and the attempt at rebellion broke out in December, 1837. See Lindsey's *Life of W. L. Mackenzie*, vol. ii., c. 4.

† Queen Victoria succeeded to the throne of England June 20, 1837. See J. McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, vol. i., c. 1.

But the system grew to be burdensome as the country became more populous. The seigniorial exactions were found more troublesome and the difficulties that arose in connection with the disposal of lands in the numerous seigniories gradually retarded settlement and enterprise in the province. In fact, the system under which lands were granted throughout Canada was not adapted to the encouragement of settlement. With the view, probably, of establishing a state church the Imperial government had granted large reserves † which were in the hands of the clergy of the Church of England, and much discontent had consequently arisen among all other Protestant denominations. Large tracts had also been set apart for loyalists and military men in different parts of the province. The natural consequence of this extravagance was, that some of the most valuable districts of Upper Canada were kept idle and profitless for many years. The little island of Prince Edward had been nearly all granted away by ballot* to a few landlords in a single day, and until recent times † its progress was retarded by a land question which always created much discontent and prevented settlement. The means of communication in each province were very inferior in the absence of any liberal system of municipal institutions, and in consequence of the large districts owned by absentee proprietors or by the Church. If a road or bridge was required in Lower Canada, it was necessary to apply to the Legislature. Things were a little better in Upper Canada, where there was a system of local taxation which, imperfect as it was, enabled the people in a county to make minor improvements. Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, St. John and Toronto were the only towns of importance, and the population of the first, then as now the commercial metropolis of British North America, did not exceed forty thousand; while their aggregate population probably reached one hundred and twenty thousand souls. The streets of all of them were either ill-lighted, or left in darkness, and without pavements.

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* Parkman's *Old Régime in Canada*, p. 244.

† By the Quebec Act, 1774. See Christie, i., 122.

The public buildings, as a rule, had no architectural pretensions. A few colleges and grammar schools had been established where the sons of the well-to-do classes could obtain an excellent classical and English education for those times. The religious communities of Lower Canada at an early period in the history of the country had established institutions where the youth of both sexes could receive certain educational advantages. But the state had not in any degree intervened successfully in the establishment of a system of popular education.

The whole public expenditure for common and district schools in Upper Canada was a little above forty thousand dollars a year, and these schools were very inferior in every respect. The masters in many cases in this province—to which I refer especially, since now it stands above all others in the character of its educational progress—were ill-paid, ill-educated men who, having failed in other pursuits, resorted to teaching as their last hope. Many of them were illiterate citizens of the United States, who brought anti-British ideas into the country, and taught their pupils out of American text-books, in which, of course, prominence was given to

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* Campbell's History, p. 18.

† The land question was not finally settled until the union with Canada in 1873. See Todd's *Parliamentary Government in the Colonies*, 352–4.

American history and institutions. In 1838-9 there were in all the public and private schools of British North America only some 92,000 young people out of a total population of one million four hundred and forty thousand souls, or about one in fifteen. The administration of justice in all the provinces, except in Lower Canada, was on the whole satisfactory for a new country, where the highest judicial talent was not always available. In the French section there was a lamentable want of efficiency in the courts, and an absence of confidence in the mode in which the law was administered. At times there was a decided failure of justice in criminal cases, owing to the complexion of the juries. In certain cases where political or national feeling was aroused, a jury was not likely to convict even in the face of the clearest evidence of crime. English and French Canadians divided in the jury box according to their nationalities.* Whilst the judges of the highest courts were generally distinguished for learning and fairness, the justices of peace were chosen without any regard to their character or ability to try the ordinary petty causes which fell within their jurisdiction. In all the cities and towns the police arrangements were notoriously defective. Immigration was rapidly falling off, owing principally to the distracted state of the country, but also to the mode of transportation. Those were days when the vessels that made voyages to Canada were literally laden with disease and misery. In the overcrowded, ill-ventilated and ill-equipped vessels that annually sailed up the St. Lawrence, death was ever stalking among the half-starved, unhappy people who had left their wretched homes in the Old World to incur the horrors of the holds of the pest-ship, from which for years had been ascending the cries of the martyred emigrant.

No feature of the aspect of things in Canada gave greater reason for anxiety than the attitude of the French and English peoples towards each other. The very children in the streets were formed into French and English parties. As in the Courts of law and in the Legislature, so it was in social and everyday life—the French Canadian in direct antagonism to the English Canadian. Many among the official and governing class, composed almost exclusively of English, were still too ready to consider the French Canadians as inferior beings, and not entitled to the same rights and privileges in the government of the country. It was a time of passion and declamation, when men of fervid eloquence like Papineau could have aroused the French like one man, if they had had a little more patience and judgment, and had not been ultimately thwarted by the efforts of the priests, who, in all national crises, have intervened on the side of reason

* Lord Durham's Report, p. 17.

and moderation, and in the interests of British connection, which they have always felt has been favorable to the continuance and security of their religious institutions. Lord Durham, in his memorable report on the condition of Canada, has summed up very expressively the nature of the conflict in the French province. "I expected," he said, "to find a contest between a government and a people; I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state; I found a struggle, not of principles, but of races." *

Amid the gloom that overhung Canada in those times, there was one gleam of sunshine for England. Although discontent and dissatisfaction generally prevailed among the people on account of the manner in which the government was administered, and of the attempts of a minority to engross all power and influence, yet there was still a sentiment in favor of British connection, and the annexationists were relatively few in number. Sir Francis Bond Head understood this well when he depended on the militia to crush the outbreak in the upper province,† and Joseph Howe, the eminent leader of the popular party, uniformly asserted that the people of Nova Scotia were determined to preserve the integrity of the Empire at all hazards. As a matter of fact, the majority of the people, outside of the minority led by Papineau, Nelson, and Mackenzie, had a conviction that England was animated by a desire to act considerately with the provinces, and that little good could come from precipitating a conflict which would only add to the public misfortunes, and that the true remedy was to be found in constitutional methods of redress for the political grievances which undoubtedly existed throughout British North America.

The writer has endeavored to summarize as briefly as possible the actual state of affairs in the first years of the Queen's reign. He need only refer to the various histories of those times, and especially to the report of Lord Durham, to show that in no case has he exaggerated the gravity of the situation. It was a most critical time in the career of the Canadian provinces. Had the British government been prepared to act with haste or temper, the consequences would have been fatal to the provinces; but they acted throughout on the whole with much discretion, and recognized the fact at the outset that mistakes had been made in the past, and that it was quite clear that the people of Canada would not be satisfied with a mere semblance of representative government. The mission of Lord Durham was a turning point in the political and social development of the British North

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* Report, p. 6.

† See Justin McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, vol. i. p. 42.

American colonies.* Whatever may be the opinion held as to the legality of the course he pursued with respect to the rebels, there can be no doubt as to the discretion and wisdom embodied in his Report, of which Mr. Charles Buller, his secretary, is generally considered to have been the writer.† The statesmen of all parties in England, but especially Lord John Russell, aided in moulding a new policy towards the Canadas. This new policy, of which the reunion of the two provinces under one government was the foundation, was in the direction of intrusting a larger measure of self-government to the people—of giving them as complete control of their internal affairs as was compatible with the security and integrity of the Empire. The measures which have practically changed the material, political, and social condition of the provinces since 1840, when the new era in their history commenced, will be briefly stated in the paper which is to follow, in the June number of this magazine, giving the basis of whatever success Canada has attained among communities; and it will be the duty of the writer to show what results have been achieved under the liberal policy pursued towards her since 1840.

Jno. Geo. Bourinot

OTTAWA, CANADA.

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* Lord Durham came to Canada as Governor-General and High Commissioner in May, 1838. Garneau, iii., 357.

† See Greville's Memoirs, vol. i., p. 142.

WHEN DID OHIO BECOME A STATE?

AN ODD CONTROVERSY

I was struck on reading, in the February number of this Magazine, Mr. James Q. Howard's ingenious and interesting argument regarding the exact date of the admission of Ohio into the Union by several statements that seem to me to savor of inaccuracy. Admitting the force of a great deal of Mr. Howard's reasoning, there are still many grounds for holding November 29, 1802, and not February 19, 1803, as the time of Ohio's admission to the sisterhood of States.

The people living within the boundaries of the Eastern division of the Northwestern territory, certainly thought that the adoption of the constitution in 1802 elevated that district to the dignity of statehood. The most eminent men in the territory thought similarly. Nathaniel Willis, publisher of the Scioto *Gazette*, must have been afflicted with this hallucination, for, immediately after the convention had concluded its labors and adopted the constitution—which was never submitted for popular ratification—he changed the line standing at the head of the first page of the paper from "NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY: Printed at the seat of government, Chillicothe, by N. Willis, printer to the honorable legislature," to "STATE OF OHIO, etc." Every subsequent reference to the commonwealth, that I can discover by diligent examination of a file of the venerable journal for 1802–1803, speaks of it as a State, and not as a Territory.

In the issue of the *Gazette* for December 18, 1802, there is published a proclamation by Jeremiah McLene, Sheriff of Ross County. After reciting the authority under which the proclamation is made—an act of the territorial legislature, passed in anticipation of the success of the labors of the convention—and defining the limits of the voting precincts, the language is as follows: "And, whereas, it is required by the Constitution of the state of Ohio that all elections shall be by ballot, and conducted in all respects in the same manner as prescribed in the law of the territory before recited: Now, therefore, *by virtue of the Constitution aforesaid*, and a writ of election to me directed by the President of the Convention, it is required, and the electors are hereby authorized to assemble each in his own district, on the second Tuesday of January next, at the hour of nine o'clock A.M., and there to elect according to law, one Governor, who shall hold his office until the first Monday of December, one thousand eight hundred and five, and until another Governor shall have been elected and qualified to office, two senators and four representatives to serve in the General Assembly of said state, and a sheriff and coroner for the county of Ross, to serve until the next election, as prescribed by the Constitution of the aforesaid state."

The constitution could not have been an inoperative instrument at that time, as Mr. Howard would have us to believe, for this proclamation, or its counterpart, was promulgated in each of the nine other counties, and it once distinctly recognizes the authority of the State, and twice that of the constitution. And the constitution is the vital essence of the state.

Mr. Howard says that "General St. Clair continued to exercise the functions of territorial governor until December 14, 1802, when he received a letter from President Jefferson removing him from the office, and appointing in his stead Charles W. Byrd,* as acting territorial governor, who discharged the duties of that office until the promulgation of the act of February 19, 1803, recognizing Ohio as a State." He implies that if Ohio was a State after the 29th of November, St. Clair was acting in defiance of Section 13 of Article II. of the Constitution, which prohibits United States officials from holding the gubernatorial position. He also wishes to know why, if Ohio became invested with the rights and dignities of statehood in November, Mr. Jefferson was not impeached for removing one governor of a "sovereign and independent State," and appointing another. This is disingenuous. Mr. Howard certainly should know that St. Clair was removed on the 22d of November, and that the notification did not reach him until December 14th. If he does not, the following will inform him:

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* This Charles Willing Byrd must have been a genial and interesting person, possessing in a high degree the qualities that mark the true gentleman. General St. Clair, in his reply to Mr. Madison, acknowledging the receipt of the notification of removal, bitterly protested against the indelicacy of sending such a communication under cover to a malignant personal enemy, and an officer against whom he had preferred charges. Byrd, in his published criticism of this, uses the following language, which seems to be a mixture of frank brutality and contemptible demagogism:

"Neither can I think that the manner in which the notification was communicated was by any means indelicate. The motives that governed the President's action were explained to you in the letter you received from the Department of State; and neither Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison were under any obligations to assign the cause of your removal. And, pray let me ask, to whom was this delicacy of conduct observed? Not to a meritorious officer, but to a native of Scotland who, in his public letters, has abused the American character, and who, forgetting the disgraceful scene at Ticonderoga, and the blood-stained mound of Fort Recovery, is continually boasting of services which he never performed."

This! twenty-five years after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga had emphatically set the stamp of approval upon St. Clair's withdrawal from Ticonderoga. He had indeed "lost a post, but saved a State." The reference to his defeat at the Miami villages, where he displayed the greatest intrepidity, and commanded raw troops that had been very inefficiently equipped by the War Department, was as vulgar as it was unjust.

In the charming epistle quoted from, Mr. Byrd goes on to say, with obvious reference to St. Clair, that there are "certain characters who delight in calumny and detraction, and whose hearts are as black as the shades of midnight," and furnishes a ludicrous anti-climax in the subscription, "With due respect, I am, Sir, Your most obedient, Humble servant!"

"Department of State, Washington, Nov. 22, 1802.

Sir,

Enclosed is a letter to Governor St. Clair, from a copy of which, also enclosed, you will find that his commission as Governor of the Northwestern territory is to cease on his receipt of the notification. It is only to be added that no successor has yet been appointed, and, consequently, the functions of the office devolve on you, as Secretary of the said territory.

Your most obedient and humble servant,

James Madison.

Charles W. Byrd, Esq., Chillicothe."

Attention may also be paid to the concluding clause of the Constitution, which directs that "the Governor, Secretary and Judges, and all other officers under the territorial government shall continue in the exercise of the duties of their respective departments until the said officers are superseded under the authority of this Constitution." How were they to be superseded? By the election and installation of their successors under the methods prescribed in the Constitution. It would be a senseless proceeding to incorporate such a clause in a "self-executing, self-enforcing" instrument, had it been intended that the official heads of the territorial officers should be stricken off the instant that it went into effect. St. Clair held his office until the 14th of December, when he received the notification of removal, under this authority. There never was a "Governor" Byrd. It would be interesting to ascertain upon what evidence is grounded the assertion that Byrd discharged the duties of acting territorial governor until February 19th, and no longer.

Mr. Howard informs us that the men who made this constitution did not suppose that it lifted the State and themselves into the Union when they signed it. Did they not? Nathaniel Willis, ardent Republican that he was, was then most wofully deceived. So was Thomas Worthington. He proceeded to Washington as the agent of the State of Ohio, and on the 4th of February, 1803, sent the following note:

"Washington, February 4th, 1803.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to enclose to you the report of the Committee on the Business of the State of Ohio, for the purpose of publication. I have only to add that there is every reason to believe that a law will be passed in a few days in conformity to the report,

Yours resp'y, Thomas Worthington.

N. Willis"

And the subjoined request for information, addressed to Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, reveals the nature of the business that called him to Washington, and the character of the "bill for giving effect to the laws of the United States within the State of Ohio:"

"Sir, The Committee to whom were referred sundry propositions submitted by the Convention of the State of Ohio to the Congress of the United States have instructed me to request of you information on the following points :

The gross amount of lands comprised within the United States military tract.

2. Whether through default of John C. Symmes the intention of the United States to endow an academy or other public school with one whole township has been frustrated ?

3. How far the purchasers under the aforesaid Symmes are bound to make good the said township or the value thereof ?

4. Whether the United States are bound to furnish an equivalent, and if not,

5. How far it may be a matter of policy to comply with the proposition of the Convention on that subject ?

And such other information touching those propositions generally, which the Secretary of the Treasury may deem expedient to lay before the Committee.

(Signed), John Randolph, jun.,
Chairman of the Committee."

A term of three weeks was required for a communication of grave importance, one involving the removal of the chief officer of a vast territory. to reach its destination. It is reasonable to infer that the knowledge of the "admission" of the State on the 19th of February could not arrive at Chillicothe, the capital, within a lesser time. There were no electric telegraphs in those days; the fast mail yet slumbered within the womb of futurity. And yet nine days after February 19th, in utter ignorance of any Congressional proceedings, the Legislature organizes, and eleven days after that date, Edward Tiffin is duly declared the Governor of Ohio, and installed as the principal officer—with closely clipped official wings, it is true, for the framers of the constitution had not been unmindful of the arbitrary and almost despotic use of his prerogatives by St. Clair—of a full-fledged State. It would be well for Mr. Howard to reconcile the inconsistence of these facts with his theory before rashly declaring that "with such decisive proofs it seems superfluous to argue further," and that "the true date of Ohio's birth" is settled as occurring on February 19th, 1803, "for all future generations."

Wm. Waddle Jr.

CHILLICOTHE, OHIO.

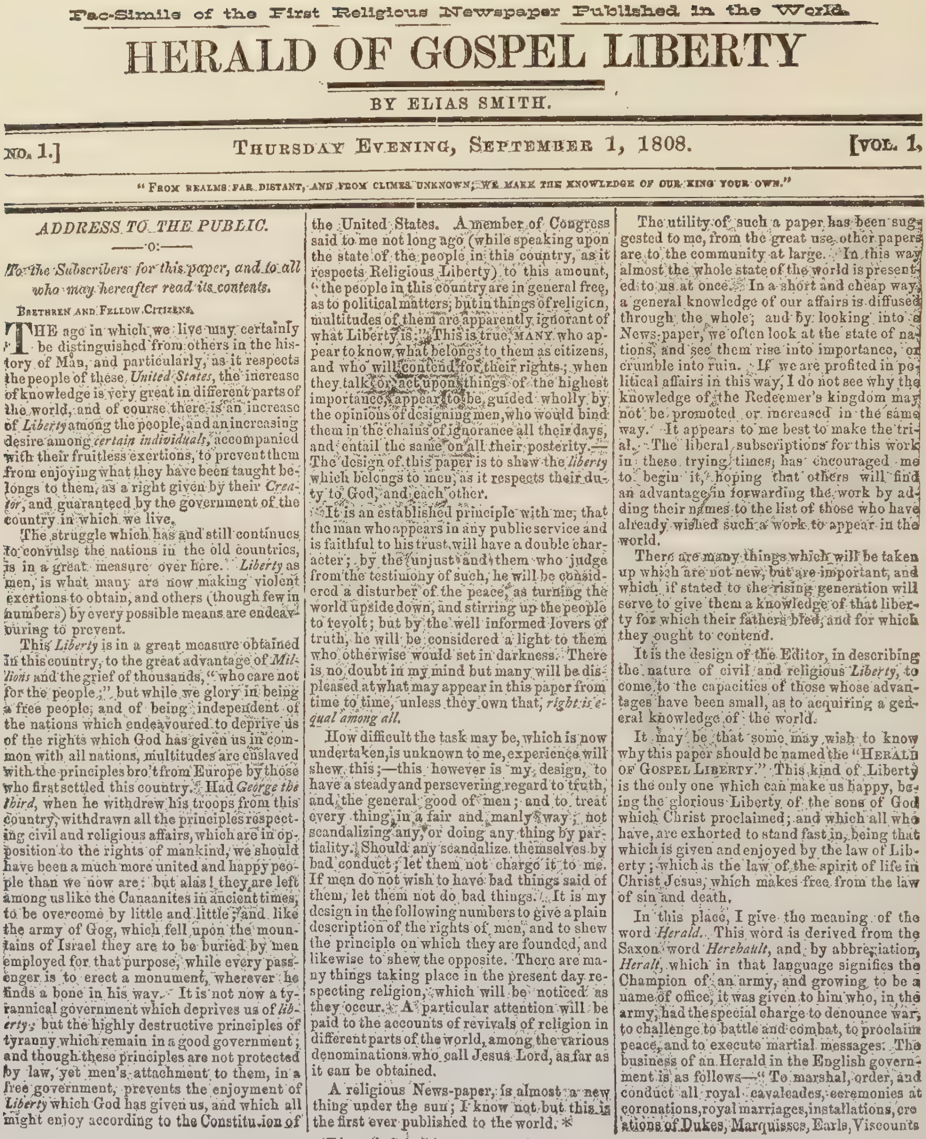
A LITERARY CURIOSITY

THE HERALD OF GOSPEL LIBERTY

One of the earliest, if not the earliest religious paper—not strictly a *news* paper—published in the country, was printed in Essex, Massachusetts, September 1, 1808. It was edited by Elias Smith, minister of the "Christian" society. The office of publication was afterward transferred to Philadelphia; the paper continued to be issued until 1817. Only a very few copies of this early pioneer in the field of religious journalism are in existence. The sheet is a coarse texture, and consists of four pages of twelve by sixteen inches. It was published fortnightly, at one dollar a year, postage paid by subscribers. Its circulation appears to have been chiefly in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Virginia. It represented the small sect who called themselves "Christians," and who claimed, by their rejection of all creeds, the disuse of the title *Reverend* as applied to ministers, the withdrawal from all associations of churches and missionary societies, to stand more nearly on the ground of primitive Christianity. It breathed a spirit of bitterness and censoriousness not calculated to win confidence for the doctrines and practices promulgated; most of the articles are controversial and filled with accusations against other churches and denominations. A notice that appears in the third volume shows that the paper suffered from lack of financial support, for it seems that many who could not conscientiously walk with the churches could conscientiously keep the printer out of his dues. One notice reads as follows: "Those in arrears (and they are not a few) are earnestly requested to pay what is due immediately. Those who are indebted for the years 1808 and 1809, must come forward, and pay the Editor or the Agents." One thing is certain; there has been a wonderful advance in fairness, courtesy, tolerance and Christian spirit in the realm of religious controversy within the past three-quarters of a century. "*The Herald of Gospel Liberty*" has had few successors in spirit and temper.

D. F. Lamson.

MANCHESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.



Fac-Simile of the First Religious Newspaper Published in the World.

HERALD OF GOSPEL LIBERTY

BY ELIAS SMITH.

NO. 1.] THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 1, 1808. [VOL. 1.

"FROM REALMS FAR DISTANT, AND FROM CLIMES UNKNOWN, WE MAKE THE KNOWLEDGE OF OUR KING YOUR OWN."

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

—o:—

To the Subscribers for this paper, and to all who may hereafter read its contents.

BRETHREN AND FELLOW CITIZENS.

THE age in which we live may certainly be distinguished from others in the history of Man, and particularly, as it respects the people of these *United States*, the increase of knowledge is very great in different parts of the world, and of course there is an increase of *Liberty* among the people, and an increasing desire among *certain individuals*, accompanied with their fruitless exertions, to prevent them from enjoying what they have been taught belongs to them, as a right given by their *Creator*, and guaranteed by the government of the country in which we live.

The struggle which has and still continues to convulse the nations in the old countries, is in a great measure over here. *Liberty* as men, is what many are now making violent exertions to obtain, and others (though few in numbers) by every possible means are endeavouring to prevent.

This *Liberty* is in a great measure obtained in this country, to the great advantage of *Millions* and the grief of thousands, "who care not for the people;" but while we glory in being a free people, and of being independent of the nations which endeavoured to deprive us of the rights which God has given us in common with all nations, multitudes are enslaved with the principles bro't from Europe by those who first settled this country. Had *George the third*, when he withdrew his troops from this country, withdrawn all the principles respecting civil and religious affairs, which are in opposition to the rights of mankind, we should have been a much more united and happy people than we now are: but alas! they are left among us like the Canaanites in ancient times, to be overcome by little and little; and like the army of Gog, which fell upon the mountains of Israel they are to be buried by men employed for that purpose, while every passenger is to erect a monument, wherever he finds a bone in his way. It is not now a tyrannical government which deprives us of *liberty*; but the highly destructive principles of tyranny which remain in a good government; and though these principles are not protected by law, yet men's attachment to them, in a free government, prevents the enjoyment of *Liberty* which God has given us, and which all might enjoy according to the Constitution of the United States. A member of Congress said to me not long ago (while speaking upon the state of the people in this country, as it respects Religious Liberty) to this amount, "the people in this country are in general free, as to political matters; but in things of religion, multitudes of them are apparently ignorant of what Liberty is:" This is true, MANY who appear to know what belongs to them as citizens, and who will contend for their rights; when they talk or act upon things of the highest importance, appear to be guided wholly by the opinions of designing men, who would bind them in the chains of ignorance all their days, and entail the same on all their posterity.—The design of this paper is to shew the *liberty* which belongs to men, as it respects their duty to God, and each other.

It is an established principle with me, that the man who appears in any public service and is faithful to his trust, will have a double character; by the unjust and them who judge from the testimony of such, he will be considered a disturber of the peace, as turning the world upside down, and stirring up the people to revolt; but by the well informed lovers of truth, he will be considered a light to them who otherwise would set in darkness. There is no doubt in my mind but many will be displeased at what may appear in this paper from time to time, unless they own that, *right is equal among all.*

How difficult the task may be, which is now undertaken, is unknown to me, experience will shew this;—this however is my design, to have a steady and persevering regard to truth, and the general good of men; and to treat every thing in a fair and manly way; not scandalizing any, or doing any thing by partiality. Should any scandalize themselves by bad conduct; let them not charge it to me. If men do not wish to have bad things said of them, let them not do bad things. It is my design in the following numbers to give a plain description of the rights of men, and to shew the principle on which they are founded, and likewise to shew the opposite. There are many things taking place in the present day respecting religion, which will be noticed as they occur. A particular attention will be paid to the accounts of revivals of religion in different parts of the world, among the various denominations who call Jesus Lord, as far as it can be obtained.

A religious News-paper, is almost a new thing under the sun; I know not but this is the first ever published to the world. *

The utility of such a paper has been suggested to me, from the great use other papers are to the community at large. In this way almost the whole state of the world is presented to us at once. In a short and cheap way, a general knowledge of our affairs is diffused through the whole; and by looking into a News-paper, we often look at the state of nations, and see them rise into importance, or crumble into ruin. If we are profited in political affairs in this way, I do not see why the knowledge of the Redeemer's kingdom may not be promoted or increased in the same way. It appears to me best to make the trial. The liberal subscriptions for this work in these trying times, has encouraged me to begin it, hoping that others will find an advantage in forwarding the work by adding their names to the list of those who have already wished such a work to appear in the world.

There are many things which will be taken up which are not new, but are important, and which if stated to the rising generation will serve to give them a knowledge of that liberty for which their fathers bled, and for which they ought to contend.

It is the design of the Editor, in describing the nature of civil and religious *Liberty*, to come to the capacities of those whose advantages have been small, as to acquiring a general knowledge of the world.

It may be that some may wish to know why this paper should be named the "HERALD OF GOSPEL LIBERTY." This kind of Liberty is the only one which can make us happy, being the glorious Liberty of the sons of God which Christ proclaimed; and which all who have, are exhorted to stand fast in, being that which is given and enjoyed by the law of Liberty; which is the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which makes free from the law of sin and death.

In this place, I give the meaning of the word *Herald*. This word is derived from the Saxon word *Herebault*, and by abbreviation, *Heralt*, which in that language signifies the Champion of an army, and growing to be a name of office, it was given to him who, in the army, had the special charge to denounce war, to challenge to battle and combat, to proclaim peace, and to execute martial messages. The business of an Herald in the English government is as follows—" To marshal, order, and conduct all royal cavalcades, ceremonies at coronations, royal marriages, installations, creations of Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts

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*This was the first religious newspaper in the world.

For the above fac-simile of the first issue of this early newspaper we are indebted to the courtesy of General John Eaton, President of Marietta College, Ohio.

HARVEY BIRCH AND THE MYTH OF ENOCH CROSBY

In the *Atlantic Magazine* for February, 1887, under the somewhat unfortunate title of "A Glance Backward"—unfortunate, because not affording the least clue to the character of the paper—is a most authentic and important article by Miss Susan Fenimore-Cooper, giving the facts of the origin and publication of her great father's immortal romance of "*The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground.*" It shows how naturally and easily the idea of a Revolutionary novel grew out of the delightful surroundings of Mr. Cooper at Mamaroneck and Scarsdale, in the heart of Westchester County, New York, and the historic character of that region and its people. It lays open before us the Westchester social life of that day, of which Mr. Cooper was a part, in all its ramifications, the kindly relations all classes then held to each other, and the personal favor with which Mr. Cooper was regarded by all, high and low, rich and poor. But especially important is this article in an historical point of view, from its complete demolition of the myth that one Enoch Crosby was the original of "Harvey Birch"—an idle tale that has been told and written over and over again, in so many forms and at so many times, that perhaps half the people one meets really believe it. After describing what the "Neutral Ground" really was, its scenery, stories and people, when Mr. Cooper became a resident, Miss Cooper says:

"A book, whose scene should be laid in the Neutral Ground, was planned, and was gradually taking shape as the future writer was listening to these details of the local incidents of the Revolution. The leading idea, however, was suggested by a conversation with Governor Jay, which had taken place at an earlier day, on the broad piazza of the old homestead at Bedford. Frequent visits were paid to Bedford in those years, Mr. Cooper having been intimate from boyhood with Judge William Jay. In the course of the conversation alluded to, Governor Jay observed that the spirit of true patriotism shown by all classes of people during the great struggle of the Revolution was very striking. There were, for instance, he remarked, men whose services at critical moments, in obtaining information for the use of the commander-in-chief, had been of the greatest importance, and that repeatedly such services had been undertaken at great personal risk, from the most disinterested love of country. He then related a remarkable incident of this nature, with which he had been himself connected. He was at that time chairman of a secret committee, appointed by Congress to counteract the efforts of the English leaders to raise various corps of provincial troops among the people of the country. Among other agents employed by Mr. Jay in connection with these duties was a man, poor, ignorant so far as instruction went, but cool, shrewd, and fearless. It was his office to learn in what part of the country the agents of the crown were making their secret efforts to embody men, to repair to the place, to enlist, to appear zealous in the royal cause, and to obtain as much information of the enemy's plans as possible. In short, he was a spy. This man was repeatedly arrested by his countrymen. On one occasion he was condemned to the gallows, and only saved by speedy and secret orders to his jailer. He was permitted to escape. This apparent peril was, in fact, of great assistance in keeping up his assumed character among the English. When Mr. Jay received the appointment of Minister to Spain, before leaving his seat in Congress he reported to the Government the outline of the work, and character of his agent, whose name remained a secret, and asked for an appropriation in behalf of a man who had been of so much use, and at so great a risk. A suitable sum was voted. Mr. Jay summoned his agent to a secret interview. They met at night in a wood. Mr. Jay praised his companion for his adroitness and fidelity, explained the necessity of all intercourse between them being now closed, and finally offered the money. The man drew back, *and declined receiving it.* 'The country has need of it; I can work and gain my livelihood.' Persuasion was useless. Mr. Jay left the wood bearing the gold with him, and with a deep respect for the man who had so often hazarded his life, unrequited, for their common country. It was this narrative of Governor Jay which, several years later, suggested the character of Harvey Birch. The name of the agent of Mr. Jay was never revealed; and the facts stated above were the sole foundation for the character of the Spy. *Mr. Cooper never held any conversation with a single individual claiming to have been a spy for the American government. Every incident in the book, beyond what is stated above, was invented by himself.* A number of persons have, since the publication of the novel, claimed identity with the character of Harvey Birch. These may have been patriotic men, serving their country as unrequited spies. *But no one of them was the original of Harvey Birch. Mr. Cooper often smiled at these different claims as recorded in the papers, and he frequently declared in the family circle that, so far as he was himself concerned,* the conversation with Governor Jay was the *sole foundation* for the character of Harvey Birch." * This testimony is irrefragable and conclusive upon the point.

* The italics are those of the present writer.

The story that Enoch Crosby was "Harvey Birch" seems to have originated in a thin volume published in 1828, during Mr. Cooper's absence in Europe, where he had been for two or three years before that date, under the title of "*The Spy Unmasked; or Memoirs of Enoch Crosby*, alias *Harvey Birch, the Hero of Mr. Cooper's Tale of the Neutral Ground*," in which it is boldly asserted as a fact. From this source it has passed from writer to writer without question or examination, who, each in turn, like sheep over a wall, have given it currency; and this, too, notwithstanding Mr. Cooper's own statements in prefaces to different editions of *The Spy*. The book itself, a cheap, thin duodecimo, is practically an abbreviated or skeleton history of the Revolution from its beginning to its end, based on Mrs. Mercy Warren's history of that war, with a few additions from *Heath's Memoirs* and *Thatcher's Journal*. Into this, its author, one H. L. Barnum,—whether or not a relative of the great Phineas T. Barnum, of modern fame, is not known—has injected various adventures of Crosby, which he says Crosby himself related. The fact seems to be, from Barnum's own account, that he became possessed of the idea that Crosby was "Harvey Birch," and went to see him, and had long talks with him, the result of which seems to have been, that the old man actually at last seems to have believed that he was Harvey—very much as George the Fourth claimed that he led the British cavalry at Waterloo—though, till Barnum's visit, he had never seen, or even heard of, "*The Spy*," which was published seven years before.

Unfortunately for Mr. Barnum, he added a "Conclusion" to the original edition of his book, in which, unhappily forgetting the lesson taught by the author of *The Spy*, he spoilt the whole thing by pathetically saying that for all his revolutionary services Crosby received only *two hundred and fifty dollars*. This "Conclusion," it is perhaps unnecessary to state, has been omitted in later editions of this Enoch Crosby myth.

GUY HATFIELD OF SCARSDALE

MINOR TOPICS

THE FIRST AMERICAN REBEL

Letter from Dr. R. B. L. Trippett.

Editor of Magazine of American History :

In the January, 1887, number of your invaluable magazine Hon. John W. Johnston, under the title "THE FIRST AMERICAN REBEL," refers to the pioneer republican, Nathaniel Bacon, jr., as Nathaniel Bacon.

Burke, in speaking of the council of five, who issued the writ for a new election of burgesses, under direction of the famous convention called by Bacon, jr., says, in speaking of the latter, "by Bacon and four other members of council." * But the member of council was Nathaniel Bacon, sen., and the general was Nathaniel Bacon, jr., delegate for Henrico. † It is just as well in writing of historical matters to be exact, so that any one reading may understand. Again, Judge Johnston says, in speaking of the death of this great republican, Nathaniel Bacon, jr., "About the first of October he died, and, prominent as he was, the *cause*, *place*, and manner of his death are not certainly known. . . . Some, however, declare that he was assassinated !" Most of us of Virginia have been accepting as true the account given by Henry Howe in his outline history, in which he says : "We have little account of Bacon's (jr.) proceedings after this successful termination of his labors ; we presume he did not do much, *as he was ill of a disease caught by sleeping exposed in the trenches before Jamestown*, which in a short time terminated his existence. *He died at the house of a Mr. Pate*, in Gloucester County. Thus died the distinguished individual who overcame both the foreign and domestic enemies of his country. So died the father of democracy, the friend of free government. He gave his life for his principles. It was from his life and actions, I take it, that John Brown got his afflatus, for he was the first champion of the people, in contra-distinction to the aristocracy. If we of the South are wrong in believing the above, the sooner we are put right the better.

May the memory of the life of America's first patriot never grow dim—may our children be taught to reverence him as they do the heroes of the Revolution.

R. B. L. TRIPPETT.

KINGWOOD, WEST VIRGINIA.

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* *Burke*, vol. II. p. 179.

† *Henning*, vol. II. pp. 544–5.

ERRORS CORRECTED ABOUT EARLY NEWSPAPERS

Editor of Magazine of American History:

In the communication, "The First Religious Paper," published in the March number of your Magazine, it is stated "that the grandfather of the poet (N. P. Willis) went to Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1796, and established the *Scioto Gazette*, the *first* newspaper in what was then known as the Northwest Territory. Mr. Willis died on his farm near Chillicothe, April 1, 1831. He was, therefore, in all probability, publishing a secular newspaper at Chillicothe at the very time when Mr. Andrews commenced his *Recorder*; certainly was a resident of the town or its vicinity, and could not well have been ignorant of the existence of that journal. As his son was contemplating a similar enterprise in Boston, it would be extremely natural that the father, in corresponding with his son, should mention Mr. Andrews' paper, or possibly send him a copy." Again, the statement is made that Mr. Maxwell's *Centinel* was published at Cincinnati—or Lovanteville, if St. Clair had not then abolished that ridiculous name—in 1793, and that this would "destroy the claim that the *Scioto Gazette*, Chillicothe, 1796, was the first newspaper in the Northwestern Territory."

There is a whole sheaf of errors in these statements, and they are doubtless innocently made. Mr. Willis did not establish the *Gazette* in 1796. He did not die on his farm near Chillicothe in 1831, and never owned such a farm. He was not publishing a secular newspaper at Chillicothe when Mr. Andrews commenced his *Recorder*, nor was he a resident of the town at that time. The claim was never made, except ignorantly, that the *Gazette* was the first newspaper in the Northwestern Territory. Mr. Frederick Hudson is, I believe, responsible for the misstatement that it was established in 1796.

Willis, who established the *Gazette*, was born in Boston, in 1755, and had the proud distinction of having been a member of the gallant band of Mohawks who, on a memorable evening in December, 1773, boarded the East India Company's ships lying in the harbor, and held there a nice little tea-party. He was one of the proprietors of the Boston *Independent Chronicle* from 1776 to 1784. Afterward he published the *Potomac Guardian* at Martinsburg, Va., and probably emigrated to the Northwestern Territory toward the close of the century. The first issue of the *Gazette* was made in April, 1800. A file for 1802–3, now in the Public Library at Chillicothe, begins with number 110, date Saturday, June 19, 1802. In the issue of April 23, 1803, is this item: "This paper completes three years since the first publication." That should conclusively settle the question.

In 1878 the writer prepared a history of the early journalism of Chillicothe, and it was published in the *Advertiser* of that place. In the preparation of data for this historical study I was greatly aided by Dr. Samuel McAdow, then "the oldest inhabitant," now numbered with the silent majority. "We turned o'er many books together," and I was furnished with his opinion. I discovered that Willis left Chillicothe about 1804 and never returned. A relative of mine has a copy of the

Gazette bearing the date of November 10, 1806, and it was then published by J. S. Collins & Co. Judge Bailhache was probably the editor of the paper when Mr. Andrews published the *Recorder*. I venture to transcribe from the *Advertiser* Dr. McAdow's remarks about the latter paper, and they must have value as they relate to the first religious paper published in America. The claim is made that it was the first ever published. The Doctor says: "I remember the paper very well. It was called the *Weekly Recorder*, and printed and published in a little log office that was located on the Main Street property now owned by Judge McCoy. Rev. John Andrews, a Presbyterian minister, was its projector, editor, and publisher. He was a good preacher, having a number of charges under his care, and a man of fine abilities. The paper was started, I think, shortly after the war of 1812, and its publication continued until 1820 or 1821. I have a distinct recollection of loitering about the office, as a boy, watching the men setting type. The claim has been made, and, I think, clearly substantiated, that the *Recorder* was the first religious paper published in this country. Several years ago I wrote an article on the old-time churches of Chillicothe for the *Register*" (a local paper) "in which I had occasion to refer to Mr. Andrews and his paper. General Worthington met me shortly afterward, and, after complimenting me on my historical accuracy, said that he had a number of *Recorders* in his possession, and would send them down to me. I have them here."

The Doctor arose and took from a cabinet a bundle of musty papers, which, after handling reverently for a moment, he passed to the reporter. The title "*Weekly Recorder*, Chillicothe, Ohio, 1815," in excellent letter-press, stared out from the small, square sheets, dim and yellow with age. "I do not suppose that Mr. Andrews made a fortune out of this," half questioned the reporter.

"He made enough to support a large family at any rate, for he derived little or no income from his ministerial profession. The rule was then that a minister should preach for nothing and find himself. He made enough to build that brick house on Main Street, owned by Judge McCoy. It was moderately successful."

In glancing over the Doctor's reminiscences I am tempted to add one more excerpt, although it has no relevance to the matter under discussion. But it does relate to Caleb Atwater, who wrote and published the dismalest history of Ohio, that an all-wise Providence, for some inscrutable purpose, ever permitted mankind to be afflicted with.

"Well, Doctor, how about the *Advertiser?*" next inquired our seeker after knowledge. "From what kind of an acorn did that lofty oak take root?"

"From very small beginnings, sir. My impression is that a man by the name of Atwater came here from Circleville, and started a paper called *The Friend of Freedom*. It soon fizzled out, and some wag wrote a mass of doggerel about the early demise of the bantling. I can only recall the refrain of the verses:

"The goose cackled once, and her tail dropped out;
Then up went *The Friend of Freedom*."

CHILLICOTHE, O.

W. W. JR.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Diary of Colonel Josiah Smith

From July 23 *to September* 7, 1776 (*Concluded*)

[Copied from the original in possession of Mr. Conklin Havens, East Moriches, Long Island, and contributed to the MAGAZINE by Mr. W. T. Avery.]

3 September I went over to Southhold to see Co^{ll} Levingston and he wors gon over to nue England before I got thare—

4 I came hum from Southhold—

5 I staid at hum Sick—

6 I wente to Mr. Woodhull—

7 I herd Co^{ll} Levingston wors Cumback to Sagharber & I sot oute to go thare & when I came to Davids I herd he wors at Southhold & I went thare and thar I herd he and all his men wors gon to nue Ingland & I came hum—

Hunting Toune July 29, 1776 Memorandum I Receved of Thomas Dearing 2000 Dollers for the purpose of paying 5 Dollers a man Bounty on thare pasing muster and haveing a Sufficient muskit or fire lock & acouterments I Sente one 1000 Dollers Doune Eſtward to Co^{ll} Mulford & Co^{ll} Terry to pay the men raisd in thare Batallions

I paid Capt John Weeks to pay of 44 (5 Dollers) men $220 Dollers

I paid Cap^t Nath^{el} Plat 290 Dollers to pay 58 men 5 Dollers a man

I paid Capt Selah Strong 290 Dollers to pay 58 men 5 Dollers a man—

I paid Capt Paule Reeve by the hand of Co^{ll} Thomas Terry 285 Dolers to pay 57 men 5 Dolers a man—

July 30— 1776—

Hunting Toune Then Receved of Co^{ll} Joſiah Smith 220 Dollers to pay 5 Dollers a man to 44 men and If thar is not 44 Men Musterd he is to Returne the over plush to me Reced per me

(signed) John Wickes

July 30— 1776—

Then Receved of Co^{ll} Joſiah Smith the sum of 290 Dollers to pay 5 Dollers a man to 58 men and If there is not 58 men Musterd I am to Returne the Overplush to the Co^{ll} by me—

(signed) Nath^{l} Platt Cap^{t}

August 3^{d}— 1776—

Then Recievd of Co^{ll} Joſiah Smith the sum of 290 Dollers to pay 5 dollers a man to 58 men and if there is not 58 men Musterd; I am to Return the Overplus to the Co^{ll} by me.

(signed) Selah Strong

WASHINGTON'S LAST TOOTH

Retained as an Heir-loom by the Family of Washington's Dentist.

[*Editor Magazine of American History :* Perhaps some of your numerous readers would be pleased to see Washington's courteous reply to the Greenwood letter given in the September (1886) number of your Magazine [XVI. 294, 295]. I copy from the original which, as framed by my grandfather at the time of its reception, hangs in my library.

The circumstances in connection with the last tooth, to which reference was made in the same number, will be seen in my " Remarks on the Portraiture of Washington," which appeared in the Magazine for January, 1878.—ISAAC J. GREENWOOD.]

Letter of George Washington to Mr. Jn°. Greenwood.

[*From the collection of Mr. Isaac J. Greenwood*]

Mount Vernon 6th Jan^{y} 1799

Sir,

Your letter of the 28th ult° with the parcel that accompanied it, came safe to hand, and I feel obliged by your attention to my requests, and for the directions you have given me.—

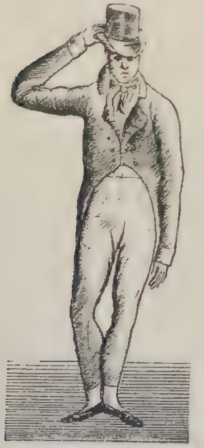
Enclosed you have Bank Notes for fifteen dollars, which I shall be glad to hear has got safe to your hands.—If you should remove to Connecticut, I should be glad to be advised of it ;—and to what place ; as I shall always prefer your services to that of any other, in the line of your present profession.—I am Sir

Your Very H^{ble} Servant

G°. Washington

NOTES

GUIDE TO POLITENESS—*Editor Magazine of American History :* The illustration of the "Waltz Dance" in your April issue [xvii. 292] reminds me of a quaint little book issued in 1810, entitled a "Guide to Politeness ; or A System of Directions for the Acquirement of Ease, Propriety and Elegance of Manners." The author was Francis D. Nichols, instructor of dancing, in Boston, and he introduces a large number of figures into his work to illustrate graceful attitudes. He gives minute directions about walking, bowing, shaking hands, entering and leaving a room, etc., etc. One of the most curious and amusing paragraphs concern the "Taking off the Hat." The gentleman is instructed to "place the right hand to the back part of the brim, and easily raise it from the back of the head (see figure 3) ; then let the hat regularly fall to the side, with the brim turned inwards, as represented by figure 4." The proper position to assume in shaking the hand of a person after entering a room is indicated by figure 6. The gentleman must move forward, with his hat in his left hand, offering his right hand, "which will give him a fine and agreeable appearance." The leaving of a room with hat and cane is most effectively illustrated by figure 7. The Professor says, "When turning to leave the company, shift your cane into the left hand (taking care to have the hat in the left hand also), then, after the address is past, and turning to open the door, take the hat from the left hand (the cane remaining) and place it upon the head, with the right hand." Young ladies were trained with equal care in all the graces and formalities that were esteemed needful. The author says : "it is our task not only to teach the feet how to tread the various and delightful mazes of the dance, but to fix and establish in youth, those thousand little items of character and behavior, which are so far from being trifles that they decide and stamp the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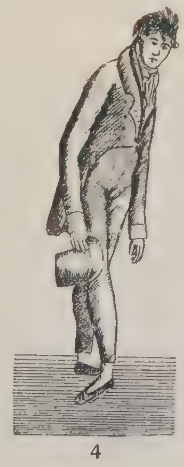
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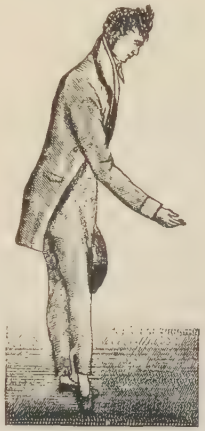
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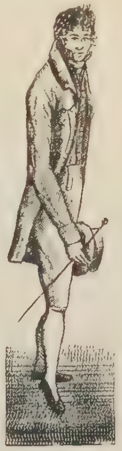
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man; they procure for him future reception and favor among mankind; and too often determine through life his prosperity and fortune in the world. It may be affirmed with safety, that more have made their fortunes by a graceful and manly appearance, than by their knowledge of the arts and sciences."

Among the fifteen rules established for general conduct three-fourths of a century ago, we find some that are very sensible; the *second* reads: "No gentleman will be so indecent as to smoke cigars in the hall or drawing-room;" and the *thirteenth*: "No gentleman will pass across the hall with his hat on." The book is an antiquarian treasure, as entertaining as it is valuable. V. W.

THE COLUMN CLUB.—This club was originally organized as a debating club, in 1826, in the city of New York, by twenty young men. Its first meeting was held in a small room back of old Christ Church, on Anthony, now Worth Street. By the suggestion of Rev. Dr. Lyell (as the meeting-room was supported by only one column) the club adopted the name of the "Column Club." At the remodeling of the church, the club had to remove, and Judge Anthony L. Robertson gave the members the use of an attic in his residence on Leonard Street, whence the nickname of the "Attic Club" was given it. So noisy were the debates that Judge Robertson was finally obliged to send the young men away, and they resorted to a loft in the old sugar house at Broadway and Leonard Street, where they remained for several years. The surviving members of the club, a comparatively short time ago, were William M. Evarts, Hamilton Fish, Augustus Schell, John Bigelow, John H. Gourlie, Parke Godwin, William Pritchard, George B. Butler, George H. Hoffman, Alonzo Clarke, and Edgar S. Van Winkle. This list has been reduced, within a few years past, by the decease of some of these well known gentlemen; but there yet remain a few. Among others who joined the club may be mentioned Chief-Justice Anthony L. Robertson, Jonathan Lawrence, Alex. L. Leonard, Thomas Lyell, Robert Kelly, Alfred W. Craven and Charles M. Leupp. I cannot give further names, but there are members yet living who will, without doubt, complete the list.

C. W. D.

UTICA, NEW YORK.

WOLVES ALONG THE HUDSON IN 1789.—The following document, found among the Van Cortlandt papers, is of singular interest. It is contributed by Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt, of Croton:

"Cortlandt Town, Dec'r 3, 1789.

Then Received of Pierre Van Cortlandt bythe hands of Javis Dusenbury, Twenty-four Shillings, in full for the killing of four Wolfs, that were killed within twenty miles of Capt'n Boyd's in Philip's town as appears from the several certificates showed at the time, I say rec'd by me.

Samuel Taylor, his mark
by order.

£1 4 0

Witness
Sam'l Jones

(endorsed) Wolf receipt, Paid Dec'r 3, 1789.

QUERIES

CONGREGATIONS AND CHURCHES—*Editor of Magazine of American History:* Will you, or some one, through your excellent Magazine, please answer this question: When, where, and by whom was (a) the first Roman Catholic, (b) the first Protestant (especially Lutheran) congregation formed, or church built on this continent? N.

AMERICAN DISCOVERER—What distinction (practical or scientific, or both, if possible), can you make between an American discoverer and an American explorer? P.

KING OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES—*Editor Magazine of American History:* I would be very thankful to you for a sound answer, through your valuable Magazine, to the following questions:

1. Was not, before the American revolution, the King of England the legitimate king also of the American colonies?

2. If he was, what legitimate right, particularly from a religious point of view (comp. Bible, *e. g.*, 1 Peter, ii., 13, 14) had the colonists to throw off their yoke, and found a republic of their own?

3. Finally, if they had any right to do as they did, why haven't other people that are oppressed the same right? H.

DE WOLF AND THOMAS LEE—Immediate information is requested from all persons of *De Wolf* name or descent, giving the names of earliest known ancestors of their families, and all facts concerning them. So far as they have been heard from, all of that name whose families have been in this country for several generations, are descended from Balthasar De Wolf, one of the first settlers of Lyme, Connecticut. The writer can probably trace their lines if the facts are given to her.

Similar information is also requested in regard to the descendants of *Thomas Lee*, another early settler of Lyme, Connecticut. It is also desired to learn from each family the principal facts in the histories of those who have served their country well in war or peace, or have in any way been marked by special usefulness or prominence. Facts received in time will be printed in the forthcoming volume of genealogical and biographical monographs advertised in this number of the Magazine.

Address MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY,
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

GEORGE CLINTON, COLONIAL GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK—*Editor of Magazine of American History:* Will you kindly publish some account of the first George Clinton, whose autograph letter I copied from the original in my possession, and contributed to your issue for March, 1885? FERGUSON HAINES

BIDDEFORD, MAINE.

REPLY:

Admiral George Clinton was a younger son of the Earl of Lincoln, an easy, good-natured, unambitious, unlettered naval officer, who was appointed governor of New York in 1743, arriving in the metropolis in the month of September of that year. He was a novice in affairs of State, and presently in controversy with the Legislature of New York, and urged the British Ministry to take cognizance of its "disobedience and indolence." He was at loggerheads with his counselors, and did not make friends readily with the Indians. He was not a master spirit, and was constantly humiliated and annoyed in attempting to control the conflicting elements. His blunders were ridiculed by the chief men of New York, and his demands for money to sustain the Government resulted in unprofitable quarrels and aggravating personalities. He became the unwelcome instrument through which the Ministry experimented upon New York, in a sort of disciplining process, to extort from the Assembly fixed salaries and a permanent revenue. The struggle was prosecuted with vigor, but fearlessness of monarchial power was deep-rooted among the inhabitants, and Clinton, disgusted with the determined opposition he encountered on every side, virtually acknowledged his complete failure. He was succeeded in the governorship in 1753 by Sir Danvers Osborne, who in less than a week after his arrival *hanged himself*. EDITOR

"SIR PEYTON SHIPWORTHY"—A gentleman of this name is referred to in an unpublished manuscript letter written by Miss Lott of this city in 1784 to Miss Suhm, Parsippany, New Jersey, in which mention is made of him as present at a dinner-party given by her father, Mr. Abraham Lott. Other distinguished persons were present as guests, among whom were Governor George Clinton and Alexander Hamilton. Can any reader of this magazine give any further information concerning him?

W. H.

NEW YORK, *April*, 1887.

AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS IN THE PAY OF FRANCE—M. de Vergennes on the 25th of September, 1779, wrote M. de la Luzerne, the French Minister at Philadelphia, a letter of which the original text is given in M. de Circourt's work, vol iii., p. 282.

"His majesty authorizes you to continue the donations (*les donatifs*) which M. Gérard has given or promised to various American authors, and of which he will surely have handed you a list."

M. de Circourt, in a note to this passage, says: "Temporary pecuniary assistance. This delicate subject has been, even in my time, the subject of criticisms and controversies into which we need not enter."

M. Gérard on the 29th of May, 1779, wrote to M. de Vergennes that another writer had offered himself—a former member of Congress—who would probably soon re-enter that body, and who signed his productions "Americanus;" that this writer wished to follow up a suggestion, favorable to France, made in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of May 25; and that he was in need of money.

QUERY—Who was Americanus? What are the criticisms and controversies on the delicate subject of *donatifs* alluded to by de Circourt? J. J.

REPLIES

William pennoyer — "An Interesting Inquiry." [xvii. 243]—Among my notes I find the following: "October 8, 1678, Richard Lounsbury, of Rye, Connecticut, gave to Samuel Edsall, of New York, Merchant, deed of trust of house and lot in Rye, and of a tract of land on Budd's Neck: *habendum* for the use of the children of the grantor and Elizabeth his wife; *provided* that said children being educated and provided for by their father, said lands should remain to himself, &c. [N. B. Elizabeth was the niece of William Penoyer, *of London*, by whom she had been bequeathed a legacy, which had been invested in the premises so conveyed. The Lounsburys had given a power of attorney to George Heathcote, 'Marriner,' who had brought over the legacy in money and goods, and deposited one third of same, in Jan^y, with Mr. Edsall. His Receipt therefor was witnessed by Matthias Nicolls (Colonial Sec'y) and J. Juxon.

In 1670, one William Penoyer devised to Harvard College an annuity from rents of an estate in Norfolk, Eng., which then yielded £34: and in 1848, £50: Probably the uncle of Elizabeth, —Mrs. Lounsbury, of Rye]" If this conjecture be correct, it may afford a clue to the founder of the "Colony of Nox" scholarship. No doubt Mr. Henry F. Waters, the discoverer of John Harvard's parentage and ancestry, would unearth Penoyer's will, if he has not already done so. See mention of "William Pennoyer, of London, merchant," in will of Edward Parks, Jan'^y 23. 1650. xi. *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, p. 166, by Mr. Waters; reprinted from *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, Jan'y, 1886.

Thos. H'y Edsall
Glenwood Springs, Colo.

Whalley the regicide [xvii. 264]—Lossing says the regicides arrived at Boston, July, 1660; abode a while at Cambridge; thence Goffe and Whalley to Hadley, and Dixwell to New Haven; afterward all at New Haven, where Goffe died in 1678, Whalley in 1679, and Dixwell later; all three lie in the graveyard in the rear of the Central Church, where stones mark their graves. Possibly Mr. Amoux's query would be still further answered by "Memoranda concerning Edward Whalley and William Goffe" in Vol. 2, New Haven Colony Society, 1876. G.

Shakespeare in America [xvii. 350]—The leading plays of Shakespeare were performed in America long before the date given by this correspondent. The chief authority on this question is William Dunlap, whose "History of the American Theatre" is, notwithstanding its incorrectness and incompleteness, a valuable work. According to Dunlap the first performance was at Williamsburg, Va., Sept. 5, 1752, *Merchant of Venice* the play. It is claimed, however, and justly, we believe, that this honor belongs to Colley Cibber's version of *Richard III.*, acted in Philadelphia in 1749 or '50. *Othello*, first time, Dec. 26, 1751, in New York, *King Lear*, Jan. 14, 1754.

Robert English.
Myerstown, Pa.

SOCIETIES

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Some two years ago the attention of the Maryland Historical Society was called to the fact that there nowhere existed a complete set of the National Medals of the United States. Neither at the Mint nor at any of the Departments of the Government had there a copy of these valuable mementoes been preserved. The Society thereupon appointed a committee, charged with the duty of investigating the matter of the National Medals that had been ordered by the Government, and, if possible, of making a collection of all the National Medals known to exist.

The work of this committee has been prosecuted under many difficulties, a report of which was made to the Society at its regular meeting on the evening of March 14th, accompanied by a very interesting paper giving an account of the medals struck, and the history of them as far as ascertained, which had been prepared and was read by Richard M. McSherry, Esq., the chairman of the committee, and will in due time appear as one of the Fund Publications of the Society.

The United States has been extremely chary in conferring this distinguished honor upon individuals, and has granted but eighty-three since its existence as a a nation. The first of these antedates the Declaration of Independence by more than three months, having been ordered by Congress on the 25th of March, 1776, to be presented to General Washington in recognition of the wise and spirited conduct of himself, his officers, and soldiers in the successful siege of Boston. From the condition of the country, however, considerable time elapsed before the medal so ordered was in fact presented. The first that was actually struck was one which was ordered later to Lieutenant-Colonel De Fleury, which was made in France, under the direction of Dr. Franklin, in 1780.

The United States Mint was not established until 1792, and all the Revolutionary medals ordered until that time were struck in France. The medals, with very rare exceptions, have been awarded for conspicuous valor and ability, and distinguished service, either upon land or sea. One marked exception was the medal voted by Congress to Cornelius Vanderbilt for presenting to the government, January 28, 1864, a vessel worth a million of dollars, at which time he used the noble language: "No pecuniary sacrifice is too great to make for our country; no inducements great enough to tempt us to profit by its necessities." The only other medal ordered in connection with the war of the rebellion was the one voted to General Grant. Among the recipients of the medals have been the military and naval heroes of the Revolutionary war, the war of 1812, the conflict with the Barbary States, the Mexican war, and some few others. The committee, impressed with the importance of having complete collections of these mementoes of a nation's gratitude, and of the deeds of its heroes, prepared, and had presented to Congress at its late session, an act providing for the coining of copies of all these national medals, so that a full set might be placed in each department of the Government, and in the custody of every State of the Union. This bill, though unanimously reported, and warmly supported by the committee on coinage, was crowded out by the pressure of business, and not acted upon by Congress. The society will continue to press the matter upon the attention of Congress, and does not doubt of ultimate success. The value of such a collection for historic purposes can hardly be overrated.

THE DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY (Mass.) held its annual meeting on the 6th of April, and the following officers were elected: president, Henry O. Hildreth; vice-president, Alfred Hewins; curators, Erastus Worthington, Henry W. Richards, Don Gleason Hill, John H. Burdakin, Elijah Howe; corresponding secretary, Julius H. Tuttle; recording secretary, John L. Wakefield; treasurer, Frederick J. Baker; librarian, John H. Burdakin; the publication committee, Henry O. Hildreth, Julius H. Tuttle, Don Gleason Hill.

This society has now a handsome new building of its own in process of erection, made possible through the munificent bequest of Miss Hannah Shuttleworth.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—This society held its regular monthly meeting on the evening of the 28th instant, at its rooms in the City Library building, the president, Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. Hon. John F. Seymour presented to the society a crayon portrait of Gerrit Boon, of Holland, the agent of the Holland Land Company, who was the first settler at the village of Trenton, in the year 1793. The company which he represented is said at one time to have owned over five millions of acres of land in Oneida County, and the flourishing village of Boonville is named in honor of him. This presentation was made in accordance with the wishes of Governor Horatio Seymour, who, as it is well known, was the honored president of the society, from the time when it was founded until his decease. The portrait is by the celebrated artist, St. Memin, specimens of whose skill are to be seen on the walls of the society, in the miniature portraits of General and Mrs. Alexander Macomb. The president also presented a copy of his recently published *History of New York*, and General C. W. Darling, the corresponding secretary, presented a large number of donations received by him for the society during the past month, from various parts of the world. Mr. John L. Earll, a member of the board of councilors, read a paper contributed by S. L. Frey, of Palatine Bridge, entitled, "Recollections of Joseph Bonaparte," and Rev. D. W. Bigelow read a paper written for the society by Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, of Baldwinsville, on the topic, "Were Shikellimy and Logan Oneidas?" On motion of Alexander Seward, the usual vote of thanks was extended to donors, and a vote of thanks presented to the authors of these interesting and able papers. The meeting then adjourned.

BOOK NOTICES

THE HISTORY OF ROME. By THEODORE MOMMSEN: The Province from Cæsar to Diocletian. 2 vols. 16mo, pp. 386 each. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons.

The author of one of the standard modern histories of the Roman Empire may well have hesitated, after a lapse of thirty years, to take up his pen for the completion, or at least for the continuation of a task that the world regarded as practically finished; but Theodore Mommsen brings to the work the mature fruit of a life devoted to the study of his choice, and the result is a foregone conclusion. It seems hardly possible that thirty years have elapsed since his four volumes were given to the world, and at once took easily among the most profound and learned works of their class. Designed originally more for the general reader than for the professional scholar, they at once secured the high appreciation of German students, and when translated into English by the Rev. W. P. Dickson, Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow, commanded a similar recognition from the English reading world. The same able translator survives to do a like work for the present volumes, and the author's graphic powers of delineation inspire as they did of old every line of the later translation.

Dr. Mommsen recognizes the excellent work that has been done on the period not covered by his previous volumes, but holds, not without reason, that the period included between Cæsar and Diocletian remains comparatively unexplored, especially as regards the Imperial Provinces which included so much of what is now the garden of the world.

To accompany the presentation of the civil and political status of the world as it then existed, eight maps have been prepared by Professor Kiepert, including almost the whole of the then known world, from Persia on the east to England and Spain on the west, and the wide belt of African territory bordering the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. These maps are prepared with the wonderful attention to detail that have placed German cartographers at the head of their profession, and are an invaluable aid to the intelligent understanding of the context.

Both author and translator lament the lack of a fifth volume of the general history of Rome, and whether such a volume is yet to be supplied remains an open question in the minds of both. If the present volumes lack somewhat the vivid description and individual portraiture that were so striking a feature of their predecessors, they possess other elements of interest that entitle them to an equal rank in the use of materials gleaned from the rich historical stores that have become available largely through the researches of Dr. Mommsen himself.

THE GENEALOGICAL DICTIONARY OF RHODE ISLAND. Comprising three generations of settlers who came before 1690. (With many families carried to the Fourth Generation.) By JOHN OSBORNE AUSTIN. Imperial quarto, square, pp. 443. Printed by Joel Munsell's Sons. Albany, 1887.

This work is not merely local in its character, as its title might imply. The people whose names are inscribed in its pages are scattered through every habitable part of the United States. It embraces a record of four hundred and sixty-five distinct families, with abstracts of the settlement of more than eleven hundred estates and of numerous early deeds, besides various items concerning the lives of the early inhabitants. Interest in genealogical studies is on the increase; the time has come when intelligent men and women wish to know something about themselves and their ancestry, and many are seeking knowledge without knowing where to go for correct sources of information. Mr. Austin seems to have hit the right vein in his researches; and the admirable manner in which the genealogical tables are arranged will commend the volume to every one who glances through it. We can hardly see how any native of Rhode Island, wherever his home may be, can do without such a work. The author has evidently counted on a limited sale, as the pages are not stereotyped. But the probabilities are that, when it is too late, there will be an active demand for it. The price is $10.

A CENTURY OF ELECTRICITY. By T. C. MENDENHALL. 16mo, pp. 229. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

It is not infrequently remarked that the present is the age of electricity, and every succeeding year renders the saying more truly indicative of the age. So rapid is the progress of the science that even the nomenclature keeps in advance of all save expert knowledge. Boys yet in their teens can remember when electric lights were unknown save in the scientific lecture-room. And still younger ones, if they take any interest in such matters, can remember when electric motors were still in the future. Now almost every large town has its system of electric lights, and the railroad companies are only experimenting with a view of determining which of a score of practicable motors is really the best. Barely a century has passed since the very existence of the mysterious fluid that we call electricity was unknown, but now the world is coming to believe that it has to learn only a little more to supersede steam with the more subtle and more powerful agent that pervades all space, and needs only to be harnessed to do all our work for us. The present volume is eminently well calculated to impart a popular knowledge of the subject, and it is probably the best that has as yet been presented in an accessible form.

THE EMANCIPATION OF MASSACHUSETTS. By BROOKS ADAMS. 16mo, pp. 382. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co, 1887.

Ever since the Massachusetts colonies began to be written about from the stand-point of outside criticism; indeed ever since they began to be talked about—and the talking, of course, long ante-dated the writing—the critics have been divided by a sharp line of demarkation. On the one hand have been the descendants of the Puritans, who have naturally been somewhat predisposed to extol the virtues and ignore or minify the vices of their respected progenitors. On the other hand have been the descendants or relations of New York Dutchmen or Virginian cavaliers, or at least the outside world in general who cared nothing for the traditions of Plymouth, and took pains to reverse the picture. Boston having once been, if she is not now, the literary centre, had rather the advantage until recently, and probably the preponderance of published matter has been on the puritanical side, though some very severe things have been said against the ideal Pilgrim. The truth probably—nay, almost from necessity—lies between the two extremes. We have had occasion lately to notice at least two historical romances which presented the life of those early days in what was intended for unprejudiced light, and now comes Mr. Brooks Adams, a Puritan of the Puritans, with a very sharp attack upon the generally accepted estimate of the New England forefathers. His strongest point may be said to be the title of his book. It must strike most readers as a novel and original idea that the Bay State has ever been emancipated, and the question must at once present itself: "What need had she of emancipation?" Has not she always been a synonym for freedom? Was she not from the earliest times pledged to the utmost liberty of person and of conscience? Mr. Adams says no with an emphasis so emphatic that he commands attention, and if he leaves his readers in perplexing doubt at the end of the volume, the doubt is not due to any lack of zeal on his part.

The long and short of it is that he endeavors to prove that the Bay colonies were hopelessly priest-ridden, and that their emancipation was only accomplished at a comparatively recent date.

An ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts should be written from the calm vantage-ground of a judicial frame of mind, but this does not seem to have been the frame in which the author approached his task. He certainly presents his side of the controversy with unsparing severity of citation and inference, but, either through natural bent or cultivated prejudice, he fails to give credit where credit is due. The difficult conditions of the first settlement offer for him no excuses in palliation of severity, and we lay aside the book with the not unreasonable hope that some Massachusetts man will take up the gauntlet that he has thrown down and present the case from a more catholic tribunal.

COLLECTIONS OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. IX., 8vo, pp. 393. Published for the Society. 1887. Portland, Maine.

The contents of this ninth volume of the valuable series issued by the Maine Historical Society is unusually attractive. The first paper is on Sir William Phips, read before the Society by William Goold, of Windham. He sketches that notable character in our colonial annals from many points of view, and furnishes a most interesting chapter in American history. The second paper is entitled "Brigadier-General Samuel Waldo, 1696–1759," by Joseph Williamson, and is a biographical study of more than ordinary value. General Waldo was the grandfather of Mrs. Knox, the wife of General Knox of Revolutionary fame. He is described as a man of commanding presence, tall, stout, and of dark complexion. His portrait represents him in a scarlet coat, waistcoat, and small-clothes, with a smooth-shaven face, and powdered periwig; the waistcoat richly embroidered, according to the prevailing fashion, descending almost to the knees, and forming the most conspicuous part of the dress. His right hand holds a truncheon, probably for the better display of the heavy lace wrist-band. Other papers are on "William Hutchings, the last surviving Revolutionary pensioner in New England;" on "The White Hills of New Hampshire;" "A Memoir of Nathan Clifford;" and "Edward Godfrey." The book contains several interesting portraits and other illustrations.

PRINCIPLES OF ART. By JOHN C. VAN DYKE, Librarian of the Sage Library, New Brunswick, N. J. 12mo, pp. 291. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1887.

Only a life-long familiarity with art can enable an author to handle a vast subject, concerning which so much has been written, with the clear comprehension and grasp that characterizes the present work. This is illustrated by the division of the subject into two general parts, namely, "Art in History, and Art in Theory;" these, again, naturally separating into three divisions, each of which develops the history of the subject in harmony with the advancing civilization of man, from the primitive stage, where it is merely decorative or symbolic, through the classical stage, as evinced by the art of Greece, to the intellectual tendency that marks the early days of the Christian era, reaching its fullest perfection in still later times. Expression and individuality at last assume their present bearing upon the civilization of the nineteenth century. Mr. Van Dyke's style, straightforward and devoid of the complications that so often obscure an author's meaning, is admirably adapted for the purpose in hand, and promises for his book a permanent place among the many art treatises that have gone before.

A SHORT HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT.

By B. C. SKOTTOWE, M. A. 16mo, pp. 345. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Any literary worker who has ever undertaken the task of looking up the official record of some proceeding of the British parliament will, on reading the title-page of this book, be visited by a memory of long rows of folio volumes labeled "Journal of the House of Lords," "Journal of the House of Commons," and the like, and the recollection will come back of long and hopeless delving in columns of indexes, abandoned, perhaps, in despair at the end. To such an one the task of a history of Parliament, even a short one, must seem appalling; but an Englishman has attempted, and, in a sense, at least, accomplished it. To be sure, he did not have to search through all those formidable folio volumes, but he must have done a good deal of wearisome work, and no doubt the great library at Oxford—for he hails from New College, in that venerable university—was made to pay tribute. Beginning with the Folk-moots and Witenazemots of the early Saxons, at the end of the twelfth century, he traces the history of parliamentary bodies as thoroughly as may be to the Victorian epoch, and well up to the present time. An index renders it possible to refer readily to everything of importance, and we recommend to every senator and congressman, as well as to every State legislator, a perusal of the book, to the end that they may attain some faint idea of the slow development out of which has grown the present representative government of the Anglo-Saxon race.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MR. JAMES LENOX, of New York, and the formation of his Library.

By HENRY STEVENS of Vermont. 16mo. pp. 211. St. Martin's Lane, London. 1886. Henry Stevens & Son.

This dainty little volume, artistically bound in white, is not a general biography of Mr. Lenox, but personal recollections and memoranda respecting him which Mr. Stevens had in his own private keeping. For more than a quarter of a century Mr. Lenox had confidential relations with Mr. Stevens, concerning the purchase of books for his great and costly library; and this publication throws light upon many specific points of interest, not least of which might be mentioned Mr Lenox's method of recording his books after their purchase. Mr. Stevens says: "Mr. Lenox was a pattern of industry, method, and good management. He not only himself worked ten hours a day, but he managed to make his property work for him twenty-four hours daily, accumulating by good investments like rolling snow-balls. He could, therefore, well afford to do as he liked; and it is well known that he liked to do everything in his own way without outside influence, interference, or dictation. Mr. Lenox was ever most generous and charitable, but like my old friend the late George Peabody, he manifested a dislike of being indebted to strangers or neighbors for hints as to his public or private duties; nor would he tolerate any interference in his own charitable impulses. He staked out his own course, hoed his own row, paddled his own canoe and reveled silently in his own generous suggestions, which began literally at home in his own bosom. He paid his taxes liberally, bore his share of the public burdens, pastured figuratively the widow's cow, helped the needy, but avoided all public offices and politics. He shunned notoriety with the same ardor that others sought it. He thought that more young men prospered by minding their own business than by politics or noisy professions."

HISTORY OF THE SOLDIERS' MONUMENT IN WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT.

By JOSEPH ANDERSON, S.T.D. 8vo. pp. 170. Printed for the Monument Committee. 1886.

This memorial volume is most creditable to its projectors, and like the monument itself whose history it records, "has many voices for the long future." One of its conspicuous features is a list of the names of the soldiers and sailors who went from Waterbury to fight in the war for the Union. A list also of those who were actively engaged in the war of the Revolution is given, which, although said to be incomplete, includes two hundred and thirty-five names. To all residents of Waterbury, and to such who have gone from that town to dwell in other parts of the country this work will be a precious treasure. It is admirably prepared.

THE HONO^{BLE} ROBERT MONCKTON, MAJOR-GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES
GOVERNOR IN CHIEF IN AND OVER THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.
[*From original in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Vol. XVII JUNE, 1887 No. 6

FREDERICKSBURG FIRST AND LAST

II

According to Clarkson, the Rev. Morgan Godwin, a clergyman of the English Church in Virginia, was "the first man who ever lifted up his voice against the African slave trade."* Against that traffic Virginia never ceased to protest, and, when relieved of the British rule by which it was imposed, resolved (1774), by her burgesses, "We will neither ourselves import nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place." None doubted that such action involved the disappearance of slavery. But when the times of manumission arrived, in States whose climate was unfriendly to negroes, Virginia was found fast in the coils of the system. In 1790 she had 293,427 slaves, more than seven times the number of the northern States combined. The institution had become rooted in far-reaching interests and relations; the efforts of her statesmen were in vain. But the Virginian of the old school remained antislavery. Governor Edmund Randolph, urging ratification of the Federal Constitution, met the suggestion that there was a possibility of negro freedom under it, by pronouncing such an objection dishonorable to the State. Yet these antislavery Virginians held slaves. There is an obvious anomaly in the hero of independence inheriting from his mother "my nigroe Boy George;" but for a hundred years emancipation had been forbidden, unless with provision for a transportation which could only remove the negroes to some wilderness. The restriction on emancipation was originally intended to prevent cruel masters from so turning adrift aged and infirm negroes no longer useful. The antislavery gentleman retained his negroes and their increase at much sacrifice. Travers Daniel, of Crow's Nest—one of the Stafford justices who refused to execute the Stamp Act—owned many slaves; yet he imported English window-curtains on which were pictures of Granville Sharpe striking chains from negroes; and if half of his negroes had been inspired by the curtains to run away he would have been a wealthier man. The same was true of his neighbors. The perils of immediate emancipation of so large a number of Africans amid a white population scarcely exceeding them may now appear phantasmal; but the African was much less civilized then than now, and no community would have ventured on such an experiment. So the antislavery sentiment turned to the work of colonization, on which Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer induced the legislature to enter, December 16, 1816. Not only Mercer, but others of Fredericksburg and vicinity—Wm. H. Fitzhugh, P. V. Daniel, Jr., Judge Moncure, John M. Patton—worked for this cause. "Monrovia" was named after their townsman, who, as Chief Magistrate, did much for Liberia. None of these gentlemen doubted that they were engaged in the only practicable kind of emancipation. The movement assumed that slavery was a great evil. That conviction was almost universal until about forty years ago. Judge Crump, of Richmond, informs me that he remembers publicly advocating the annexation of Texas, on the ground that it would open a gateway by which the negro race might leave the Union and pass into congenial tropical regions. The pro-slavery reaction was superinduced by various causes: indignation at northern and British interference, combined with a great rise in the value of slaves, made a fertile soil for a new sociology.

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* *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, I., 46. Dr. Brook, Sec. Va. Hist. Soc., has written a valuable *résumé* of the history of slavery in Virginia, in his preface to the "Charter of the Royal African Company." The early record of Virginia concerning slavery is well stated in an oration delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of the new City Hall, Richmond, April 5, 1887, by Judge Wellford, a native of Fredericksburg.

In 1847 John Moncure Daniel, a native of Stafford, became editor of the *Richmond Examiner*—a paper which, up to the time when its editor was made *chargé d'affaires* at Turin, wielded an influence unexampled in southern journalism. He was but twenty-two years of age when he undertook the *Examiner*, but he was a scholar, had studied law, had devoured a public library of which he had been made librarian, and he was a man of genius. Thackeray got hold of some of his writings in England, and visited him in Richmond. His humor, if inexhaustible, was bitter, and several times led him into duels.* He was a vehement partisan, and espoused the democratic side in politics; but he was also an Emersonian; and his philosophical and candid intellect found difficulty in harmonizing slavery with his radical ideas of liberty and equality. Daniel informed me himself of his misgivings, and I have reason to believe that he might have turned out an antislavery heretic had it not been for the appearance of Carlyle's pamphlet on *The Nigger Question*. This essay was fairly emblazoned on the *Richmond Examiner*, and streamed out like a standard. The negro was justly enslaved, because he was not a man in the sense of the Declaration of Independence. A new anthropology sprang up in support of this view, but few believed it. The new theology which defended the patriarchal system was more effective. Apart from these views, George Fitzhugh, of King George, wrote a pamphlet in which slavery was central in a new sociology. Thus, by one path or another, a novel kind of radicalism—a negative counterpart of northern abolitionism—entered college, press, and pulpit. Daniel's brilliant writings were very effective in Fredericksburg, where he had studied law (with Judge Lomax), and where he had many friends and relatives. One of the latter, the late Greenhow Daniel, was editor of the *Democratic Recorder* (Fredericksburg), which also espoused the new pro-slavery doctrine.

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* His last duel was with Mr. Elmore, Treasurer of the Confederate States, by whom he was challenged, and by whom he was wounded. He had been previously wounded, while serving on the staff of General A. P. Hill, and had resumed the conduct of his paper. The last number of the *Examiner*, which appeared on the day before the evacuation of Richmond, contained the announcement of its editor's death (March 30, 1865). His literary productions have not yet been collected. His biography of Stonewall Jackson was published in England.

While Young Virginia was hastening to the new standard, Old Virginia never tired of its conservatism. But events conspired to make Fredericksburg an especial battle-field of the contending principles. The division of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1844), caused by the suspension of a slave-holding bishop (Andrews), brought conflict into the large congregation at Fredericksburg. The town was on the border between the Virginia and Baltimore Conferences, while belonging to the latter. The antislavery traditions of Methodism had been once strong enough to suspend from his local ministry the founder of the society, Rev. John Kobler, because he had married a wife (the widow Early) who refused to part with her slaves. The old Wesleyan testimony now held at Fredericksburg its southmost stronghold, which was defended by powerful preachers (notably the Rev. Norval Wilson) against eloquent champions of the pro-slavery principle, of whom was Rev. Dr. William Smith, sometime President of Randolph Macon College. The pro-slavery elements at length seceded and built a church of

JOHN M. DANIEL,

Editor of the Examiner, Richmond, Virginia.

their own; and, indeed, it was not until 1865 that the two societies were finally consolidated under the Methodist Church South.

It must not be supposed that this pro-slavery reaction had affected the masses generally, or that Virginia could have been induced to take up arms merely for the sake of slavery. It was for her ancient principle of State sovereignty that Virginia made herself a battle-field. While Lee was leading the armies of the Confederacy, in his house was a will emancipating his slaves. General Lee was still a representative of the old-school Virginian, and of no community was he so especially the son as this of Fredericksburg, near which he and his wife and their ancestors were born. Lee had no belief in the doctrine of State sovereignty, and admitted frankly, "Secession is nothing but revolution." Yet his sentiment toward Virginia was filial; he could not strike his Mother.

The year 1860 found Fredericksburg and Falmouth with, together, about 7,000 inhabitants, prosperous, enjoying social and commercial relations with the northern States, and attached to the Union. The Bell and Everett ticket carried the town, as it did the State, in the presidential election. When a State Convention was called to consider the question of dissolution, the secession candidate, Judge W. S. Barton, was defeated by John L. Marye, Sr., the Union delegate. Judge Barton was, indeed, voted for by some eminent citizens, but not with a light heart. The aged and learned Judge Lomax, who was supported to the polls, is said to have shed tears when voting for secession. It was only when the President demanded Virginia's quota of troops that the old town abandoned all hope of a peaceable settlement. After the Secession Ordinance passed at Richmond, April 17, 1861, opportunity was offered Unionists to leave the neighborhood; thereupon a little procession of farmers, chiefly poor, passed through the town in wagons, with their families and furniture, some following on foot, on their way northward. Some gentlemen who had espoused the cause of secession were, nevertheless, moved by this silent and sad company of exiles, and treated them with respect. The enthusiasm of the town arose when its eminent sons, Lieutenant M. F. Maury and Captain Maury, formerly a Professor at West Point, returned to share the fortunes of their State.

Fredericksburg was soon occupied by a Confederate force. The young men all entered service under officers of high position.* In February,

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* The Fredericksburg volunteer troops, infantry and artillery, embraced among their officers Generals Daniel Ruggles, Carter L. Stevenson, Seth Barton; Colonels Robert S. Chew, Carter M. Braxton, Morton Marye, A. A. Little, William Green, Charles Richardson; Majors W. S. Barton, Seth B. French, Temple Doswell, W. Roy Mason, J. G. Mason, Elliot M. Braxton, Charles Green,

1862, the Confederate President visited the town with General Joseph E. Johnston, who remarked to the mayor that "Fredericksburg, in a military view, is right in the wrong place," and it was evacuated April 17. As the young soldiers marched away through streets lined with their weeping relatives, a conflagration was consuming the bridges of the Rappahannock and the steamer and vessels at the wharf. On the following day General Augur took possession of the heights on the northern side of the river. Without resistance General Patrick assumed provost command of Fredericksburg (April 27), fixing his headquarters at the old Farmers' Bank. Under him and his successors, Generals Rufus King, J. F. Reynolds, Irwin McDowell, and Captain Mansfield, for four months amicable relations prevailed between the town and its occupiers. The letters, now before me, exchanged between the municipal authorities on one side and the military on the other, are so genial that the people could hardly have been prepared for the rough visage of war they were soon to behold. General King uses the seized Confederate corn to relieve the inhabitants, whenever the mayor declares the

MARYE HOUSE.

[*On the site of the first important house built in Fredericksburg.*]

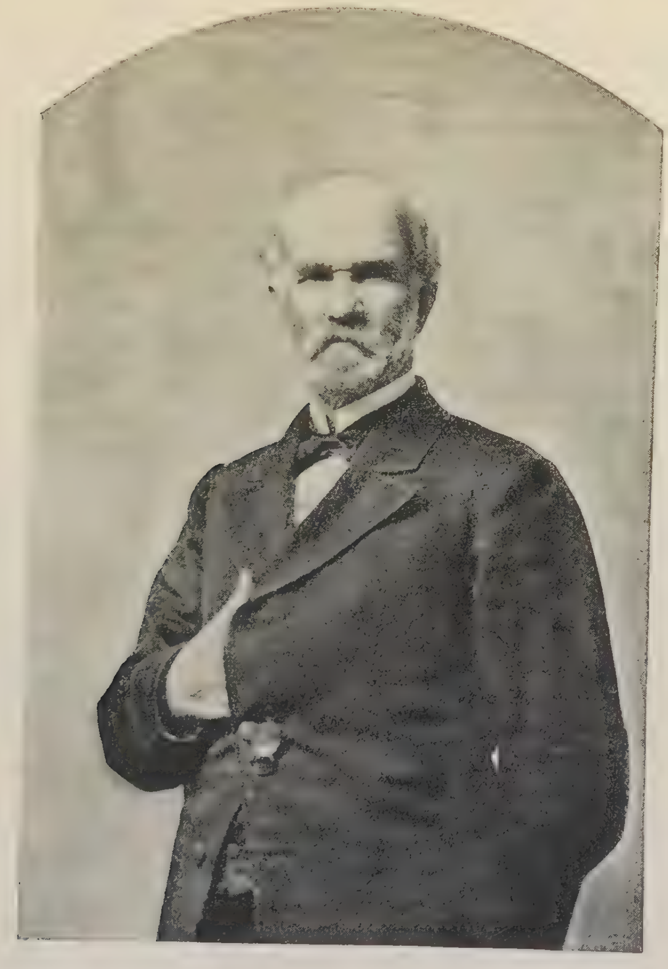
St. George R. Fitzhugh, Frank S. Forbes, J. H. Lacy, T. P. Wallace, Joseph Ficklin; Captains Wistar Wallace, Edward Marye, John P. Smith, R. W. Adams, C. M. Crutchfield, Hugh S. Doggett, J. W. Sener, J. L. Stansbury. Murray Taylor, J. H. Bradley; Cadets (V. M. I.) W. L. Slaughter, Gray Doswell, J. P. Corbin, Bowie Gray, J. F. Tackett.

necessity in any case, and the quantity required. The general's polite package of northern newspapers is acknowledged by the mayor with regrets that he cannot reciprocate. The town was represented by gentlemen of fine tact—Mayor (now Judge) Slaughter, William A. Little, Recorder, and the council, occasionally summoning to their aid the older residents left in the place. The mayor writes graciously in reply to an invitation to meet President Lincoln—who visited the place May 23, on occasion of the magnificent review of troops, now historic—but declines. When General Reynolds was taken prisoner by the Confederate army, the grateful citizens of Fredericksburg petitioned for his release and secured it.

When the mayor returned from Richmond, on that occasion, he found two gentlemen of the neighborhood under arrest, and successfully interceded for them. This was in July, 1862. General Burnside being Division Commander at Chatham (Lacy House), the mayor and John L. Marye, Jr., waited on him on Sunday, as the church-bells were ringing. General Burnside, not yet dressed, hearing their voices outside his tent, called to his adjutant, "Richmond, bring Mr. Slaughter in here. I know him." "I suppose," said Burnside, after shaking hands, "you remember when I was here at Dabney Maury's wedding? Do you remember how we all got drunk, and you put me to bed at Mr. Barton's? Bob, bring out some champagne and whisky and ice." The Fredericksburg gentlemen then explained that they had come to ask for the release of William P. Taylor, of Hayfield, and William I. Dickinson, of Chestnut Valley, imprisoned in a corn-house near by. General Burnside, learning that the two gentlemen had been arrested for "furnishing supplies, and probably information, to the enemy," asked the mayor if the charges were true. "As to provisions," answered the mayor, "no man ever went to either of those houses and left empty." "Are they instigators?" asked Burnside. "No doubt they are deeply interested, as southern men, in their cause, but I doubt if they ever instigated war." "What should be done?" asked Burnside. "Both are old men," said the mayor; "I propose that you turn them over to me, and, if you will trust my honor, I will produce them to answer any charges." "I agree cheerfully," said Burnside. Nothing more was ever heard of the charges.

In the latter part of July, 1862, the Mayor of Fredericksburg was arrested, and with him state's attorney Thomas B. Barton, Thomas F. Knox, Charles C. Wellford, Rev. W. F. Broaddus, John F. Scott, Dr. James Cooke, John J. Berrey, George H. C. Rowe, James McGuire, John H. Roberts, John Coakley, Benjamin Temple, Abram Cox, Beverly T. Gill,

W. H. Norton, M. Ames, Lewis Wren. These eminent citizens were marched over to the Lacy House. On meeting General Burnside the mayor



M. Slaughter Mayor

said, pleasantly, "General, I have been a labor-saving machine for you in Fredericksburg. I hope, if you can't get along there, you'll send for me." "The arrests are not by my order," said Burnside, "but that of Secretary

Stanton." Refreshments were brought out, and the prisoners were treated respectfully, but, having refused to take the oath of allegiance, were sent to the Old Capitol prison and there confined for about two months, when they were exchanged. Mr. Barton,* being in weak health, was allowed to go to the residence of his son-in-law, Frederick Brune, in Baltimore. Colonel Wood, superintendent of the prison, treated them kindly. They were allowed to hear a sermon from one of the Virginian prisoners, Rev. Mr. Leachman. Colonel Wood announced: "All you who want to hear the Gospel according to Abe Lincoln, go down to No. 17. All you who want to hear the Gospel according to Jeff Davis, go into the area." Leachman, a hard-shell Baptist of Prince William County, preached a very long sermon, in the course of which he said: "We are in the lions' den. The same God who delivered Daniel can deliver us from this tyrannical keeper." The keeper was present, and the Southerners thought this would get them into trouble, but Colonel Wood only remarked to the preacher, "Old gentleman, I wish, when you preach here next time, you wouldn't be so damned personal."

Secretary Stanton ordered the removal of the Provost Marshal at Fredericksburg, who was thought to be too lenient, and the town suffered a severe *régime*. On the last day of August, 1862, Burnside fell back to protect Washington. The people shouted for joy.† For two months the town had respite from military occupation. But early in November Colonel W. A. Ball, who held the town with a small cavalry force, was informed by Lee that the Army of the Potomac was moving on Fredericksburg, and that if he (Ball) could retard the enemy, he would be re-enforced. When Sumner's Corps of 12,000, on November 17, planted their 20 guns on the northern side of the river, Colonel Ball had only 520 men (42d Mississippi), but by feints and carefully distributed firing he managed to keep his antagonists uncertain as to the force before them. For that reason, and because the pontons were not complete, the Federal forces made no attempt to cross the river. Meanwhile General Lee's army was rushing along the roads from Culpeper and Orange, and on the 20th was in the rear of Fredericksburg.

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* A son of Lieutenant Seth Barton, of Rhode Island, who, after gallant service in the Revolution, before he was twenty years old, married a daughter of General Maxwell. Their eldest son was Thomas B. Barton, mentioned elsewhere, born in 1792. In 1796–97 the family moved to Kenmore, in Fredericksburg. Thomas B. Barton was appointed, by Judge Lomax, Commonwealth's Attorney, between 1831 and 1835, and held that office continuously until removed by the United States authorities in the "reconstruction period." He died in 1871, in his eightieth year. His son, Judge William S. Barton, of Fredericksburg (born 1820), was elected to the bench by the legislature in 1870.

† Their joy was soon turned to mourning, however; for of the 30th Va. Infantry, which fought under Lieutenant-Colonel R. S. Chew at Antietam (Sept. 17), 62 were killed, 111 wounded, all being from Fredericksburg and its vicinity.

On that day General Lee requested a conference with the mayor, who, accompanied by Recorder Little and Douglas Gordon, a councilman, met the Confederate commander and his staff at Snowden, residence of John L. Stansbury. Lee was in much sorrow at the prospect before the old town, with which he had many affectionate associations. "It is hard," he said, "that the inhabitants of a town should be subjected to the calamities of a war for which they are not responsible. For myself, I will not fire a gun on Fredericksburg under any circumstances." "General," said one of the citizens, "do not mind us. If you can whip the enemy, we will suffer anything. Our citizens have deputed us to say that they do not wish to be considered at all if the exigencies of the Confederacy require the town to be shelled." "Possibly," said Lee, "the town may soon be a battlefield. I will provide transportation for all who desire to leave." "Then," said the mayor, "I understand the people of the town must fear the worst." "Yes, they must fear the worst." "But let them hope for the best," said Longstreet.

FALMOUTH.

[*From a painting by W. O. Hazard.*]

On the following day (Nov. 21), General Patrick, who, as provost, had been so magnanimous to the town, came under a flag of truce, bearing a letter from General Sumner to the mayor and council, stating that under cover of the houses shots had been fired at his troops, that the mills and manufactories were furnishing supplies to rebels, all of which must terminate. "By direction of Major-General Burnside, commanding this army, I accordingly demand the surrender of the city into my hands, as the representative of the Government of the United States, at or before five o'clock this afternoon. Failing an affirmative reply to this demand by the time indicated, sixteen hours will be permitted to elapse for the removal from the city of the women and children, the sick, wounded, and aged; which period having elapsed, I shall proceed to shell the town." Colonel Ball met General Patrick in a log-house near a part of the river called "French Johns," and told him that the letter must first be referred to the military authorities. General Patrick remained in the log-house from 10 A.M. to 7 P.M., during which time the letter had been read by General Lee—of whose presence in the neighborhood he (Patrick) was unaware—and replied to by the mayor in accordance with Lee's directions. This answer stated that the letter had not reached him in time for reply by five o'clock; that the shots were those of the Confederate force holding the town; that the other acts complained of would not recur; and that, though the Confederate troops would not occupy the town, neither would they permit the Federal troops to do so. Knowing that this answer would bring on the town the fire of both armies, General Lee advised speedy removal of the inhabitants, and furnished every facility in his power. But the ordeal was terrible. On the morning of the 22d it was evident that the Federal army meant to cross the river, and no time could be lost. After all trains of cars had departed, filled with refugees, there followed all the vehicles of the place, loaded with women and children, and then a long procession of people on foot, trudging through the snow. There is no near town or village to the south of Fredericksburg; even houses are sparse; and many a fainting lady and benumbed child sought shelter in the cabins of negroes or tents of soldiers. For during all this time the negroes in and around Fredericksburg had been faithful friends to the whites. The sight of these women and children, flying through the snow past their tents, had a tremendous effect upon the Confederate troops who witnessed the scene. Indeed, the whole South was moved, and nearly $200,000 was contributed for the relief of the sufferers.*

* General Long, in his valuable *Life of Lee*, publishes a letter of Lee to his little daughter, Agnes, December 26, 1862. "I have only," he says, "seen the ladies in this vicinity when flying

FALLS OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK.
[*One mile above Fredericksburg.*]

General Lee had announced that he would fire two guns as a signal when the struggle was at hand. On December 11, when Burnside attempted to

from the enemy, and it caused me acute grief to witness their exposure and suffering. But a more noble spirit was never displayed anywhere. The faces of old and young were wreathed with smiles and glowed with happiness at their sacrifices for the good of their country. Many have lost *everything*. What the fire and shells of the enemy spared their pillagers destroyed. But God will shelter them, I know. So much heroism will not be unregarded." Among the contributors to the relief fund were negroes. The Rev. R. R. Howison (then a lawyer at Richmond, but more widely known as a historian of Virginia) did much service to his native town in this emergency. P. V. Daniel, Jr. (once a law-student in Fredericksburg), sent up, at his own expense, about fifty passenger and box cars, by which he saved many lives. Among the letters of this time I find one from Ann Maury, returning to the mayor a considerable sum, sent from the relief fund, desiring that it be given to some one needier than herself. This is no evidence that the lady (whose husband, Lieutenant M. F. Maury, was in Europe) did not share the general distress, but it is characteristic of her family. Her brother, Captain Herndon (father of President Arthur's wife), heroically sank with his ship, the *Central America*, after saving the passengers; another brother, Dr. Dabney Herndon, died at Mobile of yellow fever, a martyr to duty; a nephew, Dr. James Carmichael Herndon, went to Fernandina to fight the same plague, and shared a like fate.

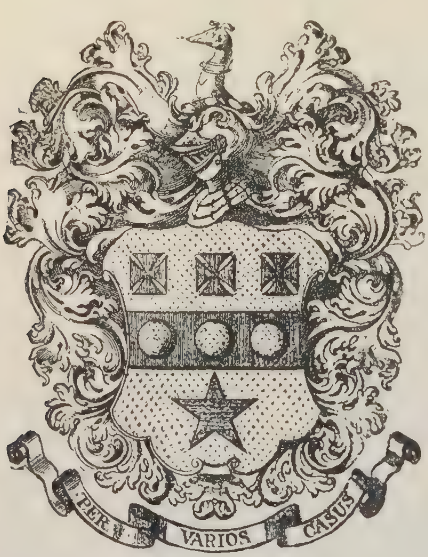
cross the Rappahannock on pontons, the signal was heard. Barksdale's brigades having opened on the bridges with sharp musketry, the bombardment began. For twelve hours shot and shell were poured on the streets and houses. Amid all the ruins which were left—and of which John Elder, a Fredericksburg artist, a few days later made a picture—only four persons lay dead. This is wonderful, for a considerable number had remained. One of Mrs. Beale's children was struck by a spent ball, but not killed. The brother of this lady, R. R. Howison, historian of Virginia, gives in his pamphlet extracts from her diary and letters. In one of these she describes her flight during the bombardment. "Just at dark we heard your uncle's voice again calling 'Come out; I have an ambulance at the back door, and you must not stay to get a single thing. They are in town, only a square off, and you must be gone at once.' We needed no second call, but, wrapping the blankets around us, we rushed through the yard over the branches of trees. The palings were all down, and the yard was plowed up, and we stepped over many a ball and fragment of shell in our hasty progress to the ambulance. Our driver put the whip to his horses, and we tore through the town at a rate that at any other time would have frightened me for the safety of our lives, but now seemed all too slow for our anxiety to be beyond the reach of those fearful shot and shell which were still crashing through the streets and tearing the houses to pieces. I never ventured to look back until we reached the top of the high hill beyond the mill, and then the scene was so awfully grand and terrible that I cannot venture upon its description. The railroad bridge across Hazel Run was burning, and large fires at several points in the town. There were hundreds of camp-fires, around which bands of men under arms were gathered, and the road was lined with soldiers, wagons, and ambulances. Every object could be distinguished, even the fierce, swarthy countenances of our soldiers, every one of whom looked defiance toward the foe who had caused the destruction of our homes."

The writer has had many interviews with persons who were in Fredericksburg at this time, but can only allude to a few of the incidents. Recorder Little and Major Seddon (brother of the Confederate Secretary of War) dressed by the light of flashing guns and shells, and traveled the streets by little dashes until they were compelled to take refuge in a cellar. Little went back to get a favorite mare, but as he was leading it a shell burst over him and he had to leave her. He found his way through the rain of fire and reached Richmond unharmed. Aged Mr. Reuben T. Thom, for many years Postmaster of Fredericksburg, took his seat in a chair in his yard beside his burning house, and could hardly be persuaded to leave. Mayor Slaughter's wife and Mrs. John F. Scott were driven by a faithful colored man, George Triplett, who encountered a storm of shot to bear them to a place of safety. The mayor made his escape with his son in a buggy to Mansfield, residence of Arthur Bernard, where he remained, with John L. Marye, Sr., till near sunset, when the bombardment ceased. Among the local anecdotes is one of an old lady who tied a napkin on a broomstick and started to leave her cellar, declaring her intention to surrender. Her husband, however, would not allow the white flag to be shown. One whose conscience was not peaceful seized a pious negro and compelled him to pray for him. An old resident suddenly discovered that he was a British citizen, and raised the Union Jack over his house for protection. The Federals mistook it for some kind of Confederate device, and carefully riddled the house.

PART OF STONE WALL, FOOT OF HILL.

"Laying the pontons at Fredericksburg" is the subject of one of

Prang's War Pictures. After thirteen hours of unsuccessful efforts Lieutenant-Colonel Baxter, with seventy-five Michigan men (7th), bravely pushed across the river, in six boats, and carried the position with slight loss, and captured thirty-one prisoners. Captain Hazley and one hundred New York men (89th) had a like success below the town, capturing sixty-four. Three pontons were built, and the Confederates retired. When the Federal troops first took possession, the looting was excessive and the destruction great. Their generals tried to prevent this, and beside the pontons were piles of articles taken from the plunderers. Among the colored people with whom I conversed were Mr. and Mrs. Washington Wright. "The bombarding began between five and six," said Mr. Wright, "and continued all day. The soldiers when they came in got a hearse and loaded it with pillage. They took away my wagon and tried to take my horse, but an officer—Lieutenant Sherman, I think his name was—was eating here, and he saved my horse for me. They cut down our curtains and cut up our carpets, and carried off all of our bacon. A man couldn't walk the streets with a watch on." Mr. Wright, for many years sexton of St. George's Church, met a soldier carrying off the silver chalice. He at once confronted him. "That cup belongs to the church," he said, "and you must give it up. I'll tell you what's on it; it was presented by old Mr. John Gray, of Travellers' Rest." The soldier gave up the cup. The rest of this church plate was, I believe, afterwards returned from the North.



ARMS OF JOHN MERCER.

On the 13th of December, 1862, was fought the great battle of Fredericksburg. Shortly before, Lee asked General Alexander, chief of artillery on Marye's Heights, about his defenses, and was answered, "A chicken could not live on that field before us." A balloon was got ready, and General Butterfield entered it to discover what troops defended Marye's Heights. He had ascended about two hundred feet, when, just as he might hope to see the enemy, he was drawn back by the rope and told that the advance had begun. Whatever familiarity General Burnside may have had with the old hospitalities of Fredericksburg, he could have known very little of its localities. Between his army and Marye's Heights there is "Sandy Bottom," an ancient river-bed—where was "Liberty," the suburb of free negroes—a place more suitable than any engineering could contrive for the grave of an army. Into that grave his soldiers were falling for eight hours. Five times they were beaten back; five times they rallied; at last the heaviest column of assault was organized by Butterfield, headed by Humphrey's division—and it was overwhelmed within sixty paces of the volcano's mouth of flame. Fifteen thousand Federal soldiers lay on that field. It was difficult to walk the streets next day without treading on a corpse. During the struggle Burnside was at Phillips' House in Stafford, two miles from the scene of slaughter at Marye's Heights. There, after an interview with General Butterfield, General Hooker had gone to protest against further massacre, only to be taunted, and to bear back an order for advance. Henry Villard, then a *Tribune* correspondent, carried to Washington the terrible tidings. He left the town at night, reached Acquia in the morning, was rowed by negroes to the middle of the Potomac, where he got on a steamer. That night (14th) he saw the President. It would be interesting to know whether Burnside was telegraphed an order for retreat. General Burnside had mourned all night over the calamities, but would have commanded an assault next day had it not been for his generals. A tremendous storm aided the retreat across the river during the night of December 15. On the 17th five hundred Union men came under flag of truce to bury their dead. These were afterwards removed from those hasty ditches and trenches to the National Cemetery, along with the thousands who died in the churches and other edifices, mostly honeycombed by the bombardment.

The illusions and uncertainties of war are strikingly illustrated in this Fredericksburg campaign. The Federal troops, on their arrival in November, did not venture to cross the river, because they supposed Lee's army to be there. When he really was there they supposed him absent, and summoned the municipal authorities to surrender. Into the first mistake they were led by the strategy of Colonel Ball; into the second, perhaps, by the humanity of Lee. The Union generals could hardly have imagined that they could be permitted to assemble from day to day at their headquarters, Chatham (Lacy House), within easy reach of Lee's guns. Major Lacy, owner of that old mansion, states that he suggested to General Lee that it should be shelled, and that Lee declined, on Christian grounds, and because of his personal associations with Chatham. If so,

SKETCH OF FREDERICKSBURG AFTER
Presented to Moncure D. Conway,

Lee's sentiment may have served him strategically, in leading Burnside on to destruction. The failure of Lee to follow up his victory at Marye's Heights has also been ascribed to his unwillingness to shell Fredericksburg. The local opinion, as expressed to me by the mayor, is that "after the battle Lee confidently expected a renewal of the attack, and was surprised at Burnside's retreat, and had no conception of the extent of his own victory and the disastrous blow to the enemy until too late to make it complete." This is Lee's own explanation. The verdict of military critics on his failure to shell the town on the 14th or 15th is generally that of the English author of *The Campaign of Fredericksburg:* "Not for the only time in his life his judgment gave way to his humanity." But one or two facts, which I have not seen in print, may here be mentioned. On Sunday afternoon (14th) two mounted Federal officers were discovered by the Confederates reconnoitering the ground of the previous day's struggle. These officers, whom I have ascertained to be Generals Butterfield and Sturgis, were fired at, and barely escaped. Their survey followed a visit of Burnside to Sturgis, in the town, during which he ordered Sturgis to prepare to lead the Ninth Corps against Marye's Heights the following day (15th). Lee's expectation (perhaps information) was therefore correct. Even after influences brought to bear during the night had induced Burnside to countermand this order to Sturgis, and command a retreat across the river, he resolved to leave a corps (5th) on the southern bank. From this he was dissuaded only at a late hour on the evening of the 15th, when the Fifth Corps was ordered to cover the general retreat. A little before midnight Butterfield sent around men to awaken several thousand ex-

THE BATTLE DECEMBER 13, 1862.
By the artist, John A. Elder.

hausted soldiers sleeping in cellars, holes, and corners. Before daybreak he had the entire army out of its *cul de sac* and on the northern side of the river.

After the great battle of Fredericksburg the northern and southern armies wintered on opposite banks of the Rappahannock; and, though there were frequent artillery duels between the Stafford and the Spottsylvania Heights, a friendlier spirit had sprung up between the antagonists. The courage with which the Union soldiers had advanced to certain death at Marye's Heights had commanded the respect of the Southerners, and contact with them in their helpless agonies in Fredericksburg houses moved their sympathy. The northern soldiers could not but respect a foe so valiant. The Federal bands played beside the river, and the Confederates sometimes heard "Dixie" follow "Yankee Doodle," while hearts on both sides were touched by the theme of "Home, Sweet Home." On an incident of this kind John R. Thompson, of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, wrote a pathetic poem. A friendly exchange of coffee for tobacco and of newspapers went on across the river—little plank boats being used at low tide for the smuggling—and greetings were sometimes heard between the "Yanks" and "Johnny Rebs," as they called each other. Walt Whitman, the poet (whose brother was wounded in one of the battles at Fredericksburg), began his hospital ministrations at Falmouth. In his diary he writes, December 21, 1862: "Spent a good part of the day in a large brick mansion on the banks of the Rappahannock, used as a hospital. . . At the foot of a tree within ten yards of the front of the house I notice a heap of amputated feet, legs, arms, hands, etc., a full load for a one-horse cart.

Several dead bodies lie near, each covered with its brown woolen blanket. In the door-yard toward the river are fresh graves, mostly of officers."* Walt Whitman asked one of the soldiers who lay fifty hours on the field at Fredericksburg how the rebels treated him. "A couple of them who were together spoke roughly and sarcastically, nothing worse. One middle-aged man, however, who seemed to be moving around the field among the dead and wounded for benevolent purposes, came to him in a way he would never forget; treated our soldier kindly, bound up his wounds, cheered him, gave him a couple of biscuits and a drink of whisky and water, asked him if he could eat some beef," etc.

With May, 1863, another war storm broke over Fredericksburg. Sedgwick had carried Marye's Heights on his way to support Hooker at Chancellorsville. Both generals met with disaster, and the army of the former was again driven back across the Rappahannock. Yet it was at Chancellorsville that the Confederacy received its death-blow; at a spot not many miles from Fredericksburg, now marked by a stone, fell Stonewall Jackson (May 3). He was shot by his own men, who, in the dusk, mistook him and his staff for cavalry of the enemy. While he was being borne, wounded, to the rear, the fire was so severe that a litter-bearer was killed, and the others sought shelter. Major Leigh, Captain Morrison, and Lieutenant Smith lay down beside their chief to protect him with their bodies. He died (May 10) at the house of Mr. Chandler, near Fredericksburg.† There was a belief among the negroes of the town that one of their number saw this fall of Jackson on the field, in a vision, at the time of its occurrence. In conversation with the supposed "seer" I found that his vision had been fitted on to the fact after its occurrence, but also that for him and his race in the neighborhood Stonewall Jackson had been invested with quasi-supernatural attributes. Nay, even General Long mentions the falling of Jackson's sword (which was leaning against a tree) "without *apparent* cause," as having so impressed him that he was not surprised when tidings of the general's wound, the same day, reached him.

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* When the Federal forces first entered Falmouth, April, 1862, a shot fired from the neighborhood of this house wounded one of them. His enraged comrades entered the deserted building and were about to destroy it. But, as I have been informed, one of the soldiers recognized on the wall the portrait of a friend, and it was spared. The owner, then in Fredericksburg, visited the wounded man, who, in reply to an expression of sympathy, exclaimed: "I glory in it, sir." This first hospital is the lower of two brick houses on the riverside street.

† A few weeks before the town also received a blow from its friends. Mansfield, the historic residence of the Pages and Bernards, was burned by the carelessness of some North Carolina troops.

And now multitudes of refugees, chiefly the old and infirm, pressed into the town, and a famine was threatened. During the summer and winter of 1863-64, when Fredericksburg was without military occupation, the corporation had to wage a war of their own against the hunger and cold which threatened this new and invalid population. They struggled bravely and successfully, but it was with a sad certainty that their town would soon be again between the upper and nether millstones. In the spring of 1864 the grinding began. From Grant's battles on the field where Jackson fell, the Wilderness—really the same as Chancellorsville—and Spottsylvania Court House, thousands of wounded men were sent to Fredericksburg. At this time (May 8) sixty Union soldiers, all slightly wounded, entered the town, asking to surrender. The mayor being sent for, said: "I am not an officer, and cannot accept your surrender. Where

ROCK THAT MARKS THE SPOT WHERE JACKSON FELL.

are you from?" "We have been in hell fire and don't mean to go any more." The mayor sent them to Fitzhugh Lee, at Hamilton's Crossing; he, however, had fallen back, and the deserters went on to Guinea Station, whence they were taken to Libby Prison. Soon after the mayor found himself pursued by soldiers, but was rescued by the same colored man, Triplett, who had saved his wife during the bombardment. He brought horses in the night, and the mayor rode with but little rest until he reached General Lee at Hanover. It seems that in his absence other wounded stragglers who came into the town, to the number of one hundred and fifty, were required to surrender, and sent to Richmond; an imprudence which led to the arrest by Grant of fifty-six citizens of the town. These were imprisoned at Fort Delaware, but were soon exchanged.

Fifteen thousand is the corporation's estimate of the number of wounded Federal soldiers brought into Fredericksburg after Grant's three battles in the neighborhood, just mentioned. The town, whose normal shelter for a population of five or six thousand had been diminished by the destructions of war, now had a population of twenty thousand. According to the record of the corporation (1883), "the suffering, disease, and sorrow endured by the people of Fredericksburg were greater than any that had previously visited them. Notwithstanding all this, truth demands the record and admission that these scenes of horror were greatly mitigated by many acts of courtesy and considerate aid on the part of Federal officers, which are kindly remembered, even at this late day, by many of our citizens who were participants in the scenes referred to." The trouble was aggravated by some Federal soldiers who threw a dead body into the reservoir, rendering it necessary to shut off the water supply. The deaths were enormous. Nearly forty thousand soldiers lie in the National Cemetery at Fredericksburg. Among those who did noble service at Fredericksburg was the late Rev. William Henry Channing, as is fully told in O. B. Frothingham's biography of that faithful man. Channing had aided Helen Gilson in the tent hospital near Falmouth after Burnside's disaster; after Chancellorsville he worked in the Presbyterian Sunday-school rooms, Fredericksburg, which were filled with the wounded; and after the battles of May, 1864, in the hospital on Marye's Heights, until the town was evacuated on account of Grant's advance. He slept in the Rowe House, on a bedstead of barrels, amid hams and salt fish, with W. H. Reed, in whose *Hospital Life* these scenes are described. The day before his arrival sixteen thousand fresh troops passed through to re-enforce Grant, their bright uniforms ornamented with the flowers thrown to them in Washington. "Within twenty-four hours five hundred men were brought back, bleeding, wounded, dead, or dying, some of them carrying in their breasts the same roses, scarcely faded, and now stained with blood." There Channing baptized a dying boy. "I shall feel better then, for father always wanted me to be baptized," said the boy. The ceremony was in the open field, where soon after the lad was buried. Through "streets and sidewalks strewed with wounded men," Channing followed with the mournful procession which marched to Belle Plain, in Stafford, where, over nine of the dead, were uttered his touching prayers.

From this time Fredericksburg was not again occupied by either army. After the surrender at Appomattox Sherman marched through on his way to the capital, and also Meade, who passed the day there while his troops were passing through. General Meade sent for Mayor Slaughter and John L. Marye, Jr. "I need no introduction to you," he said; "I shall never forget your kindness in securing the release of my dear friend, General Reynolds." In the course of the conversation General Meade asked "Who would be the most acceptable man as governor of this State?" The mayor suggested John Minor Botts. "How would the people like General Robert E. Lee?" Both gentlemen having expressed their belief that every man, woman, and child would be gratified at such a selection, General Meade added: "That is my idea of a restoration."

The next visit of General Lee to Fredericksburg was as a delegate to an Episcopal convention. Many northern people were now in the neighborhood, and pressed around the general, desiring introductions, and manifesting warm admiration for him. Lee was, indeed, as a gentleman remarked, "attacked by the Yankees again." A Richmond lady remarked to me: "Our heaviest troubles came when peace broke out." But Richmond had known no such tragedies as those of Fredericksburg. The old town on the Rappahannock underwent several painful years of "reconstruction" after the war, but it endured patiently, kept on good terms with the colored population, repaired its churches and public edifices, and added to these a park, a public library, free schools, and an opera-house. Congress has undertaken to complete and renovate the monument of the mother of Washington, blackened and scarred with shot and shell. From it may be seen on one side the falls where Captain John Smith landed in 1608; on the other a national necropolis; between these stretches only a morning's walk, but every step of it is on ground consecrated by brave histories, and every wayside flower is a drop of blood from the heart of a man.

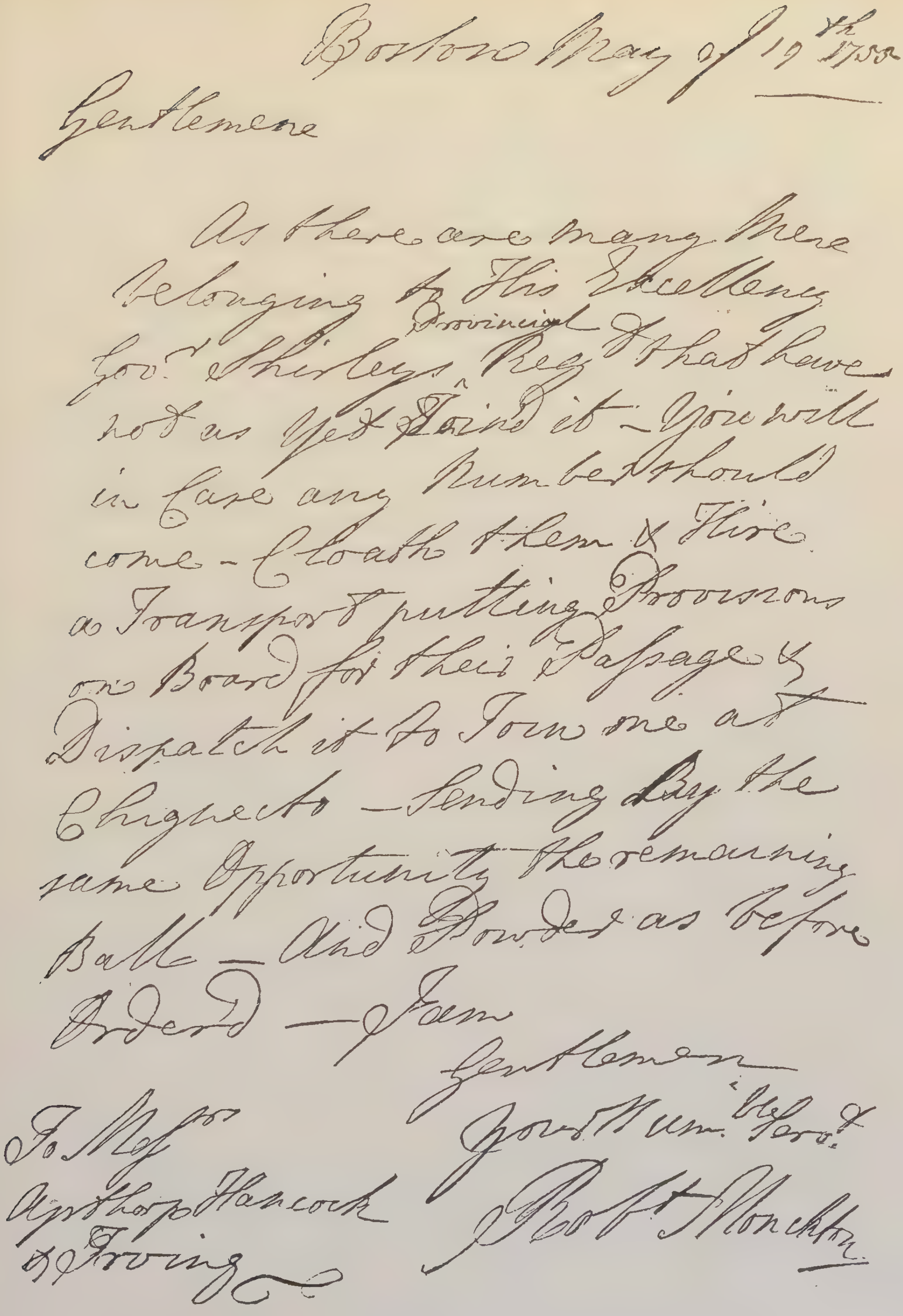
Moncure D. Conway

GOVERNOR ROBERT MONCKTON

Our frontispiece this month presents the fine military face and figure of one of the colonial governors of New York under the British king, of whom little is known by the average American of the present generation. Major-General Robert Monckton was the son of John, Viscount Galway, and, being educated with precision, entered the British army in 1742, where he quickly distinguished himself in active service. In 1753, at Halifax, his American life and experiences commenced. The following year he was made governor of Annapolis Royal, and in 1756 became governor of Nova Scotia. The autograph letter written in 1755, at Boston, of which a fac-simile appears on the next page, is preserved in the incomparable collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

The decade was one of stirring events. Great Britain was at war with France, and the battles were chiefly on American soil. Repeated failures exasperated the British ministry, and one general after another was recalled in disgrace. Finally, Sir Jeffrey Amherst was elevated to the chief command, and a campaign against Canada planned on a gigantic basis. Amherst was not a brilliant man, but he inspired public confidence, and America was heartily tired of brilliant men who were continually devising wonderful schemes and accomplishing nothing. Monckton was a brave and highly esteemed officer, and he served under Amherst with credit and distinction. He was also with Wolfe, as second in command, at the capture of Quebec in 1759, and was there severely wounded. When the British army returned to New York from Canada it met with a triumphal reception. No American province had suffered as much from the incursions of the French, and in no other capital were the demonstrations of joy at being relieved from the horrible terrors of savage warfare more solid and sincere. Expensive banquets were given to the victorious officers, which became afterward prolific subjects for criticism in England, for New York seemed to have grown marvelously rich during the war, in spite of her outlays.

But while the war was nominally ended by the reduction of Canada, the French, with malicious intent, continued to generate jealousies and hate among the Indians toward the English; and a multitude of irritating causes kept the whole savage atmosphere of northern New York in a tumult. There was no peace along the borders. The death of the able



Boston May ye 19th 1750

Gentlemen

As there are many Men belonging to His Excellency Govr Shirley's Provincial Regt that have not as yet Joined it — You will in Case any Number should come — Cloath them & Hire a Transport putting Provisions on Board for their Passage & Dispatch it to Join me at Chignecto — Sending by the same Opportunity the remaining Ball — And Powder as before Orderd — I am

Gentlemen
Your Humble Servt
Robt Monckton

To Messrs
Apthorp Hancock
& Irving

and accomplished Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey had resulted in a royal commission to Dr. Cadwallader Colden to fill the office thus vacated, who, being a less popular man, soon brought down vials of wrath upon his aged head from his immediate associates and neighbors. He took a step—his first misstep—which was instantly construed by vigorous thinkers and writers as an attempt to render the judiciary dependent upon the crown, the worst feature of arbitrary power. New York was in a blaze over this, and its Assembly took such action as amazed the British ministry, who pronounced it an "undutiful and indecent opposition to his Majesty's just rights and authority."

At this critical juncture Major-General Monckton was appointed governor of New York, and with the usual imposing ceremonies, duly sworn into office, on the 20th of October, 1761. The recent death of George II. (October 25, 1760) dissolved the refractory New York Assembly, and an election in the spring of 1761 had resulted in seven new members. The new king, George III., a daring, self-willed young man of twenty-two, mourned over the war, and asked his lords why it was continued for no definite purpose whatever; and he laughed over the probable increase of the nation's funds "in making the colonies dance to the tune of obedience." Monckton's instructions were sharply drawn—he was expected to revolutionize many things in New York; particularly to revive the laws for billeting and quartering the king's troops, and otherwise providing for the support of the army and government. Among his counselors were Daniel Horsemanden, John Chambers, William Smith, William Walton, Oliver De Lancey, Benjamin Pratt, the Earl of Stirling, and John Watts. But while England was rejoicing in the near prospect of peace, Spain had formed a secret alliance with France and declared hostilities. Thus Monckton was ordered to lead an expedition against the enemy in the West Indies, and he sailed the last day of November. Seventeen hundred and eighty-seven of his troops were native New Yorkers, and among his officers were General Lyman, General Gates, and Richard Montgomery, all of whom were taking lessons in heroism to be of marvelous value to America later on.

Governor Monckton left the administration of the government with Lieutenant-Governor Colden, who was rigid and exacting, yet notwithstanding he had been forty years a counselor, conversant with every detail of New York affairs, he was more of a scholar than a statesman; he lacked the tact, graces, and personal magnetism of his superior. All manner of knotty questions were coming up, not least of which was a spirited tilt with both New Hampshire and Massachusetts about boundary lines; and Colden was presently at loggerheads in matters of opinion with nearly all his counselors. The correspondence between these gentlemen and Monckton during the absence of the latter is among the most interesting relics of that stormy period. John Watts, polished, witty, and wise, wrote to Monckton on the boundary difficulties, "The case, from the beginning, as I understand it, is simply this: Eternal quarrels subsisted between the borderers, in which several lives were lost, and commissioners were appointed by the different governments to settle a line of jurisdiction, or peace, to prevent the effusion of more blood. I was one of them myself; but we could agree upon nothing their demands were so high. We argued for land to the Connecticut River; they for land to the South Sea. Think how we were to meet."

The governor returned to New York in July, 1762, having captured Martinico in January; but, after a brief stay of eleven months, in which time the people became very much attached to him, the ministry called for his valuable services elsewhere, and he once more left the government of New York with Colden, to the infinite regret of his counselors. Oliver De Lancey wrote to Monckton a few months afterward, thanking him for attention to his boys, who were at school in England, adding: "The situation we are in with Mr. Colden is deplorable, but can't last long." John Watts, about the same time, wrote to Monckton: "Oh, how we pant for a new governor's arrival! Even though he should be as hot as a pepper-pot itself, 'tis better than the venomous stream we at present drink from." Judge Robert R. Livingston, who had been appointed to the bench by Monckton, wrote to him that he was confident Colden had misinterpreted the royal instructions; he believed it was the intention of the ministry that New York should be governed by the laws of England; and that those laws were better known and more strictly adhered to in New York than any other province. William Smith, Jr., wrote that Colden was considered an enemy to New York, and had become the object of suspicion and cordial hatred; and that his "unseasonable attempt to introduce an innovation had inflamed the whole country."

Much as his presence was desired, Governor Monckton did not return to New York, but in 1766 was made governor of Berwick. A dozen years later he was governor of Portsmouth, and occupied a seat in Parliament. He died in 1782. It is said that he was offered a command in the American war, but declined to draw his sword against a people to whom he had, during his ten years' residence in this country, become honorably and sincerely attached.

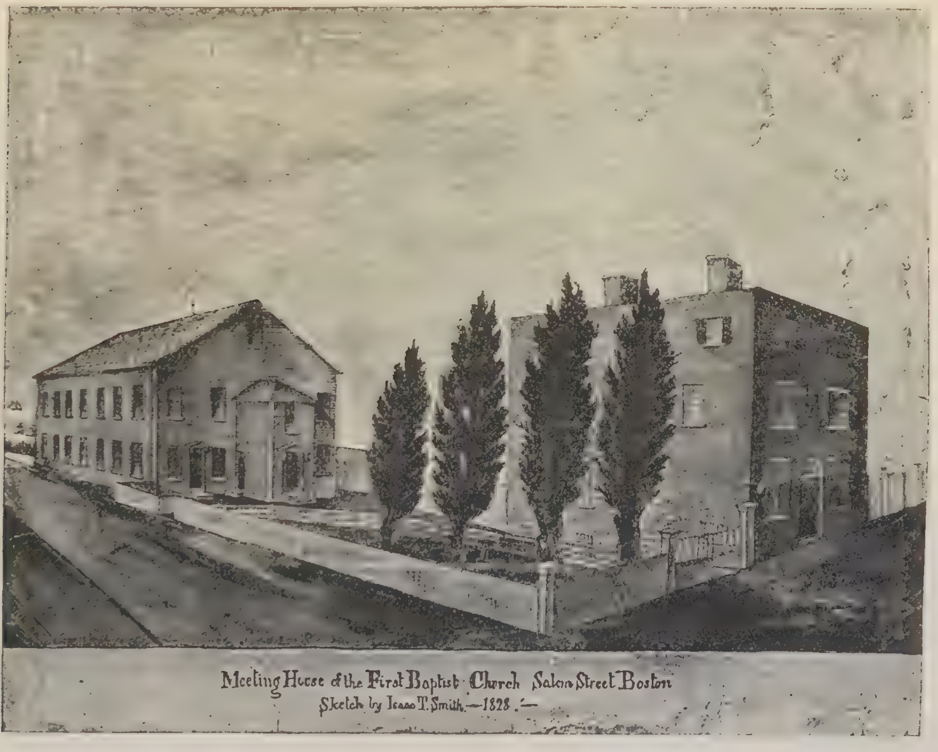
A HISTORIC MEETING-HOUSE

A MEMORIAL AND REMINISCENCE OF THE OLDEN TIMES

The sketch of the old meeting-house of the First Baptist Church, Salem Street, Boston, was made in 1828, and for over half a century has been preserved with reverent care in the family of Deacon John Sullivan, then senior deacon of the church. It has recently been returned to me, and has reminded me of the circumstances that led to my making the picture, and revives some old memories of the time and place.

The church removed to a new site, corner of Hanover and Union streets, thus the old meeting-house was about to disappear from the scene, and in consideration of the interesting associations connected with it, so interwoven with the early history of Boston and the primitive life in this country of the denomination of Christians who erected it—the good men and good wives and various historical personages who had gone in and out and found a sanctuary there, the great principles of religious toleration that had been proclaimed and stoutly maintained within its walls—I was interested to preserve a memento of the place. The sketch, although roughly drawn, gives an accurate view of the premises as it then appeared. The venerable edifice was erected in 1678, and, like an ancient fortress at the outpost of a frontier, had for a century and a half stood the battle and the breeze; and yet such was the solidity of the original structure, and the excellent condition in which it had been kept, that it proved to be yet stanch and strong, and, being heavily timbered, was not relegated to an ignominious destruction. Miss Marianne Sullivan remembers seeing it on rollers *en route* for South Boston, to continue in service as a Baptist place of worship.

In an artistic sense this old meeting-house presents little to attract attention, but in another and higher sense, in the light of other and more important considerations, it has an interesting and instructive significance. If Fanueil Hall is held in patriotic regard as the cradle of civil liberty, this old meeting-house, which was the scene and centre of a great struggle for the enlargement of the spiritual bonds of man—a contest for religious liberty, the conflict of centuries, where the great principle of religious toleration, as enunciated by Roger Williams, that "the magistrate should not come between God and his creatures," was brought to a triumphant recognition—must be regarded with interest and veneration. Its erection at that period marked an era in religious thought and development. It was a beacon-light between the mist and gloom of mediæval ritualism in the old world and of Puritan intolerance in the new, and was a harbinger of brighter and better days. Prior to this, such a building for such purposes was impossible. The grand cathedrals of the old world, monuments of art, were mainly erected and adorned by royal aid, in commemoration of the reigns of kings and potentates, for the use of state churches; religious institutions upheld by the secular arm, into which all the people, good, bad, and indifferent, were compelled, under stress of fines and imprisonment, to enroll themselves as members.



Meeting House of the First Baptist Church Salem Street Boston
Sketch by Isaac T. Smith.—1828.—

The dim religious light that penetrated such stained cathedral windows was sufficient in a day when the Bible was little read, and the private interpretation of the Scriptures not permitted. But when this Baptist Church in Boston was established, its members, not "press'd-men," or such as had been enrolled in unconscious infancy, consisted of volunteers drawn together for the maintenance of a principle; and when these men proceeded to set up a standard and erect a house of worship, they were concerned, not so much with the adornments of art, as with a consideration of the "eternal fitness of things." If this their "temple made with hands" was plain and simple, it fitly expressed the purpose and character of the builders; they themselves were "of plain living but high thinking," with "ideas greater than the temple," and maintained that "right was right since God was God, and right was sure to win." A sea of troubles lay before them, but, undismayed, with the open Bible they went forward.

In 1679 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay had enacted that "no meeting-house should be erected without permission of the freemen of the town or the General Court. And in case of transgression, all such houses and the land on which they stood should be forfeited to the use of the country." This meeting-house had been quietly erected, and, in 1679, was opened for public worship. It was immediately taken possession of by the magistrates, the doors nailed up, and a notice pasted thereon, that

> "All persons are to take notice, that by order of the Court, the Doors of this house are shut up, and that they are inhibited to hold any meeting, or to open the doors thereof, without license from authority till the General Court shall take further order, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.
>
> Dated at Boston, 8th March, 1680. Edward Rawson,
> Secretary."

When the people attempted to hold worship in the open air they were arrested and were treated very roughly. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, says, "many honest people were ruined by fines and imprisonment before they gained their point." In 1644 it was enacted that "If any p-son or p-sons wi ye jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose ye Baptism of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from ye ap-bation or use thereof, or should purposely depart ye congregation at ye administration of the ordinance, and should appear to ye C-ot wilfully and obstinately to continue therein, after due time and means of Conviction any such p-son or p-sons, shall be sentenced to banishment."

For thus offending, Roger Williams had been banished, and Henry Dunster was removed from the presidency of Harvard College, and banished. With his wife and children, amid great suffering and pecuniary loss, he was driven into the wilderness in severe weather, under circumstances of great hardship.

Brooks Adams, in his *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, says, "Henry Dunster was an uncommon man, famed for piety in an age of fanaticism, learned, modest, and brave; by the unremitting toil of thirteen years he raised Harvard from a school to the position it has since held, and though very poor and starving on an ill-paid pittance, he gave his beloved college one hundred acres of land at the moment of its sorest need; yet he was a criminal, for he would not baptize infants. He was indicted and convicted of disturbing church ordinances, and deprived of his office in October, 1654."

Obediah Holmes was another victim. He was educated at Oxford, England, and when he emigrated he settled in Salem. He became a Baptist, and was excommunicated, and the inevitable indictment followed. As he lay in prison he suffered keenly at the thought of his birth and breeding, the injury to his name and worldly credit, and the humiliation that must come to his wife and children from his public shame; then he began, too, to fear lest he might not be able to bear the lash, might flinch and shed tears, and bring contempt on himself and his religion; yet when the morning came he was calm and resolute, refusing food and drink, that he might not be said to be sustained by liquor. He betook himself to prayer, and when his keeper called for him, with his Bible in his hand he went cheerfully to his post. He would have spoken a few words, but the magistrate ordered the executioner to do his office quickly, for the fellow would delude the people; then he was seized and stripped, and as he cried "Lord, lay not this sin unto their charge," he received the first blow. They gave him thirty lashes, with a three-thonged whip, of such horrible severity that it was many days before he could have his lacerated body touch the bed, and he rested propped upon his hands and knees. Yet in spite of his torture he stood firm and calm, showing neither pain nor fear, breaking out at intervals in praise of God, and his dignity and carriage so impressed the people, that in spite of the dangers, numbers flocked about him when he was set free, in sympathy and admiration. John Spur being inwardly affected by what he saw and heard, took him by the hand, and with a joyful countenance said, "Praise be the Lord," and so went back with him. That same day Spur was arrested, charged with the crime of succoring a heretic.

Then said the undaunted Spur, "Obediah Holmes I do look upon as a godly man; and do affirm that he carried himself as did become a Christian under so sad an affliction." "We will do with you as we have dealt with him," said the magistrate. "I am in the hands of God," answered Spur, and then his keeper took him to prison.

The Quakers were treated with even greater inhumanity; several were hanged, some branded and mutilated, some tied to cart tails and brutally whipped from town to town, and both men and women, and even the two children of one of the victims, were sold into slavery to meet the fines imposed upon them. That Protestants should in this new country have renewed the persecutions which they themselves had been subjected to in the old, shows that human nature is much the same the world over; and that in the monopoly of power by any sect or order, in this case by the "elders," the "cruelty of man toward man" is appalling. No one with humane feelings can contemplate the persecutions in the Puritan commonwealth without their sensibilities being profoundly and painfully disturbed.

By a statute of 1631, "no one could vote in the election for a member of the General Court who was not a member of the Puritan church, and only those who brought a certificate from an elder could be received into the church. In this manner the elders controlled the election, and thereby also the civil government."

The peculiarity of the Puritan law, as stated in Oliver's *Puritan Commonwealth*, was that the two tables of the moral law, containing man's duty toward God and his duty toward his neighbor, they reasoned, with partial truth, were binding upon humanity wherever it wandered. The ten distinct commands were as rigid and unexpansive as the marble letters in which they were written, and the magistrates held that whether they assume the form of English statutes or not, they were obligatory upon the Puritan commonwealth, and should be enforced by the arm of the civil power. Roger Williams took the exception that, in breaches of the first table, the magistrates were powerless, that *they had no right to interfere between God and his creatures, and their legitimate authority was confined to an oversight of man's duty toward his neighbor.* But this, the first gleam of religious liberty in the Puritan commonwealth, was immediately observed, and at General Court both elders and magistrates pronounced such opinions "to be erroneous and very dangerous," and Williams' call to a church in Salem was adjudged, in consequence, "a great contempt of authority." The banishment of this enthusiast did not by any means put to rest the waking principle which he had roused; nor did the manner in which the magistrates exercised their authority tend to check the "inordinate love of liberty." His persecution gained him many disciples, and the question of the first table continued a mooted point in Puritan jurisprudence down to the Synod of 1647, in which, after much debate, it was decided by the elders that the civil magistrate is "*custus utriusque tabulæ*," "and has full power to compel the observance so far as respects the outward man."

Roger Williams had also a controversy with the magistrates in regard to their Indian policy. The Puritan Pilgrims maintained "that the whole earth is the Lord's garden," and, therefore, the peculiar property of his saints, and the natural right of the aborigine was to so much soil only as he could occupy and improve, and that any land not improved by agriculture lay open to any who would or could improve it. Accordingly, when Roger Williams denounced this with honest indignation, and compared the Indian interest in the soil to that of the nobility and gentry of England in their parks and preserves, it was replied that it was not the intention to take possession of the country by "murther and robbery," but only to occupy its arid places; accordingly, any lands not fenced and waving with yellow corn they took possession of without condescending to any inquiry concerning Indian title. The following expressions of opinion by elders and others, as recorded in Oliver's *Puritan Commonwealth*, will give some idea of the intolerant spirit of the day. "No room in God's army for tolerationists." Johnson. "'Tis Satan's policy to plead indefinite and boundless toleration." Shepard. "He that is willing to tolerate will, for need, hang God's Bible at the Devil's girdle." "Toleration is the grand design of the Devil, his masterpiece." "Toleration is the first-born of all abominations." "The church never took part in the punishment of heretics." Cotton Mather. "Such a rough thing as a New England Anabaptist is not to be handled over tenderly." Rev. Samuel Willard, President of Harvard.

The elders appear to have found in this Willard a fitting tool for their intolerance, in place of the noble Dunster, who was banished. Considerable activity seems to have been displayed in securing cases for discipline, and in inflicting fines and punishments. For absence from prayer the fine was a shilling; from the sermon, five shillings. Venturing to express dissent to the sentiments of an elder was a serious matter, and, as in the case of Mrs. Hutchinson, a distinguished and intelligent lady, led to banishment. In this spirit, the elders and magistrates proceeded against Baptists, Quakers, Episcopalians, and all who did not adhere to the Puritan church. Oliver's *Puritan Commonwealth* says: "The victims of persecution fled to Rhode Island, where they could salute each other in safety, and who shall not say that their ravings, unmingled as they were with the dying imprecations of the red men, were not as acceptable as the sober prayers of the grave Puritans, but their inhumanity failed of its purpose. Public sentiment both in England and in this country reacted against them. Truth crushed to earth rose again, and moved steadily onward, until toleration won the day, and through all the land, from sea to sea, has prevailed and become an important part of the framework of the civil policy of every State." Sound statesmanship now recognizes that civil liberty would indeed be incomplete, and be but a name, without religious liberty.

> "Peace hath her victories
> Not less renowned than war."

The words of Edward Everett, used on another occasion, will fitly apply to this: "What are all the victories of a Cæsar or Napoleon compared to a victory like this!"

Now, like waves in widening circles, as from a stone cast into the sea, the moral influence of the United States is reaching, pervading, and blessing other nations where toleration has not hitherto been enjoyed.

Repeatedly, in recent years, the United States Government has, at the request of various religious denominations in this country, uniting with the Baptists, asked of foreign governments, Sweden, Germany, and Russia, etc., for "International courtesy towards those holding our views of scriptural truth," and these requests have in every instance been graciously acceded to.

> "Men may come and men may go,
> But truth goes on forever."

Brooks Adams says: "The struggles and the agony by which this isolated community freed itself from its gloomy bondage, the means by which it secularized its education and its government, won for itself the blessings of free thought and free speech, and matured a system of constitutional liberty which has been the foundation of the American Union." In looking back to those early provincial days, we view with admiration the heroic stand taken by the men of that generation for freedom of opinion and liberty of speech, and the boldness of their assaults upon bigotry and intolerance, although hoary with age and intrenched in power. And, in the light of the events of subsequent history, it is easy to discern that the policy and teachings of the two contending parties of that day did not end with them, but an influence has been transmitted in logical sequence from generation to generation, to the weal or woe of the country. The seed-thoughts then sown have borne fruit each after its own kind. The impartial judgment of mankind will undoubtedly accord to Roger Williams and his followers purity and unselfishness of purpose; and it must be also conceded, and it is but just and equitable, as it is likewise legitimate and germane to the subject, to say that their principles and policy have tended to toleration, to good order, to good government, and to good-will toward men; and embodying thus the germs of equity and justice to all of their continuance in an enlarged sphere of beneficence resplendent down the ages, while those of their opponents and persecutors have been exemplified by a long, terrible catalogue of blazing villages, and the provoked, pitiless Indian massacres of fleeing inhabitants, in retaliation for unnumbered wrongs inflicted by the whites upon the Indian tribes, casting a blot upon the national character, severely taxing the resources and energy of the governments and the wisdom and forbearance of the people, and the end is not yet!

When the millennial—God's great day, foretold in sacred writ—shall come, may it not possibly then appear that, among the instrumentalities that accelerated its coming, the sacrifices, the sufferings, and blood of the martyrs, for liberty of conscience and freedom of speech, although at the time counted as naught, will then receive full recognition, and, like the small, smooth stone from the brook, by the sling of David, that laid low Goliath of Gath, shall prove, by divine direction, to have been mightily efficient? And when the grand anthem that shall usher in that auspicious morn shall sound, is it too much to expect that, influenced by the example of their sacrifice, courage, and fidelity, the voices of an increased multitude from every State and nation, and out of every kindred tribe and tongue, will swell the mighty chorus of those of whom it will be recorded that they, too, "loved their fellow-men"!

In selecting Salem Street for a site for their meeting-house, the Baptists were doubtless influenced by a similar reason to that recorded of the primitive church of Salem of old, "*because there was much water there*." The tide through Charles River set in quite up to the rear of the building, so that by steps descending to the water the ordinance of baptism was conveniently administered. This old church has had a succession of eminent men as pastors, among whom were Doctor Stillman, of great renown for wisdom, public spirit, and eloquence; and Mr. Winchell and his hymn-book—*Winchell's Watts*, then used in the churches—whom I remember. He was gentle and winning in manners, and as a preacher had considerable poetic fervor and literary finish. Dr. Francis Wayland followed, and continued until he assumed the Presidency of Brown University. He stood in the front rank as an educator and writer on moral science. He was of the Websterian type, and of a grand presence. Dr. Baldwin, in his gown and bands, used to preach frequently also, in my day, at the "United Meeting," which was alternately held by the three churches. The "Third Church," under Dr. Sharp, was then formed. Dr. Sharp's graceful dignity and excellence as a preacher, not less than the courtesy that distinguished him as a gentleman, attracted many toward him.

All that part of Boston, now solidly built over with railroad stations, stores, and dwellings, lying between Merrimac Street and its junction with Union Street, thence to Salem and Prince Streets, was then, at high tide, covered with water. A causeway across the flats connected the west with the north end; a canal ran up into the town which was used for traffic with stores and dwellings abutting on the canal. Frequently, with other boys, I have been in swimming where now is Haymarket Square. From the rear of the old meeting-house, Charlestown, on the opposite bank of the river, and the Navy Yard, was open to view, and the British ships which took part in the Battle of Bunker Hill must have anchored in the stream not very far away.

This reminiscence of the olden times and the old church would hardly be complete without some reference to the old sexton, "Father Winslow," who was a decided and quite an original character, and, in his way, a conspicuous figure of the place. He was odd and queer, small in stature, and of a grave and austere countenance. He was usually attired in black, and his long gray hair was tied behind in a queue. He had large lapels to his coat pockets, out of which he frequently fished a capacious snuff-box, which he courteously presented to certain favored ones of the congregation as they passed him in the vestibule, whom he well knew would enjoy a pinch of his favorite Maccaboy. His post of observation on Sunday was usually at the centre door of the porch in front, where he stood, a warning to evil-doers, in the shape of sundry small urchins who watched a chance to run and roll in the grass, under the pretense of getting a drink of water from the pump standing on the lawn; also to be on the lookout for the minister, whom he received with deference, and ceremoniously escorted to the pulpit. He was a relic of a former generation, a sexton of the "Old Mortality" type, and was decorous and proper in all his ways. He disappeared with the old meeting-house.

Isaac T. Smith

OUR PRESIDENTS AS HORSEMEN

General Grant has gone into history as the man on horseback. Washington's portraits are largely equestrian, and associated with every period of Jackson's career are the horses he loved so well.

Old citizens of Alexandria say that Washington rode the finest horses in Virginia, and that as a boy he broke to the saddle the colts of his neighborhood. It is said that he once rode ten different horses into Alexandria in a single week, and during his latter years his stables at Mount Vernon were among the best in the country. He visited his horses upon rising in the morning, and always saw that they had their breakfast before he took his own. He kept thoroughbred horses, and his establishment at Mount Vernon was much like that of a great English lord. He had his pack of hounds, and before the Revolution he was very fond of fox-hunting. He followed the hounds everywhere, and was always in at the death. He had a regular hunting costume, and his favorite hunter was a fiery, long-limbed horse which he called "Blueskin," probably from its color, a fine, dark iron-gray. His hunting costume was a blue coat, a scarlet waistcoat, buckskin breeches, and top boots. He wore a velvet cap, and carried a whip with a long thong. He ridiculed the idea that he could be thrown, and he was wont to say that he required only one good quality in a horse, namely, "it must go along." It was his custom, at Mount Vernon, prior to the Revolution, to hunt three times a week, and the game chased was made up of gray foxes and stags. His last hunt was in 1785, when he killed a stag weighing one hundred and forty-six pounds.

George Washington was very kind to his horses, and displayed a great deal of sentiment in connection with his treatment of some of them. The horse he rode when he received the sword of Cornwallis, on the 19th of October, 1781, was a fine chestnut charger with white face and legs. Washington took him to Mount Vernon after the war, but never allowed him to do a stroke of work. He was well stabled and cared for, and died many years later.

At Philadelphia, while Washington was President, the Executive stables were in the charge of a man called "German John," and at another time of Bishop, the old body-servant of General Braddock. These chief hostlers had a number of negro boys under them, and George Washington Parke Custis says that Washington's horses were of the kind known as "muslin horses." This name came from the testing of the cleanliness of the horses with a fine handkerchief. This was brushed over their coats after they were dressed, and if the slightest spot of dirt came off upon the handkerchief, they were not considered well curried, and the stable-boys were tied up and whipped for their negligence. The President drove a team of white chargers, "and the grooming of these," says Washington's adopted son, Custis, "will rather surprise the moderns. The night before the horses were expected to be ridden they were entirely covered over with a paste of which whiting was the principal component part. Then the animals were swathed in body clothes, and left to sleep upon clean straw. In the morning the composition had become hard. It was well rubbed in, and the horses were curried and brushed. This process gave to their coats a beautiful, glossy, and satin-like appearance. The hoofs were now blacked and polished, the mouths washed, the teeth picked and cleaned, and the leopard-skin housings being properly adjusted, the white chargers were led out for service. Such was the grooming of ancient times."

President Washington's coach, which he used with these horses, was the finest carriage in Philadelphia, and its panels were painted by one of the great painters of that day. One of these panels is preserved in the collection of relics in the National Museum at Washington. It is a copper medallion as big as a dinner plate, and the inscription connected with it says that the coach was of a cream color, and it had four of these medallions upon it, each of which contained a painting by Capriana, a famous painter of the times. The body of the vehicle was in the shape of a hemisphere, and its cream color was ornamented with Cupids supporting festoons, and with garlands of flowers around the panels. Add to the white horses and their splendid trappings this gorgeous coach and equally gorgeous footman and coachman, and you may have some idea of the turnout of our first President. In addition to this, there was a chariot kept especially for Mrs. Washington, which was a four-horse affair with black postilions in livery.

All of the land-traveling in Washington's day was done by carriage or on horseback, and the following *verbatim* order, which Washington once sent to his London agent, for an out-of-door equipage, will give an idea of his appearance on the road: "A man's riding saddle, hogskin seat, large plated stirrups and everything complete; double-reined bridle, and Pelham bit plated. A very neat Newmarket saddle. A large and best portmanteau, saddle, bridle, and pillow. Cloak bag, surcingle, check saddle-cloth, hostlers, etc. A riding frock of handsome drab-colored broadcloth with plain double gilt buttons. A riding waistcoat of superfine scarlet cloth and gold lace, with buttons like those of the coat. A blue surtout coat. A neat switch whip, silver cap. Black velvet cap for servant."

Washington's stables at Philadelphia contained ten coach and saddle horses in addition to the two white chargers. He had a coachman and two grooms, and the servants who accompanied him in his rides were white. They wore liveries of white cloth trimmed with scarlet or orange. The white chargers were the horses of state, and one of these was the President's favorite saddle horse. He was a fine parade horse, as white as snow, and sixteen hands high. His name was Prescott, and the President thought a great deal of him, though he had an annoying habit of dancing about on the approach of a carriage. It was the custom then for ladies in driving to order their coachman to stop, and let down the glasses of their coach, whenever the President approached on horseback, in order that he might pay his compliments. Upon such occasions Prescott would always dance, and I doubt not Washington became at times not a little exasperated at him. The other charger was also purely white, with flowing mane and tail. He was an Arabian steed, very high-spirited, and so fiery that no one but Washington could ride him with comfort.

These two horses were those with which Washington made his tour throughout the Southern States in 1791. He rode for nineteen hundred miles behind them in the white chariot, and during the whole journey he had not a single accident. Before setting out on this trip, he had arranged the time and hour for arriving at each place, and his punctuality is said to have been remarkable. The white chariot was talked of all over the country, and the order for firing a cannon at his arrival was:

"Light your matches, the white chariot is in full view."

Mrs. Washington, while she was the chief lady of the land, drove her own horses. She attended the races at Alexandria with Nellie Custis. A pair of beautiful bays drew the coach when she went out calling in Philadelphia. One day, when she had just entered the carriage with her granddaughter, one of the horses rubbed off his bridle, and the frightened animal was in the act of springing forward when the footman grasped him around the neck, and some passer-by came to the rescue. The bridle was replaced, and the carriage drove off.

Thomas Jefferson kept the finest of horses in his stables, and he paid very high prices for some of them. At the time of his inauguration, he rode to the Capitol on his favorite saddle horse, "Wild Air," and the generations of patriots since then have delighted in recounting the Jeffersonian simplicity with which he jumped from his horse himself, and, tying him to the fence with his own hands, walked into the Capitol. The truth, however, is that this act was forced upon him. He had hoped to have driven to his inauguration in a fine turn-out, and his son-in law, Jack Eppes, had been sent off to buy four coach-horses at a price of $1600, but did not return to Washington in time, thus the President rode on horseback.

While Jefferson was President he took horseback rides every afternoon from one until three, and he kept up this riding on horseback until within three weeks of his death. He was a bold and fearless rider, and delighted in riding alone. The presence of a servant annoyed him, and he was fond of solitary rides and musing. He kept, while in the White House, four fiery bay coach-horses, but he seldom drove behind them. His rides about Washington brought him many strange adventures. He was often mistaken for some other person than the President, and stories are told of how strangers meeting him had denounced Jefferson to him, and on afterward calling at the White House had been covered with confusion at the remembrance of their conversation.

President Jefferson abolished the weekly levees at the White House which had been in vogue during the preceding administrations. The court ladies of Washington conspired to force him to resume them, and on the usual levee day they called at the White House. They were informed that the President was out, but they replied that they would go in and wait for him, doubting not that when he returned he would feel obliged to receive them, as John Adams had done. In the course of an hour Jefferson came in from one of his long horseback rides. He wore top-boots and riding costume, and with the spurs still clanking upon his heels, the dust upon his clothes, and his whip in his hand, he went in and received his fair guests. He treated them very courteously, and it is said they went away feeling that they had shown more impoliteness in visiting him when not expected than he had in receiving them in other than court dress. His action, however, prevented a repetition of the conspiracy.

In driving to Monticello, Jefferson generally used a phaeton or a one-horse chair. A picture of this horse chair is given in the *Domestic Life of Jefferson*, by his great-granddaughter, Sarah N. Randolph, from which I have much of my information in regard to him. It was probably a kind of sulky, and looks more like an arm-chair than anything else.

" Jefferson liked horse-racing," says Parton, " and he did not permit false ideas of official decorum to prevent his attending the races near the seat of government. The saddle was his test of a horse, and his rule in horse management was to use force rather than patience. If his horse rebelled he thrashed him, and the battle never ceased until the animal had discovered which of the two held the reins."

John Quincy Adams was entertained by horse races, and he used to walk out to the Holmead race course, two miles from the White House, and back again, whenever there was a race to be held. Mrs. Madison drove out to see the races in a chariot with four gray horses, and President Jackson not only went to see races, but he delighted in betting on them, and now and then ran his own horses. While he was in the White House, a colt of his was entered under the name of his private secretary, Major Donelson, in a race for a stake of ten thousand dollars, but it was beaten by Commodore Stockton's "Langford." Langford had been lame during his training for the race, and the President's horse was a general favorite. A great crowd of people attended the race, and the annual ball of the season was given that night. The walls of the ballroom were found ornamented with a full-length portrait of Andrew Jackson's horse, so confident had been his friends of winning the race. He was defeated, however, and it is said that the President lost nearly a thousand dollars by the result.

During Jackson's time, the crime of mail robbery was punishable with imprisonment or death, and a mail robber named Wilson is said to have escaped hanging through a singular adventure with General Jackson on the race course some years before. This was near Nashville, Tennessee; Jackson had bet upon a horse which the jockey had been ordered to make lose the race. Wilson came to the general and gave him this information. Jackson then withdrew his bets, and promised his informant that he would be his friend if opportunity offered. When Wilson was arrested for mail-robbery and found guilty, he reminded the President of his promise, and Jackson pardoned him.

Before General Jackson was elected to the Presidency, he bet openly upon horse races, and he ran his own horses also. There is a story told in Tennessee, which, if true, leads to the supposition that Jackson was well up in the sharp practices of horse racing. He had a heavy bet upon a certain race, and the jockey who was to ride the competing horse was a mulatto boy whom he had owned himself, but with whom he had become discontented. He had sold him to a neighbor, and it was this neighbor's horse that was now running against Jackson's. Before the race came off, Jackson was overheard giving instructions to the little mulatto. He was heard to say: "You black rascal, I want you to know that I understand you, and I don't want you to play any of your old tricks upon me. If I catch you squirting your tobacco juice in my boy's eyes, I will cut your heart out."

Jackson's duel with Dickinson arose from the troubles of the race course. Dickinson was a negro trader and a horse jockey. He had a bet with Jackson, and in the discussion regarding the settlement of this, Jackson and he came to blows. Dickinson denounced Jackson as a coward, and Jackson challenged him. In the duel which followed Jackson killed Dickinson, but not before the latter had shattered two of the future President's ribs with his bullet.

Jackson's great love for his wife came out in relation to horses. He bought for her, it is said, the finest coach in Tennessee, paying for it $2500, and he highly prized this coach in after years. He had it with him at Washington, and would ride in no other. At one time his horses ran away with it, and it was brought back considerably damaged. Jackson was very angry, and his private secretary heard him say to his black coachman: "Charles, you know why I value that carriage. This is the second time such an accident has happened, and if it ever occurs again I will send you back to Tennessee."

Just before Jackson left the Presidency he received a present of a carriage made from the timber of the frigate *Constitution*, which had taken part in the war against Great Britain in 1812, and had been dubbed *Old Ironsides.* During the last Presidential term of Jackson the old vessel went to pieces, and the democracy of New York city gathered the timbers together, and made a handsome carriage from them. It was in this carriage that General Jackson and President-elect Van Buren rode to the Capitol from the White House to Van Buren's inauguration, and it is said that this old carriage is now in the possession of a store-keeper in a little Georgia village.

Martin Van Buren had a fine turn-out while he was in the White House. His carriage was of a dark olive hue with ornaments as bright as burnished gold. He had a footman and coachman in livery, and he rode about in grand style.

When Harrison came to Washington to be inaugurated, he walked from the depot into the city, and on the day of his inauguration refused to ride in a fine carriage which, with its four fiery horses, had been presented to him for this purpose by the Whigs of Baltimore. General Harrison had pronounced ideas of his own as to how the President of the United States should act and speak. He was a great admirer of the old Romans, and his inaugural abounded in classical allusions. He thought that it was more becoming for the President to ride to his inauguration on horseback, as the Roman emperors used to pass along the Appian Way. So he refused the carriage, and though the day was cold and windy, he rode both out and back upon a white charger, wearing no overcoat, and carrying his hat in his hand as he did so. He was escorted by the military, but the raw, cold air chilled the marrow of his old bones, and it is the opinion of many that the exposure of that day had much to do with hastening his death, which occurred a few weeks later.

President Tyler brought to the White House the customs of his old Virginia home. A great deal of comment was made on one of his carriages, which was bought at the sale of the effects of Mr. Paulding, the Secretary of the Navy under Van Buren. It is said that President Tyler asked his Irish coachman what the people would think of his using a second-hand carriage. To which the coachman responded:

"And faith, Mr. President, it seems to me a second-hand carriage would not be out of place for you. For you know that some people say that you are only a second-hand President."

One day President Tyler was out riding with his most intimate friend, Henry A. Wise, of Virginia. Mr. Wise's carriage was a small and rickety one, and President Tyler characterized it as no better than a candle-box on wheels; whereupon Wise told Tyler that his carriage was at least bought first-hand, and that when he did buy one at auction he would see that the coat-of-arms of the former owner was removed from its panels. President Tyler laughed at the repartee, and a day or two after that the coat-of-arms of Secretary Paulding was painted over, and that of President Tyler appeared in its place.

President Polk kept a good turn-out at Washington. He had a carriage of dark olive, highly polished, and with gilt borders around the panel work. The cushions of the interior were of rich figured crimson cloth with lace trimmings, and the windows had curtains of blue and red figured stuff. He drove four horses, and his equipage was one of the sights of the capital.

President Zach Taylor brought to Washington the old horse which he had used in the Mexican War. He was a fine-looking horse, as white as snow, and full of spirit; he pricked up his ears at martial music, and followed the remains of his master to the grave, being led directly behind the funeral car, which was drawn by eight white horses.

During the administration of Pierce, the President's stables were directly below the White House, and they were in charge of a gray-haired coachman who still lives in Washington, and who delights in talking of the Presidents he has served. "President Pierce," he says, "was a fine horseback rider, and I can see him now as he used to walk down to the stables every morning with his whip in his hand. He would come in and pat the horses, and say: 'Well, Thomas, will you saddle my horse for me, please?' and then he would stroll away to look at the garden which then lay between the White House and the Treasury, while his horse was being prepared for him. President Pierce's riding horse was a fiery animal. She was as blind as a stone wall, and he used to ride her about the streets of Washington at night. President Pierce was a kind master. He talked to his servants in as kindly a way as he did to the diplomats who came in their court dress. He had eight horses and several carriages in his stables. I think his coach was a present, but he sold this at the close of his administration, and gave the proceeds to one of the city asylums. President Pierce's livery was navy blue, with buttons of silver.

"President Buchanan," continued the old coachman, "had a magnificent turn-out, and one of his sets of harness cost him eight hundred dollars. It was made as a present for him by a firm in Philadelphia, but it was President Buchanan's custom not to receive presents, and when the donor brought it to the White House, Buchanan asked him what it had cost to make it. The reply was, eight hundred dollars. Buchanan at once wrote out a check for the amount, and made the man take it. This harness had thirty-six large buckles, heavily plated with silver, and there were fifty six silver B's in different places upon it. When Mr. Buchanan went back to Wheatlands he took this harness with him. President Buchanan was what I call a minute man. He gave plenty of time for you to do what he ordered, but he expected everything to be done to the minute. When any complaint was made against the servants, they had a chance to explain before they were reprimanded or discharged. If they were not in the wrong, he would not punish them. President Buchanan drove but seldom, and he never rode on horseback. His niece, Harriet Lane, was the chief one who used the stables. She was fond of the saddle, and I was her groom on such occasions. She would often make up a party of ten girls, and they would canter away from the White House door for ten or twelve miles into the country about Washington. There was a great deal of extravagance about the White House in those days. President Buchanan paid no attention to domestic matters, and my two coach dogs were often given a leg of mutton or a juicy beefsteak to eat. President Johnson bought his horses from those which the army sold at the close of the war. He was very careful in keeping an account of their expenses, and he paid himself for every cent's worth of feed they used. He kept eight horses, and one of his teams was very fine. It consisted of a pair of fiery blacks, with skin like jet, and eyes which flashed with spirit.

"Mrs. Lincoln managed all matters relating to the household and the stables, and engaged and dismissed the servants, and she was not the easiest woman to get along with, either. I was not her coachman, however. During Lincoln's administration, I acted as coachman for the two private secretaries, Colonel John Hay and Mr. Nicolay. Prior to Lincoln, the private secretaries of the President rode with the family. Lincoln's carriages did not arrive until some weeks after his inauguration, and Mr. Nicolay and Colonel Hay bought a carriage together, and made me their coachman. It was a sort of coupé. Mrs. Lincoln and the President used this until their own came. During the administration, I often had to drive Mr. Lincoln here and there, and I often took him to the Soldiers' Home. He had a troubled look during those days, and talked but little. Mrs. Lincoln kept the poorest horses of any administration I served under, and she had a number of her own coachmen apart from me. One of her men was named Burke. He had been having one of the carriages fixed at a shop down town, and, coming home from a drive, he supposed there would be no use for him for a half-hour at least. He said to me: 'Thomas, I am going down town, and will be back in a few moments. If any one wants me, please tell them.' He had not been gone five minutes before an order came from Mrs. Lincoln for the carriage. She was told that Burke was away. I could not go with her myself, because I had an engagement with Mr. Nicolay. Mrs. Lincoln made a great fuss, and sent to the livery stables for a team. When Burke returned, he was told that he was no longer wanted, and a new coachman was employed. Of course Burke had to acquiesce, but little Tad Lincoln was his friend, and got his father to write a card asking the Secretary of the Treasury to give the coachman a position there, who thus got into the departments, and is now employed in the civil service of the government."

President Grant's love for horses has become proverbial. He had been noted as a horseman long before he came to the White House, and at the time that he was elected he had a stock farm near St. Louis, where it is said he kept more than a hundred horses. He drove the best of horses while he was President, and his favorites occupied a large space in the newspaper literature of the time. Among General Grant's handsome horses were "Cincinnati," "Egypt" and "Jeff Davis." "Cincinnati" was a good saddle horse, and the President could ride him to any point in the city, and leave him standing unhitched for any length of time. He was never frightened at parades or street fights, and Grant was sure that however long he might remain in the houses of his friends upon his visits he would find "Cincinnati" waiting for him when he got through.

Albert Hawkins, who is now coachman for President Cleveland, was also in charge of the White House stables under Grant. He says that arrangements were made during Grant's second term for an equestrian statue of General Grant mounted on his favorite war horse, "Cincinnati," and that every day for nearly a month the General would have the bridle and saddle put upon "Cincinnati," and ride out to meet the sculptor. "The horse called 'Jeff Davis,'" says Hawkins, "was a kicker," and he had the habit of biting to such an extent that the stable hands were afraid to go near him. General Grant could, however, handle him as he desired, and as soon as he entered the stable "Jeff Davis" would throw back his ears and move about restlessly until the General came up and patted him. Among the many fine presents that Grant received during his foreign trip, were two magnificent horses from the Sultan of Turkey. These were landed in New York, and were the admiration of all who saw them. The craze in regard to them among horse lovers and relic hunters existed to such an extent that not a few persons came to the blacksmith who shod these horses, and asked for the nails, old shoes, and the clippings of the hoofs as relics. These horses are still living, and one of them was lately on General Beale's farm near Washington.

One of Grant's best horses was known as "Butcher Boy," into the possession of which he came in a curious way. Grant was riding one day through Washington, and tried to pass a butcher's wagon jogging along in front of him. The boy driving the horse whipped up, and General Grant and he had a lively race. The General was in a light, unpretentious rig, and the boy had no idea that he was racing with the President. His horse was so good, however, that he kept ahead for a long distance. President Grant admired the horse during this race, and as the wagon drove to a butcher shop in Washington, he quietly noted the place. Shortly after this he sent one of his friends around to look at the horse, and buy it if possible. The purchase was made, the money passed, and the butcher's horse took his place in the White House stables. His name came from the curious manner in which he was acquired.

Grant visited his stables daily while he was President, and it was during his administration that the present stables of the White House were built. They consist of a low brick structure in the form of the head of a T, the two ears of which are used as carriage houses, and the head of which forms the stables proper. The stalls are wide and roomy, and they are kept as clean as a New England kitchen. Grant visited his horses after he was through with the business of the day. He saw that they had the best kind of feed, and had them regularly exercised. He did not allow any one to ill-treat them, and when driving always held the reins himself. During his last years, his body-servant Harrison tells me, he had two fine teams for himself, and one for Mrs. Grant. One of these he lent to young Ward, the man who, in connection with Fish, caused his financial ruin. Ward took them, says Harrison, into the country and sold them. At least, the General was never able to get hold of them again.

President Arthur had a number of good horses in his stables, and he seldom drove about Washington without a coachman in livery. During the latter part of his term, his doctors advised him to take horseback rides, and he did this for a time. When he left the White House his horses were sold, and his coach-horses brought two hundred and eighty dollars, and a bay horse only one hundred and forty-five dollars. A black mare, said to have been the fastest horse then in the District of Columbia, sold for as much as the other three horses combined, and her owner was offered five hundred dollars for his bargain shortly after the sale, but he declined to part with her.

President Cleveland rides out in his carriage every afternoon. His coachman is the Albert Hawkins above spoken of, a tall, fine-looking colored man, who sits as straight as a post, and who is dressed in a livery the color of chamois-skin and trimmed with silver buttons. The President's coach-horses are seal brown in color. They have flowing manes and tails, and are about six or seven years of age. They are about sixteen hands high, weigh two thousand three hundred pounds, and were bred in Onondaga County, New York. The President's country home is three miles from the White House, and the drive to it is one of the most beautiful about Washington. Nearly every afternoon the President and his wife drive out toward it, and at other times in the day you may often see Mrs. Cleveland and her lady friends dashing along the country roads about Washington. President Cleveland seldom rides on horseback, and his carriage drives have been practically the only exercise he has taken since he has been President of the United States.

Frank G. Carpenter,

CANADA DURING THE VICTORIAN ERA

A SHORT HISTORICAL REVIEW IN TWO PARTS

Part II

England, in harmony with that liberal policy toward her colonies, which was inaugurated in the first decade of the Victorian era, has generously assisted in the movement that has been steadily going on for many years in the direction of the unity and security, as well as of the social and political development, of the provinces of British North America.*

First, there was the reunion of the Canadas in 1841, when the French and English sections were given an equal representation in one legislature.† Then followed, between 1841 and 1849, the concession of responsible government in the fullest sense of the term, and the handing over to Canada the control of her public revenues and taxes, to be expended in accordance with the wishes of the majority in the popular house. At the same time came the repeal of the Navigation Laws, which had fettered colonial trade since the days of Cromwell. The post-office was given up to the Canadian government, and in fact, all matters that could be fairly considered to appertain to their provincial and local interests were placed under their immediate legislative jurisdiction. The Canadian legislature, under the new impulse of a relatively unfettered action, went vigorously to work to lay the foundations of a municipal system as indispensable to the operations of local self-government. The troublesome land question, involved in the Seigniorial Tenure, was settled, after much agitation, on terms favorable to vested interests, while the clergy Reserves were also arranged so as no longer to favor one church at the expense of others, or to impede the progress of settlement and cultivation. The union of the Canadas lasted until 1867, when it had outgrown its usefulness, and the provinces found it necessary to enter into a federation, which had been foreshadowed by Lord Durham and advocated by many eminent men even before his time.

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* 3 and 4 Victoria, c. 35. Lord John Russell introduced the bill to reunite the Provinces in 1840. It was assented to on the 23d July, but did not come into effect until the following year.

† The Quebec Conference of the leading statesmen of British North America met on the 10th of October, 1864. The British North America Act, creating the Dominion, was passed by the Imperial Parliament in March, 1867. The Union came into operation 1st July, 1867, by the Queen's Proclamation.

The results of the development of Canada since 1841 may be divided for the purposes of this review into the following phases:

Territorial Expansion.
Increase of Population and Wealth.
Political Development.
Social and Intellectual Progress.
National Unity.

From 1841 to 1867 the provinces of British North America remained isolated from each other as distinct political entities, only united by the tie of a common allegiance to one sovereign. Their political organization was confined to the country extending from the head of Lake Superior to the countries watered by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean. Of these provinces Ontario was the most populous and the richest in agricultural wealth, although it has not as great an area as the province of Quebec, where a more rigorous climate and large mountainous tracts—the hills of the Laurentides—have rendered the country less favorable for extensive and productive farming operations. A very considerable portion of Ontario, even in those days, was a wilderness, and the principal cultivated tract extended for a few miles from the St. Lawrence, and the most populous settlements lay between Ontario, Erie, and Huron. The Confederation of 1867 brought four provinces into one territorial organization for general or Dominion purposes—Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—and it was not until 1873 that little Prince Edward Island, the garden of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, united its political fortunes with those of the young Confederation.* Efforts were made to bring in Newfoundland, but purely selfish local considerations prevailed in that island over the national sentiment; though the unwisdom of the course pursued by the island politicians has become evident according as the fishery question with the United States comes up from time to time, and it is now quite clear that this large colony, the Prima Vista of the North, the sentinel at the portals of Canada, must ere long fall into line with its sister colonies in North America. One of the most important results of confederation in its early days was the annexation by the Dominion of that vast tract of country which up to that time had been almost exclusively in the possession of the Indians and the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company—that region well described by General Butler as "the Lone Land," over whose trackless wastes French adventurers had been the first to pass—a region of prairies, watered by great rivers and lakes, over whose western limits tower the lofty, picturesque ranges of the Rockies.* Next came into confederation the province of British Columbia,† which extends from the Rockies to the waters of the Pacific Ocean—a country with a genial climate, with rapid rivers teeming with fish, with treasures of coal and gold, with sublime scenery only rivaled by California. In the course of years a new province was formed in the North-west, watered by the Red and Assiniboine rivers, and territorial districts, as large as European states, arranged for purposes of government out of the vast region that now, with the sanction of the imperial authorities, has been brought under the jurisdiction of the Government of Canada. Within a period of twenty years Canada has stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and a territory placed under her control very little inferior in extent to that of the great republic to the South, and containing within itself all the elements of a prosperous future. It is, unhappily, true that this result was not achieved until blood had been shed and much money expended in crushing the rebellious half-breeds led by the reckless Riel,‡ but apart from this sad feature of Canadian history this important acquisition of territory, the first step in the formation of an empire in the West, has been attained under circumstances highly advantageous to the Dominion. Canada now possesses an immense territory of varied resources: the maritime provinces, with their coal, fish, and shipping, together with a valuable, if limited, agricultural area, not yet fully developed; the large province of Quebec, with ranges of mountains on whose lower slopes, when denuded of their rich timber, may graze thousands of cattle and sheep, with valuable tracts of meadow lands, capable of raising the best cereals, and already supporting some of the finest cattle of the continent; the rich province of Ontario, which continues to be the chief agricultural section of the Dominion, and whose cities and towns are full of busy industries; the vast North-west region, still in the very infancy of its development, destined to give the confederation several provinces outside of Manitoba, as large and productive as Minnesota, and to be the principal wheat-growing district of Canada; and, finally, the province of British Columbia, whose mountains are still rich with undeveloped treasures, and whose mild climate invites a considerable industrious population to cultivate its slopes and plateaus, and till its deep-sea pastures.

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* An Imperial Order in Council was passed, declaring that after the 1st July, 1873, the island should form part of the Dominion. *Can. Stat.*, 1873, p. ix.

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* The North-west was transferred on certain conditions to Canada by an act passed by the Imperial Parliament in July, 1868; 31 and 32 Vict., c. 105.

† British Columbia was admitted by Imperial Order in Council in 1871. *Can. Stat.*, 1872, p. lxxxiv.

‡ The first revolt of the half-breeds, or Metis, of Manitoba, was in 1869; the second in the spring of 1885; Riel was executed in the fall of 1885.

The population which inhabits this vast territory is confined chiefly to the countries by the great lakes, the St. Lawrence, and the Atlantic Ocean. A considerable number of people has within a few years flowed into the North-west, where the province of Manitoba is exhibiting all the signs of a prosperous agricultural country, and its capital, Winnipeg, has grown up in the course of sixteen years into a city of some twenty thousand souls. The population of the whole Dominion may now be estimated at nearly five millions of souls, and has increased about five times since 1837. Of this population one million and a quarter are the descendants of the seventy or sixty-five thousand people who were probably living in the French province at the time of the conquest (1759–60). The remainder of the population is made up of English, Scotch, and Irish. The immigration of late years has been small compared with that which has come into the United States, and consequently at present the natural-born population amounts to about 85.90 per cent. of the whole.* The people of Canada have already won for themselves a large amount of wealth from the riches of the land, forest, and seas. The total value of the imports is now about one hundred and ten million dollars, and of exports, ninety million dollars, or an aggregate of two hundred million dollars a year, an increase of one hundred and seventy-five million dollars within half a century. Of this large trade at least forty million dollars represent the products of the farms. The province of Ontario now raises over twenty-seven million bushels of wheat alone, or an increase of over twenty-six millions since 1837. The people have deposited in government savings banks, leaving out of the calculation the ordinary monetary institutions of the country, about one hundred and eight million dollars, made up of about one hundred thousand deposits, belonging to mechanics, farmers, and people of limited means. For years the only industries of importance were the building of ships, the cutting of timber, and a few ill-supported manufactures of iron, and various hard and soft wares. Now there are upward of one hundred and seventy million dollars invested in manufactures, chiefly of cotton and woolen goods, of which the coarser fabrics compete successfully with English goods in the Canadian market, even crowding out certain classes entirely. Some fourteen lines of ocean steamers run annually to the port of Montreal, which now has a population of one hundred and eighty thousand souls. Toronto comes next in population, about one hundred and twenty thousand; whilst the other cities, like Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Ottawa, Hamilton, and London, range from sixty thousand to thirty thousand. The aggregate of the population of the cities and towns with over five thousand population amounts to some seven hundred and fifty thousand souls, or two-thirds of the total population of Canada in 1840. The total revenue of the Dominion, apart from the local and provincial revenues, is about seventy-eight million dollars a year, raised mainly from customs and excise duties, which are high, owing to the national or protective policy, although much lower than those on similar goods in the United States. If the expenditures of Canada of late years have been very large, they have been caused by the rapid development of the country, and by the necessity of providing rapid means of intercommunication for trade and population in a country extending between two oceans. Canals, light-houses, the acquisition and opening up of the North-west, and government buildings, have absorbed at least one hundred and fifty-eight million dollars since 1867, and it is not remarkable, under these circumstances, that a gross debt has been accumulated within half a century of two hundred and sixty-four million dollars, against which must be set valuable assets in the shape of buildings and public works necessary to the progress of a new country. The public buildings, churches, and universities display within a quarter of a century a great improvement in architectural beauty, whilst the homes of the people show, both in the interior and exterior, decided evidences of comfort, convenience, and culture. Instead of the fourteen miles of railway which existed in 1837, there are now about eleven thousand miles in actual operation, affording facilities for trade and commerce not exceeded by any country in the world. .One of these railways, the Canadian Pacific, which reaches from Quebec to Vancouver, on the Pacific Ocean, is the most remarkable illustration of railway enterprise ever shown by any country, certainly without a parallel for rapidity of construction even in the United States, with all its wealth, population, and commercial energy. These railways represent an investment of nearly seven hundred million dollars, in the shape of capital stock, municipal and government bonuses. These are some of the most remarkable evidences of material development which Canada has exhibited within fifty years. All those who wish to pursue the subject further need only refer to the blue books to see that the fisheries, the timber trade, and the agricultural products of Canada have all increased at the same ratio, notwithstanding commercial crises, bad harvests, and depression produced in certain branches of industry by the policy pursued toward the Dominion in connection with the fisheries. When we consider that the United States has received the great bulk of immigration for half a century, and that it is only quite recently that a deep interest has been taken in the development of the Dominion by the people of Europe, it is remarkable that in every branch of trade and industry so steady a progress has been made during the reign.

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* *Statistical Abstract and Record*, *Canadian Government*, p. 60.

In a new country like Canada one cannot look for the high culture and intellectual standard of the old communities of Europe. But there is even now in Canada an intellectual activity which, if it has not yet produced a distinct literature, has assumed a practical and useful form, and must, sooner or later, with the increase of wealth and leisure, take a higher range, and display something of the beauty and grace of literary productions of world-wide interest and fame. The mental outfit of the people compares favorably with that of older countries. The universities of Canada, McGill in Montreal, Laval in Quebec, Queen's in Kingston, Dalhousie in Halifax, and University College, in Toronto, stand deservedly high in the opinion of men of learning in the Old World and the United States, whilst the grammar and common school system, especially of Ontario, is creditable to the keen sagacity and public spirit of the people, who are not behind their cousins in New England in this particular. We have already seen the low condition of education fifty years ago—only one in fifteen at school; but now there are nearly one million of pupils in the educational institutions of the country—or one in five; at a cost to the people of upward of ten million dollars, contributed for the most part by the taxpayers of the different municipalities in connection with which the educational system is worked out. In Ontario the class of school-houses is exceptionally good and the apparatus excellent, and the extent to which the people tax themselves may be ascertained from the fact that the legislature only contributes annually some two hundred and sixty-seven thousand dollars out of the total expenditure of about four million dollars.

In French Canada there is an essentially literary activity which has produced poets and historians, whose works have naturally attracted not a little attention in France, where the people are still deeply interested in the material and intellectual development of their old colony. The names of Garneau, Ferland, Frechette, and Sulte especially are recognized in France, though they will be unfamiliar to most Englishmen, and even to Americans, who are yet quite ignorant of the high attainments of French Canadians, of whom Lord Durham wrote, in 1839, "they are a people without a history and without a literature"*—a statement well disproved in these later times by the works of Parkman, and by the triumphs of men like Frechette in Paris itself. The intellectual work of the English-speaking people has been chiefly in the direction of scientific, constitutional, and historical literature, in which departments they have shown an amount of knowledge and research which has won for many of them laurels outside of their own country. In the infancy of the United States, works like the *Federalist*, with its wealth of constitutional and historical lore, naturally emanated from the brains of publicists and statesmen. In laying the foundation of a great nation, the learning and wisdom of the best intellects were evoked; and it has been so, in a measure, in Canada, where the working out of a system of government adapted to the necessities of countries with distinct interests and nationalities has developed a class of statesmen and writers with broad national views, and a large breadth of knowledge. The works of writers like Mr. Todd, and the speeches of statesmen like Mr. Joseph Howe, are noteworthy; the former for their constitutional erudition, which make them useful to the student in every part of the empire; the latter for their eloquent and patriotic passages, and that national fervor which should animate the thoughts of all those engaged in building up a new nation. On all occasions when men have risen beyond the passion and narrowness of party, the debates of the legislature have been distinguished by a keenness of argument and by a grace of oratory—especially in the case of some French Canadians—which would be creditable to the Senate of the United States in its palmy days. In science, the names of Sir William Dawson and Dr. Thomas Sterry Hunt are well known in the parent state, and wherever science has its votaries and followers. The names of English Canadian poets will not be recognized to any great extent abroad, and yet there are several who have produced poems well worthy of a more general reputation, and who, under the inspiration of a wider field of culture and of that encouragement too much lacking in this prosaic Canada of ours, might have won a respectable place among their famous contemporaries. In romance, nothing remarkable has been done, while *Sam Slick, the Clockmaker*, is still the only noteworthy evidence we have of the existence of humor among our practical people, and his "wise saws," we remembered, were uttered fully half a century ago. Yet, on the whole, if great works are wanting nowadays, the intellectual movement is in the right direction, and according as the intellectual soil of Canada becomes enriched with the progress of culture, we may eventually look for a more generous fruition. The example of the United States, which has produced Poe, Longfellow, Irving, Hawthorne, Howells, Parkman, Lowell, Cable, and many others famous as poets, historians, and novelists, should encourage us to hope that in the later stages of its development the Canadian people, composed of two distinct nationalities, will prove that they inherit those literary instincts which naturally belong to the races from which they have sprung.

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* *Report*, p. 95.

The political system under which the provinces are now governed is eminently adapted to the circumstances of the whole country. Self-government exists in the full sense of the term. At the base of the political structure lie those municipal institutions which, for completeness, are not excelled in any other country. It is in the enterprising province of Ontario that the system has attained its greatest development. Every village, township, town, city, and county has its council, composed of reeves or mayors, and councilors or aldermen elected by the people, and having jurisdiction over all matters of local taxation and local improvement, in accordance with statutory enactments. Under the operation of these little local parliaments—the modern form taken by the folkmote of old English times—every community, regularly organized under the law, is able to build its roads and bridges, light the streets, effect sanitary arrangements, and even initiate bonuses for the encouragement of lines of railway. The machinery of these municipalities is made to assist in raising the necessary support of public schools. Free libraries are provided for in every municipality, whenever the people choose, as in the enterprising city of Toronto and in the great midland capital of Birmingham, to tax themselves for the support of these necessary institutions. In the other provinces the system is less symmetrical than in Ontario, but even in the French section, and in the maritime provinces, where these institutions have been more recently adopted, the people have it within their power to manage all those minor local affairs which are necessary for the comfort, security, and convenience of the local divisions into which each province is divided for such purposes. Then we go up higher, to the provincial organizations governed by a lieutenant-governor, nominated and removable by the government of the Dominion, and advised by a council responsible to the people's representatives; with a legislature still composed, in the majority of the provinces, of two houses—a council appointed by the crown, except in Prince Edward Island, where it is elective; and an assembly chosen by the people, on a very liberal franchise. The fundamental law, known as the British North America Act, which was passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1867, gives jurisdiction to the provincial governments over education, provincial works, hospitals, asylums, and jails, administration of justice (except in criminal matters), municipal, and all other purely local affairs. In the territories not yet constituted into provinces there is provided a more simple machinery, in the shape of a council partly elective and partly nominated by the crown, which has the power of passing, within certain defined limits, such ordinances as are necessary for the good government and security of the sparsely settled countries under its jurisdiction.* In accordance with a law recently passed, these territories are now, for the first time, represented in the Dominion Parliament—another step in the direction of the more perfect organization and development of the North-west territories. These representatives have all the rights and privileges of members of the organized provinces, and are not the mere territorial delegates of the United States Congress. The central or general government of the Dominion is administered by a governor-general, with the assistance of a privy council, a parliament, composed of a senate appointed by the crown, and a house of commons elected under an electoral franchise—practically on the very threshold of universal suffrage. This government has jurisdiction over trade and commerce, post-office, militia and defense, navigation and shipping, fisheries, railways and public works, of a Dominion character, and all other matters of general or national import. The appointment of a governor-general by the crown, the power of disallowing bills which may interfere with imperial obligations, and the right which Canadians still enjoy of appealing to the judicial committee of the privy council, from the subordinate courts of the provinces, including the supreme court of Canada;† the obligation which rests upon England to assist the colony in the time of danger, by all the power of her army and fleet, together with the fact that all treaties with foreign powers must be necessarily negotiated through the imperial authorities, will be considered as the most patent evidences of Canada being still a dependency of the empire. Even the restraint imposed upon Canada with respect to any matters involving negotiations with foreign powers, has been modified to a great degree by the fact that England has always acknowledged, for over thirty years, that Canada should be not only consulted in every particular, but actually represented in all negotiations that may be carried on with foreign powers, affecting her commercial or territorial interests.‡ From this brief historical summary of the leading features of the political organization of Canada it will be seen how remarkable has been the expansion of the liberties of the people since 1837, when they exercised no control over the Executive, when England imposed restrictions on their trade, and the officials of Downing Street were practically the governing powers.

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* In the session of 1886, by 49 Vict., c. 24.

† A Supreme Court of Canada was established in 1875 by 38 Vict., c. 11. Lord Durham, in his *Report*, recommended the establishment of such a court, p. 101.

‡ For instance, in the Reciprocity Treaty between the United States and the B. N. A. Provinces, Lord Elgin, Governor-General, with Mr. Hincks, then Prime Minister, conducted the negotiations on behalf of Canada at Washington.—Dent's *Canada*, ii., 284. In the Washington Treaty of 1871, Canada was represented by Sir John A. Macdonald. *Ibid.*, p. 511.

One of the most encouraging results of this political system has been not merely the material development of the country, but the creation of that national sentiment which must lie at the basis of any political structure, if it is to withstand the storm of passion and faction which from time to time will beat against its walls. The government of an immense country like Canada is surrounded with many difficulties which an Englishman or American, not thoroughly conversant with its history and condition, can hardly realize. The great extent of territory and the diverse interests of the populations that inhabit it from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores, require that there should be much wisdom and patience used in the exercise of the large responsibility which these circumstances throw upon the government. If we look at the map, we see lying on the Atlantic seaboard three provinces whose industries are chiefly maritime, and whose propinquity to the United States naturally gives great importance to the commercial arrangement that may exist with that country. These provinces are separated by many hundreds of miles from the populous, prolific province of Ontario, and all commercial intercourse must be by means of a circuitous railroad, or by the long and expensive navigation of the St. Lawrence. To encourage provincial trade under these circumstances, and make the people see that their true interests should not lie in dependence on the United States, or on any single country, but upon opening up new avenues of commerce, whenever practicable, has been the natural policy of the government ever since 1867. The result has been, on the whole, moderately successful, considering that the fight has been not merely against geographical obstacles, but also against the antagonism exhibited by American politicians, who have steadily been working to disturb the commercial relations between Canada and the United States, with the view of obtaining access to the great fisheries which surround the maritime provinces, on terms the most favorable possible to themselves. The firmness with which the government has adhered to the rights it possesses in the fisheries, and the liberality with which it has promoted maritime interests by the construction of railways and other public works necessary to the maritime development of the country, have succeeded in restraining, to a considerable degree, the clamor that has been raised against the operation of the Union. The situation has still its difficulties; a cry for secession is heard ever and anon in some quarter in Nova Scotia; but there is every reason to believe that the national sentiment is largely predominant, and that the great mass of the people clearly see that by strengthening the confederation they are assuring their true happiness and prosperity in the end, and that to weaken or destroy it by the withdrawal of any single province would mean the destruction of British interests on the continent and the annexation of Canada eventually to the United States. Then, leaving that branch of the subject, if we look at the distinct national elements that exist throughout Canada, we have further evidence of the difficulties with which a government has to contend in striving to secure the unity and security of this widely extended confederation. When the Canadian provinces were united, in 1840, the French Canadians were restive, and uncertain of their future. The Act of Union was considered by many of them as an attempt to make them subservient to British influences.* The elimination of their language from legislative records was to them a great grievance, because it was, in their opinion, clear evidence of the spirit which lay at the basis of the Union. As a matter of fact, however, the Union Act was a measure which from the very outset gave Lower Canada a political superiority in the government of the whole country. The representation of the two provinces was equal in the Assembly, but the greater unity that distinguished the French Canadians in all matters that might affect their political power or their provincial interests, naturally enabled them to dominate the English parties, divided among themselves on so many political issues. The French language was soon restored to its old place, and step by step all the principles that the popular party of Lower Canada had been fighting for previous to 1840 were granted—even an elective legislative council—under the new *régime.* The consequence was that French Canada eventually recognized its power, and its people forgot their old grievances, and were ready to sustain the Union into which they had entered with doubt and apprehension. It was the English-speaking people of the West that now raised a clamor against "French domination," when the representation granted in 1840 did not do justice to the increase of population in Upper Canada, where, since that year, the progress had been more rapid than in the French section. The consequence was that the two provinces, united in law, were practically divided on the floor of Parliament, and government at last became almost impossible from the division of parties and the controlling influence of French Canada, always determined to yield nothing to the cry from the Upper Province that would destroy the equality of representation. The solution of these difficulties, arising, it will be seen, from national antagonism, was found in a federal union, under which Lower Canada obtained supreme control over the provincial matters in which she has an immediate interest, and at the same time has been able to exercise great influence in national affairs by means of her large representation in the Dominion Parliament. The results of the political changes which have occurred since the days of Lord Durham have been very different from what he hoped would be the case when he wrote his famous Report, throughout which there is a strong desire to diminish French Canadian influence and gradually absorb the nationality in the English-speaking people.

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* See address of M. Lafontaine (Turcotte, *Canada sous l'Union*, i., 60), in which he showed the injustice of the Act of Union.

In Lord Durham's opinion, "the first and steady purpose of the British Government should be to establish an English population, with English laws and language, in this province, and to trust its government to none but a decidedly English legislature." * As a matter of fact, Lord Durham entirely underrated the national instincts of the French Canadian population and the tenacity with which they cling to their national life.

Le Canadien, a newspaper established in French Canadian interests in the early days of this century, struck the key-note of French Canadian inspiration when it adopted as its motto "*Notre langue, notre foi, et nos institutions.*" Under the favorable conditions of the federal system Quebec has become essentially a French Canadian province, in which the English are actually in a very small minority, though it is one distinguished as always by its great intelligence and superior enterprise. In the province of Ontario the French race has recently controlled the election of more than one county which heretofore had been English in its representation. The very "National Policy,"† under which an artificial stimulus has been given to manufactures, has created industries in which the French Canadians can find continual employment, instead of migrating to the mills of Holyoke and Lowell. At the same rate of progress, and under an equally favorable condition of things, five millions of French-speaking people will inhabit the Dominion in a couple of decades. In the nature of things they must always exercise a powerful influence on the future destiny of the young confederation. It is, therefore, all-important to understand their actual sentiment with respect to the Union. At times, when they believe their nationality is in danger, or an injustice has been done to one of their race, they become aggressive, but, happily for the peace and unity of the country, the conservative instincts of the leading classes ultimately prevail over the passion and impulsiveness of the masses.

When reason and common-sense obtain the mastery, all classes can hardly fail to see that the institutions which they value so highly can only be preserved by such a system of government as they now possess under the protecting influence of the imperial state, and were they to-morrow to find themselves in the ranks of the United States, their position would, in all probability, become eventually like that of their compatriots in Louisiana—interesting from the point of view of the antiquarian and the student of human life, but insignificant from a political or national aspect. At times, when the French Canadians press their national prejudices to extremes, a spirit of antagonism is at once evoked between them and the English classes, but the unfortunate state of things that existed before 1837 no longer shows itself with its original intensity, and whatever jealousies and rivalries break out now and then above the surface are sooner or later carried away by the current of sound public opinion, anxious for the harmony of all classes and creeds, and only solicitous for the safe working of the Union. A certain rivalry will always exist between the two nationalities, but as long as moderate and conciliatory counsels prevail, it will be, let us hope, the rivalry of peoples animated by the same patriotic impulses, and engaged in the same great work of building up a new nation on this continent. At all events, a great deal has been gained since 1837, in the direction of creating a friendly and harmonious feeling between the distinct races, who, at one time in their history, seemed on the point of engaging in an internecine conflict like that which convulsed the North and South for years.

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* *Report*, p. 92.

† The Protective System, or "National Policy," as its friends prefer to call it, was adopted in 1879 by Sir John A. Macdonald's government, which is still in power.

In the preceding view it has been the object of the writer to refer only to those salient features of the development of Canada which stand out in remarkable contrast with the state of things in 1837, and to point out how much reason Canadians have for congratulating themselves on the events of a reign in which they have laid the foundations of their happiness and prosperity as one of the great communities which make up the empire. It is not within the scope of this paper to point out the shadows that may obscure the panorama as it unfolds itself to us. It would be strange if, in the government of a country like Canada, many mistakes have not been made, or if there were not many difficulties in store for the youthful confederation. Mr. Goldwin Smith, from time to time, has been disposed to perform the part of the Greek chorus to the gloomy predictions of the enemies and lukewarm friends of the confederation, but Canadians will hardly allow themselves to be influenced by purely pessimistic utterances in the face of the difficulties that they have hitherto so successfully encountered, and of the courage and hopes that animate them for the future. For a century and a half the French Canadians fought and bled for their country, they had to face famine and savages, war with the British, and, what was worse, the neglect and indifference of the parent state at the most critical periods of their history; but since the conquest they have built up a large community by the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, and even the superior energy and enterprise of the English Canadians have not prevented them from creating a province which is essentially French Canadian, and affords many evidences of prosperity, due to the hardihood of the race that inhabits it. A century and more has passed since the English-speaking people sought their fortunes in the West or on the shores of the Atlantic. For years many of these hardy pioneers led toilsome lives —lives of solitude, among the great forests that then overshadowed the whole country; but year by year the darkness of the woods was brightened by bursts of sunlight, as the ax opened up new centres of settlement and echoed the progress of the advance guards of civilization. Years of hardship and struggle ensued, and political difficulties followed, to add to individual trials, but the people were courageous and industrious, and soon surmounted the obstacles of early times. The material development went hand in hand with the political progress of the country. The magnificent heritage which the people of Canada now own is the result of unremitting toil and never-failing patience, and, summing up the achievements of the past, they may well look forward with hopefulness to the future, for of them may it be truly said,

> "—— Men the workers, ever reaping something new;
> That which they have done but earnest of the things that they will do."

What is to be the next great step in the political career of Canada is a question which frequently occurs to imperial as well as colonial statesmen. One thing is quite certain, that the movement is toward the placing of the relations between the parent state and its great dependency on a basis which will strengthen the empire and at the same time give Canada even a higher position in the councils of the imperial state. The federation of the empire, in the full sense of the term, may be considered by some practical politicians as a mere political phantasm, never likely to come out in a tangible form from the clouds where it is now concealed; and yet who can doubt that out of the grand conception which first originated in the brain of Franklin and Otis* statesmen may yet evolve some scheme that will render the empire secure from the dangers which arise from continuous isolation, and from the growth of peculiar and distinct interests, that naturally result from the geographical situation of communities so widely separated from each other throughout the world? Looking at the history of this colonial dependency for fifty years, one can see in its political development—in all the changes that have characterized its career—there runs "an increasing purpose." The statesmen of England and her colonies have, perhaps, builded better than they knew. The destiny "that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will" has been carrying the empire in a direction beyond the ken and conception of probably the most sanguine and practical minds. Do not the measures of union and confederation to which I have referred, those projects of colonial conferences and imperial institutes, that are now occupying the attention of princes, statesmen, and writers, prove that the thoughts of men are indeed widened throughout England and her dependencies "by the process of the suns," and that the powerful current of human thought and progress which is everywhere making itself felt is carrying forward the empire, not into an unknown sea of doubt and peril, where it may split into many fragments, but into a haven where it may rest in the tranquil waters of peace and security?

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* See Hosmer's *Life of Samuel Adams* (American Statesmen Series), chap. v.

Jno. Geo. Bourinot

OTTAWA, CANADA.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS MILLET

One of the most cultivated of contemporary writers on art is Albert Wolff, who has had the advantage of intimate personal acquaintance with many of the great artists of modern France, and who in the discussion of their important works is able to give specific information of the first interest and importance. In the preface to a beautiful little volume, *Notes upon Certain Masters of the XIX Century*, privately printed, Mr. W. T. Walters, of Baltimore, writes: "The exhibition in 1883, in the Rue de Séze, of one hundred of the most celebrated paintings then owned in Paris, was the most notable event of its kind that had happened in the artistic history of that city. Americans who were abroad in that year, and saw this wonderful collection, might well congratulate themselves upon their good fortune; for it was as unique as it was memorable—unprecedented then, impossible now. Here were assembled in a spacious gallery some eighty of the choicest pearls of the greatest period of modern art. Never had such a representation been seen of the phalanx of 1830." Several of these "pearls" have been purchased and brought to this country, where they may be seen and studied by our own people at their leisure. The presence of such a private gallery in our midst as that of Mr. Walters educates the public taste for art in its best and most refining sense; it is there we find the most contemplative and poetic Millet, the best Delacroix, the most exquisite Alma Tadema, the finest of the Fortuny pictures, and the most notable examples of other distinguished artists. In connection with the masterpieces of Jean-François Millet, every reader will be interested in the following graphic sketch by Wolff, "whose writing," it has been said, "deserves to be put alongside the paintings he describes," and in whose company it is always agreeable to study and become personally acquainted with the masters. He says:

An evening of autumn in an indigent peasant's cabin; the poorly clothed children, shivering with cold, return from school; others, mere infants, cast an apprehensive look into the eating-room and ask why the table is not set. The mother regards them affectionately; her eyes seem to interrogate the husband on his entrance; and he falls despairingly into the rude wooden armchair and rests his head upon his hands. To-day there is nothing to eat in the humble home at Barbizon, in the pretty village of the Fontainebleau forest. The children, saddened by the silence of their parents, cling around them; they feel that some great trouble hovers over the house. The night comes on little by little, and this lamentable family picture is plunged in darkness. From time to time the damp wood flames up an instant and reveals the discouraging group with a hasty glare, quickly extinguished. The inhabitants of this home are in need of everything. The baker has stopped his credit. If the family friend who went yesterday to Paris does not return before an hour is out the poor people must go to bed without having eaten. They count the minutes. Nothing comes.

Suddenly the father rises; he has heard the stumping of a wooden leg on the hard ground. It is he! The door opens. "Give us some light!" cries a strong voice. From this peremptory tone they perceive that the friend brings good news. Just now this distressed family were afraid to look at each other; now hope springs up again; the tallow candle in the old candlestick of tin is ignited; in the doorway is seen the outline of a man of tall stature, who, with an echoing peal of laughter, shows an enormous loaf, which he throws on the table, crying, "Come, children, come to supper!" This savior is Diaz. At Paris he has sold, for sixty francs, three drawings of his friend Millet, and, after the fashion of the day when gold was not so common, he has been paid in big silver five-franc pieces; he has changed one of them in passing the baker's to attend first to the needful: he draws out the other eleven pieces, one after one, from the pocket of his velveteen trousers; makes them shine in the light of the tallow candle and form a fine silver wreath all around the loaf. The delighted children, wondering at the treasure, have come up to the table and open their eyes wide with astonishment and delight. The mother thanks Diaz with a glance; she finds no word fit to express her gratitude. The father has seized his friend's hand and presses it feelingly. And now everybody is set to work; the fire is stirred; now the boiling water hisses in the pot, and some potatoes, some pork-fat, some cabbages, are found to throw into it along with the crusts. The fumes of this feast mount through the house and fly to the heads of the poor hungry ones, and soon the family is united around the white deal table. Millet alone is thoughtful, for he has to think of the morrow. But Diaz encourages him; his eyes shine brightly, he gives enormous thumps on the floor with his wooden leg, and cries:

"Patience! They will come to it gradually! Rousseau has sold a landscape for five hundred francs; for my part, I have sold a view of Fontainebleau for seventy-five francs. And I am commissioned to ask you for companion sketches to your drawings. And this time, instead of twenty francs, they are to pay you twenty-five!"

To which Millet replies resignedly:

"If I could only sell two drawings a week at that price all would go right!"

And Diaz, blowing the smoke thick from his pipe and making rings to amuse the children, says:

"Are you not ashamed? Fifty francs a week? Go to, you financier!"

The man whom Diaz facetiously called financier to recall him from his visions of gold and bind him to the reality of things below was Jean-François Millet—that is to say, one of the greatest artists of this century. Born at Gréville in 1815, he came to Paris and got himself entered in the studio of Paul Delaroche. In the midst of the young men who pursued their studies with the painter, Millet made himself conspicuous by an austerity which was in singular contrast with his years. It was because he was always contrasting the style he was being taught with the style he glimpsed in his own brain. No doubt it was well to learn anatomy and study the structure of man ; but when this was done, it was not the thing to pass one's life in painting after models in theatrical dresses and in affected postures ; rather seize man in his life, in his ordinary surroundings, in his toil. Those peasants of light opera especially, shown in paintings, those peasants in Sunday rigs, with clothes fresh from the costumer, irritated him. Millet had always liked the country ; he betook himself to the village of Barbizon, which he was doomed never to quit ; he wished to live among the peasants. Far from Paris, in this unknown village, living was cheap ; and the less he had to think of the money question the more time he could devote to the study of art. In this insulation of his mind, in this perpetual contemplation of the peasant in his own medium, the genius of Millet ripened, notwithstanding the cares and privation of every day. This art proceeds, we may say, from the very entrails of Millet ; he bears upon no predecessor ; it has nature for its fountain, and for nursing father the rope-mind of the painter.

His family increased around Millet ; numerous children surrounded the grand artist, and their needs became more pressing. However humble was the course of living to which Millet and his flock resigned themselves, it was impossible always to face the modest expense. The public, accustomed to the pretty peasant scenes in vogue, asked where these earth-covered laborers came from, and these rough countrymen with their trouble-crushed expressions and callous hands. Such demonstrations of country poverty made a sorry effect in the houses of the rich, who hung their walls with painting for a diversion ; the style of Millet rebuked their well-being, and it was rejected. Whence came this melancholy art, lacking in superficial attraction ! It was not at all cheerful, not at all pleasant. Only a few refined spirits comprehended him, but most generally it was some modest collector, or a keen speculator who bethought himself that at the present price of Millet's works one risked no great matter. It was in this way that a little masterpiece, the first thought of the *Gleaners*, which is now worth sixty thousand francs, was sold by Millet for twelve pieces of one hundred sous. It was an enormous sum for this innocent man, for it represented bread for twelve days ; in other words nearly two weeks of independence for this genius, contented in his patriarchal existence. Provided that after the day's labor he had at evening the soup of the peasant with a bit of hard bread, and the cool water from the spring, the rest was of little consequence. At night, when the children were put to bed, the great artist would read the Bible by the light of a lamp, not so much from devotion as to fortify and guarantee himself by the example of the simple-living patriarchs ; often his friend and neighbor, Théodore Rousseau, came to sit facing him ; then these two neglected ones would take their mutual revenge for the disdain of the age, and draw the strength for to-morrow's struggle out of a common enthusiasm for art. Thirty years of self-denial, resignation, and daily discouragement were needed before the painter could at length make his mark; and as it was fated that he should be the martyr of art to the very end, sickness seized upon him in the hour when he at length attained his aim, plunging him in the grave just when renown attached itself finally to his talent.

There is no more touching story than that of this great artist, who passed his life in poverty and loneliness. The canvases which now form the glory of French art passed unnoticed at the official Salons, disdained by the juries; the juries exclusively picked out of the Institute, which was omnipotent at that period, and which, though since somewhat transformed, was then in the systematic habit of rejecting the fine and living works which lift so high the art of France. Millet's paintings, at first rejected, were afterwards admitted at the Salons, but with no success; the artist was reproached for creating ugliness—that is to say, for not painting the conventional peasantry harmoniously shaped and garnished with all the graces. Millet saw the peasant as a being with round shoulders and hollow chest, from the habit of stooping over the ground; with face and arms baked in the sun and tanned by the wind. In those deathless masterpieces of his the peasant appears in the majestic verity of the human creature wrestling with the earth, which he impregnates and makes to live. But there came no awards from the Salon, no pay, no sort of encouragement, with the exception of the bravos of certain youthful artists and the applause of some rare art critics, who gradually rallied to the side of this original genius. Through every kind of neglect Millet pursued his road, with head high and ironical lip. He had on his side the approbation of those whom he esteemed the most—Delacroix, Rousseau, Dupré, Corot, Diaz, and of that other great artist so long overlooked, Barye. The common struggle had established something like a brotherhood of arms among all these pioneers. The little group marched hand in hand against superior numbers—the whole sleek mediocrity of art—as a handful of heroes marches to fight a numerous army, with the determination to conquer or die. Of all those fine artists Millet alone was not to know success. His destiny was cruel to the end; he fell mortally wounded in the combat, at the hour of the others' triumph. When, finally, after such tedious struggles and such sickening toil, his art began to be talked of, the painter, struck down by sickness, had lost his strength and energy. We may say of Millet that he died of his genius, conquered before his time, fallen to earth at the moment when age was only just foreseen, an age that would have been gentle and happy; and that he left to posterity, which restores the balance of all things, the care of keeping his name as that of one of the greatest in French art.

In the exhibition of the Hundred Masterpieces the genius of Millet burst forth still more powerfully than in the past. Three of his canvases, especially, represented the whole career of the artist; three absolute masterpieces, the *Gleaners*, the *Sheepfold by Moonlight*, the *Man Hoeing;* all three give birth to the same surprise. It is that the figures, in their small dimensions, assume under the eye that contemplates them the scale of nature. This mirage is explained by the grandeur of this art springing from nature itself and drawing you to nature with all her force. The eye sees the thing in the dimensions which it actually has; and it is thus that it stamps itself on the memory. A great artist is able to reduce proportions without belittling the majesty of things.

That is what happens with the *Angelus*, for instance. When we regard this grand masterpiece, which shows in all simplicity the man and the woman who clasp their hands in prayer as they hear the sound of the chimes through the loneliness of the fields, these two peasants seem to grow under the eyes of the spectator; they take the proportions of nature; the landscape spreads and becomes illimitable; the glowing sky has a mysterious breadth; as long as we abide in the charm we feel this illusion.

It is the same with the *Man Hoeing*, one of the masterworks of Millet. The peasant is there, leaning on his hoe, panting in an instant's surcease of toil that crushes. He leans forward, like a being whose will revolts against the triumph of the besieging weariness. The action is so keenly taken, the forms are drawn in such living lines, the drama of humility wrestling with the earth is so powerfully indicated, that the peasant assumes the natural proportions under the spectator's eye. We suffer with his toil; we are, like himself, overcome with the superfluity of travail laid upon mankind; he lives, and we live with him; the field he tills spreads away out of eyesight; we no longer think of a picture, so entirely does the truth of art carry us to nature itself. It is just so that we have all of us seen the laborer bent over the soil, and before the reality we have felt the same respect and the same pity going out from us toward the simple, resigned being, whose chest bursts with the sob of a blacksmith's bellows, which we can hear in the solitude like an unconscious outcry of humility against destiny. The painter who knows how to invest so much thinking in one sole figure, who succeeds in stirring the soul with this simple rustic situation, is a grand master, believe me. In none of his works has Millet been more simply powerful. I only know of one design where he has put such a poignant drama into a single figure—I mean the *Vine-Dresser*. He is seated on a hillock, worn out, bruised by fatigue, breathing hard, with the dreadful look of a being so stupefied by savage labor that he no longer thinks of anything; his head sinks; his arms fall, overcome, down his sides; the hands hang inert; there is no will left in this figure, stupid after expending the last of his physical forces. None better than Millet could comprehend and render this struggle of man, against his work; he, the great victim, whose entire life was the fight of each day for the daily bread; how many a time himself, panting, worn out, broken and discouraged, he had sat down by the wayside!

All these fine productions only rallied to the side of the painter the more enthusiastic among the young. The official juries of the Salon passed unheeding before this new force, and kept their kindness for the affectations of comic opera peasant girls. They were still under the controlling spell of the Italian peasant of

Léopold Robert; his elegant harvesters, with their select postures, grouping themselves in tableaux vivants, and composed with plenty of good taste; dressed, too, in polychrome costume on which the delving of the earth had left never a trace. It was in the full bloom of that commanding style that Millet came forward with his veritable peasantry, in their energetic attitudes, and with their clothes that little by little had taken the earth color, so completely had man assimilated himself with the soil. This lacks poetry, people said; in other words, this lacked falsehood. There was no arrangement for dazzling the eye; in this style everything addressed itself to the thought. It was not on the surface of the canvas that the poetry lay; it was in the essence of those creations. Millet was a grand primitive bard issuing from solitude and contemplation like the old poets sprung from the heart of the people, of whom the names have disappeared, but whose works have remained as imperishable manifestations of the human soul.

This poetic originality varied with the subject. If it terrified in the *Man Hoeing*, it took a gentle aspect in the *Gleaners*. The harvest is gathered; the farmer reckons the stacks which his laborers form under the limpid and cheerful sunshine. Earth has been generous to such a point that even the unhappy can claim their share. Poor women are gleaning the scattered stalks. They gather the alms of the fields, with movements full of truth and grace; the light is kind to all, to the farmer as to the humble, to each in the proportion that destiny has allotted him; all are happy in the measure of their ambitions. The artist, too, maintains his work in a contented keynote; here the poetry of Millet relents; the sun is not only spread over the landscape, but its rays penetrate into the soul, and warm for an instant the heart chilled with poverty.

The *Sheepfold* is another masterpiece. The mist wraps the whole scene; the shepherd is enveloped in his cloak, and drives into the inclosure his flock of sheep, who huddle together under the keenness of the night; the moon lights up the scene with its pale and undecided radiance; further than eye can see, a silence hangs over the fields. This canvas is only some twenty inches wide, and it produces the effect of a work of vastest proportions; poetry penetrates, solitude invades the fancy so completely that we think no more of the size of the picture. It becomes immense, like nature.

Little by little, from the habit of identifying himself with the men of the fields, Millet had himself become a peasant. Tall in stature, with powerful shoulders, with a face sunbrowned but full of character, dressed in poor clothes and with wooden shoes on his feet, he might have been taken for a plowman. In the peasants of his works we find again the artist himself; he claimed to have got into his painting that which he called the cry of the earth, and the "ugh!" of the digger whose chest was crushed between his strokes. We might say, too, that Millet got into his painting the cry of art, and the sob of the grand painter condemned to live in privation.

Notwithstanding, before his death Millet could see advancing towards him the step of justice, the never-dying, the eternal laggard. When for the first time, at the Exposition of 1867, the public saw a number of his works brought together in one spot, they were struck by the variety of that art which till then had been called monotonous. A first-class medal was deigned to be thrown to this grand genius, who, since the Salon of 1853, had not carried off any prize; there was even added, to do honor to the order, rather than the recipient, the ribbon of the Legion of Honor, which, after thirty years of noblest toil, was to be the consolation of this illustrious man, a martyr to every kind of affliction. When Millet died, at sixty years, in that village of Barbizon where all his humble and resigned existence was passed, the Government manifested some shame at having left the illustrious artist so long in abandonment. It offered his widow a small pension. It is not seemly to insist too much on the poor question of money when we count up the labors of a man who set disdainfully aside the considerations of success to be able to live only in his art.

One day, while talking with me of the period of poverty which the artists of his generation had passed through, Rousseau said:

"We were always without a sou, but we never spoke of money, for money counted for nothing in our ambition."

When we speak of Millet it is more seemly, again, to touch lightly on the question of prices, which prove nothing. The *Man Hoeing*, which represents a fortune, is no greater a work to-day than at the period when the great artist sold it for two thousand francs. The years of wretchedness which Millet passed through will be redeemed by the centuries of imperishable glory which await his name in the future. The humble thatched cottage of Barbizon, where the life of Millet flowed along, pertains to history more than the rich mansion of a fortunate man in easy circumstances, where the stone stands generally unhallowed and unspeaking, without a recollection of the being whose life has slipped through it.

SIR THOMAS DALE'S INDIANS IN LONDON

Sir Thomas Dale, after a career of military strictness in the valley of the James River, which a subsequent General Assembly of Virginia termed "Scythian cruelty," one day, in the pleasant month of June, 1616, appeared in London, never to return to America. With him came a party of the natives, whose presence was the talk of all the city, the dwellers in the houses around Westminster, as well as in the dirty huts around the ancient church, then, as now, called by the people White Chapel. Letters sent from London to friends in rural England, or to those residing on the continent of Europe, were full of descriptions of the Virginians. George, Lord Carew, on the 20th of June wrote to Sir Thomas Roe: "Sir Thomas Dale returned from Virginia, he hath brought divers men and women of that country to be educated here, and one Rolfe who married a daughter of Pohetan the barbarous prince, called Pocahontas, hath brought his wife with him into England."

Among the Indians was one called Abraham, another, Tamocomo, a brother-in-law of Pocahontas, and a maiden, perhaps a sister of Rolfe's wife. They were treated with much attention, and entertained by members of the Virginia Company. Samuel Purchas, a London divine, wrote: "With this savage (Tamocomo) I have often conversed at my good friend's Master Doctor Gulstone where he was a frequent guest and where I have seen him dance his diabolical measures." Gulston was an eminent physician, fond of rarities of all description, the founder of the Gulstonian lecture, which still exists in the London College of Physicians. He was a prominent member of the Virginia Company, fond of entertaining notables, and if he had been living in New York City, when the savage Sitting Bull, the slayer of General Custer and his command, was there, would probably have invited him to meet some friends at his house, and perform his "diabolical measures."

The change from the spare diet, scant clothing, and well-ventilated wigwams, to the foggy atmosphere, close apartments, roast beef, and foaming beer of London, produced sickness and death among the children of the forests of America. Langborne Ward at the time of their visit was a great social and commercial center. Here men had bought and sold, for many generations. Even when Edward the Second was King, the merchants of Florence, and strangers of other nations, twice a day assembled to barter their wares, on one of the streets, which took the name of Lombard, and here they continued to meet until the Royal Exchange in Cornhill was erected.

From Lombard Street, Fen Church Street leads to Aldgate, and in the midst of Fen Church Street was a small parish church, called St. Gabriel, while not far from it, in the back, or rear, at the south-west corner of Lime Street, stood the fair parish church of St. Dionis, on account of its position commonly called the Back Church. On the right of Fen Church Street was Philpot Lane, named for John Philpot, grocer, and Mayor of London, who had a fine house there, in the days of Richard the Second. This lane was short, but on each side were several large mansions, occupied by prominent citizens. In one dwelt Sir Thomas Smith, a leading merchant, the Governor of the Virginia Company, a controlling spirit, also the East India and Muscovia trading corporations, successful in business and in favor with James the First.

On the sixth day of August, 1616, the lane was black with a surging crowd. The idle, the curious, the unwashed from Aldgate suburb, were there in force, and their faces all turned toward the great house of Sir Thomas Smith. At length, the dead body of one of the Indians, brought by Sir Thomas Dale, was borne out, followed by surviving natives and the members of the Virginia Company. As the procession slowly moved toward St. Dionis Church, the sidewalks were filled and every window of the houses had down-turned eyes. To this day in the Register of the Church may be seen the entry : "*A Virginian, called Abraham, buried out of Sir Thomas Smith's House.*"

One cannot help thinking that some such funeral suggested to Shakespeare the words of Trinculo, in the play of the *Tempest :*

"Were I in England now as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there, but would give a piece of silver ; there would this monster make a man ; any strange beast there, makes a man ; when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten, to see a dead Indian."

A few weeks later it was known among the populace that there was another dead Indian in Philpot Lane, and on the twenty-eighth of October a gaping crowd followed after the remains to the same church, and of the burial is the brief record, "*A Virginian out of Sir Thomas Smith's.*" On the fifteenth of November, a third Indian was buried from the same place.

It is noteworthy, that on the twenty-seventh of the next month after this last burial, Fen Church Street in the neighborhood of St. Dionis Church was again filled, while the church was occupied by members of the East India Company and a large congregation assembled to witness the baptism of a young East Indian who had been taught to read by Patrick Copeland, the minister who in after years projected the first free school for Virginia, and contended for a free church in every land. While no record has been found, it is probable that the surviving Indians from the Western continent were present upon this interesting occasion. Archbishop Abbot considered the baptized young man "as the first fruits of India."

Simon de Passe, the celebrated engraver of the day, about this time produced a portrait which had a ready sale, surrounded with the Latin legend, "Matoaka al's Rebecca filia potentiss. princ. Powhatani Imp. Virginiæ," with a statement below, "Matoaks al's Rebecka daughter to the Mighty Prince Powhatan Emperour of

Adanoughskomouck, al's Virginia, converted and baptized in the Christian faith and wife to the worff Mr. John Rolff."

On Twelfth Night, in January, 1616–17, O. S., Ben Jonson's *Christmas, his Mask* was played at Court. During the festivities the Earl of Montgomery and the recently created Earl of Buckingham danced with the Queen. Pocahontas and her brother-in-law Tanocomo were lookers-on, although at that time it had been decided that she should go back to Virginia. The gossipy Chamberlain, a few days after, writes to Sir Dudley Carleton of the Virginian woman: "She is upon her return, though sore against her will, if the wind would about to send her away."

Chamberlain, the same letter writer, on March 29, 1617, informs Carleton that "the Virginian woman whose picture I sent you died this last week [the 21st] at Gravesend as she was returning homeward."

Ben Jonson, in the play, *Staple of News*, slightingly alludes to her in a dialogue between Pickwick and Penny Boy Canter.

Pick. A tavern's as unfit for a Princess——
P. B. C. No, I have known a Princess and a great one,
Come forth of a tavern.
Pick. Not go in sir, though.
P. B. C. She must go in, if she came forth: the blessed
Pokahontas, as the historian calls her,
And great king's daughter of Virginia,
Hath been in womb, of tavern."

John Rolfe left her child in England, and returned to Virginia. William Pierce, a prosperous colonist, who came to Virginia in 1610, at the same time as John Rolfe, had a daughter Jane, who became the wife of the latter, and by her had a daughter, Elizabeth, who was born not many months before his death. In his will, made in March, 1622, he describes his wife Jane, and two children of tender age, Thomas and Elizabeth. Six months after his death, on the 7th of October, 1622, the following entry was made in the records of the Virginia Company: "Mr. Henry Rolfe in his petition desiring the estate his brother John Rolfe deceased, left in Virginia, might be inquired into and converted to the best use for the maintenance of his relict wife and children; and for his indemnity having brought up the child his said brother had by Powhatan's daughter."

In *Virginia Vetusta*, published by Munsell's Sons, Albany, New York, it has been assumed that this extract shows that the widow, Jane Rolfe, had children, and that the children mentioned in the will "of tender age" were heirs, while there was another child by Powhatan's daughter. A more careful examination of the above extract, however, does not satisfy me that the word children applies only to the issue of the widow Jane. The tradition that Thomas Rolfe, son of Pocahontas, married Jane Pyers or Poyers is hardly tenable, as that was the maiden name of his father's last wife.

Some of the Indians who came with Dale remained in England to be educated, but they proved "thorns in the flesh" to their friends. Sir Edwin Sandys, when head of the Virginia Company, speaking of the training of Indians, said: "Now to send for them into England, and to have them educated here, he found upon experience of those brought by Sir Tho. Dale might be far from the Christian work intended."

On the 11th of May, 1620, O. S., Sir William Throckmorton informed the Company that one of the maids which Sir Thomas Dale brought from Virginia, a native of the country, who for some time was a servant with a mercer in Cheapside, was now very weak of consumption at the home of the old and honored minister of Black Friars, William Gorge, who had taken great pains to comfort her, both in soul and body. After this narrative, the Company agreed to pay twenty shillings a week for the administering of physic and cordials. A few months later there were but two Virginia Indian maids left in London, and the company endeavored to find places for them as servants, but in June, 1621, they were still receiving support from the Company, and it was resolved to send them to the Somers Islands, with the view of marriage to some of the white colonists. On the voyage one died, but the survivor, in the autumn of 1621, arrived at the Bermudas, and the next spring was duly married to one of the colonists who was ready to take her "for better, for worse."

At the time of the wedding a trading vessel from Virginia was in port. The Hakluyt Society of London has recently published a manuscript narrative of Bermudas written about this period, and in it the marriage is thus noticed: "In the interym of the shyp's abode here, the marriage of the Virginia mayde recommended unto the Geuernour by the Virginia Company resident in London; she being then married to as fitt and agreeable a husband as the place could afford and the wedding feste kept at the time in the Gouernour's house and at his charge; whereto not only the Master of the shipp and some other strangers were invited, but not fewer than one hundred persons were made guests and dined with all sortes of provision that the island could afford, in a very plentifull manner. It was thought to be done in a more fashionable and full manner, that the strangers at their return to Virginia might find reason to carry a good testimony with them at the wellfare and plenty of the plantation, as also that the kindred and freindes of the Virginia bride, who were prime commandours and not less than Viceroyes among the nearest neighbouringe Indians to the English, which ther might receive a certe knowlidge of the well being of their kinds women [kinswoman], and by the good respect and kind usage shewed unto her among the English be enceuraged both to continue and augment their former friendship and to become Christians themselves; to which ende also, the Gouernour wrote letters of advice to the Gouernour in Virginia, and caused the mayde herselfe likewise to doe as much to her brother, who, by her father's late death had succeeded in all his royalties and commande."

Her brother must have been Opachankano, who, upon the death of Powhatan in

1618, became head chief of his tribe. In this case, the Indian maid was a sister of Pocahontas, and, perhaps, that one of whom Hamor spoke to Powhatan, in behalf of Dale, in these words : "The bruit of the exquisite perfection of your youngest daughter being famous through all your territories, hath come to the hearing of your brother Sir Thomas Dale, who for this purpose hath ordered me hither to entreat you to permit her, with me, to return unto him, partly for the desire her sister hath to see her, of whom, if fame hath not been prodigal, as like enough it hath not, your brother, by your favor, would gladly, make his nearest companion, wife, and bed-fellow ; and the reason whereof is, being now friendly, and finally united together, and made one people, in the bond of love, he would make a natural union between us, principally because himself hath taken resolution to dwell in your country, so long as he liveth, and would therefore not only have the firmest assurance in the way of perpetual friendship for you but also heartily bind himself hereunto."

Dale's proposition was not entertained by Powhatan, who had just sold his daughter, not twelve years old, to an Indian, for two bushels of beads, but three years later she may have gone to England as a companion to her sister.

Before the ship returned to Virginia with the letter relative to the marriage at Bermudas, the savages, on Friday, 22d of March, 1621–22, O. S., suddenly attacked the colonists in the valley of the James River, and killed and scalped about three hundred and fifty.

Edw. D. Neill

MINOR TOPICS

REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

On Monday, March 14, 1887, while some workmen were engaged in the excavation of a cellar for a house upon the lot of Henry T. Dykman, Esq., on the south side of Barker Avenue, in White Plains, they found an iron cannon about five feet and a half long, of a three-inch bore, imbedded in the earth about one foot below the surface. It is in a very good state of preservation, and the same iron screw by which the muzzle of the gun could be elevated and depressed remains attached to the neck of the breach. Upon one end of the left arm of the gun is the date 1745, and on the end of the right arm are the letters "I. E. C." Both the dates and the letters were evidently cast with the gun when it was made.

There was a perceptible depression in the earth at the place where the gun was found, and its muzzle was pointed to the south, the direction from which the British marched upon White Plains on the day of the battle in the Revolutionary War. The place where the gun was found was west of Broadway, below the Presbyterian Church, opposite the mouth of Lake Street, and the discovery of the same at that locality, and the depression behind the same seems to be satisfactory evidence of the location of the lower line of breastworks thrown up at White Plains previous to the battle at that place in the Revolutionary War on the 28th day of October, 1776. The location of the lower line of breastworks has been quite indefinite, although it has been reasonably certain that they were near the line where the cannon was discovered.

The following extract from a letter written by Mr. Tench Tilghman, a member of the military family of General Washington, to William Duer, dated headquarters, near White Plains, November 2, 1776, five days after the battle, shows the existence of the lines in that vicinity :

"DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 31st ultimo. The loss of the Hill (referring to Chatterton Hill) has not been of the least disadvantage to us. It has occasioned us to leave our lines on the plain, which were only temporary, but not to make retreat. . . . Our Commissaries and Quartermasters had lodged a parcel of stores at the town of White Plains and therefore it was necessary to throw up some lines down the town till the stores could be removed. This we did effectually, and then gave them possession of a piece of ground, which they dare not occupy because it is secured by our cannons from the heights."

Mr. Sparks, in his *Life of Washington*, in speaking of the fortified camp formed by General Washington at White Plains previous to the battle, says : "The camp was on elevated ground, defended in front by two lines of intrenchments, nearly parallel to each other, and between four and five hundred yards apart."

The upper lines of breastworks at White Plains were about five hundred yards above the place where the cannon was discovered, and the space between these intrenchments was occupied by commissary stores, and the tents of the soldiers. The tents were removed to the north of the upper intrenchments two days before the battle, and on the 30th day of October and the 2d day of November all the tents were removed to Mount Misery about a mile above the Old Village, where the line of intrenchments was located in the hills of North Castle.

J. O. Dykman

White Plains, New York.

THE GIRL CHENOO

Among the Micmacs far up the Saguenay River a branch turns off to the north, running back into the land of ice and snow. Ten families went up this stream one autumn in their canoes to be gone all winter on a hunt. Among them was a beautiful girl twenty years of age. A young man in the band wished her to become his wife, but she flatly refused him. Perhaps she did it in such a way as to wound his pride; certainly she roused all that was savage in him, and he gave up all his mind to revenge. He was skilled in medicine, or in magic, so he went into the woods and gathered an herb which makes people insensible. Then stealing into the lodge when all were asleep, he held it to the girl's face until she had inhaled the odor and could not be easily awakened. Going out he made a ball of snow, and returning placed it in the hollow of her neck, in front, just below the throat. Then he retired without being discovered. So she could not awake while the chill went to her heart. When she awoke she was chilly, shivering and sick. She refused to eat. This lasted long and her parents became alarmed. They inquired what ailed her. She was ill-tempered; she said nothing was the matter. One day, having been sent to the spring for water, she remained absent so long that her mother went to seek her. Approaching unseen, she observed her greedily eating snow, and asking her what it meant, the daughter explained that she felt within a burning sensation which the snow relieved. More than that, she craved the snow; the taste of it was pleasant to her. After a few days she began to grow fierce, as though she wanted to kill some one. At last she begged her parents to kill her. Hitherto she had loved them very much. Now she told them that unless they killed her she would certainly be their death. Her whole nature was being changed. "How can we kill you?" her mother asked. "You must shoot at me," she replied, "with seven arrows, and if you can kill me with seven shots all will be well. But if you cannot, I shall kill you." Seven men shot at her, as she sat in the wigwam. She was not bound. Every arrow struck her in the breast, but she sat firm and unmoved. Forty-nine times they pierced her; from time to time she looked up with an encouraging smile. When the last arrow struck she fell dead.

—*Leland's Algonquin Legends of New England.*

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

TWO INTERESTING ORIGINAL LETTERS

Letter from General Obediah Herbert of New Jersey, to his son Jacob V. W. Herbert visiting in New Orleans

[*From the collection of Morgan Herbert*]

Herbertsville, Nov. 18th 1831

My dear Son

With much satisfaction and inexpressible surprise I received your letter (dated at New Orleans the 24th of October) on Tuesday the 10th inst, two days less than one month from the day you started from New York, I did not expect a letter until the last of this month.

I should have written you immediately on the receipt of your letter, but there was a celebration—or first trial of the Steam Carriage on the rail road near Bordentown on Sat. the 12th *inst.* I went to see the exhibition and write some of the particulars to you. They had a coach that held thirty passengers attached to the steam car and ran one and a quarter miles in two minutes and twenty two seconds. this they repeated a great many times, as there was a great assemblage of people there and all wanted to ride. The legislature was invited and attended in a body, and a great many of the best people in New Jersey. Robert Stevens conducted the machinery himself. it was a fine performance and gave great satisfaction.

. . . .

With sentiments of respect and esteem I remain

Your affectionate father

Obediah Herbert.

Letter from Charles Morgan of Louisiana to his grand-nephew, Jacob V. W. Herbert, son of General Obediah Herbert, after his return from New Orleans.

[*From the collection of Morgan Herbert.*]

[Charles Morgan was a cousin of General Daniel Morgan of Revolutionary fame, and also cousin to Daniel Boone. He settled in Louisiana early in the century, and was quite an aged man at the time of writing this letter. Many of his descendants still reside in Louisiana, some of whom were distinguished for their brilliant courage in the late civil war.—EDITOR.]

Pt. Coupee, La., 13th Nov., 1833.

J. Herbert, Esq.,

Much Esteemed Friend,

It was with pleasure I received your letter under date of October 14th and I was happy to learn that all my relatives were well, and too, I am glad to hear the cholera has not visited New Jersey as it has our state. I believe we are at present without a case of that terrible scourge. The valley of the Miss. and Ohio have suffered greatly. It is now twelve months since it appeared in New Orleans, the loss in this State in slaves is estimated at four millions of dollars The death rate in the city of New Orleans is said to have been ten thousand souls in the last twelve months—

That old fellow Death has played a bold game with us this last year. he has done work enough to earn his rest. I thank you for the plan of the circular saws, but I have lost so much money that I have lost my energy. I shall have to breathe a while and see whether it will do to start again. I am now at work at the sugar house and have kept both sets of kettles boiling for the past thirty days and have made from eight to ten thousand gallons of sugar, every twenty-four hours. I expected to make from five to six hundred thousand, but we have had an earlier frost than was ever before known in Louisiana. on the 22nd of October we had a white frost which injured the crop of cane one-fourth at least. Sugar is worth from seven to nine cents in New Orleans and increasing. There will go up the Mississippi seventy-five thousand hogsheads this year. At Nashville, Louisville and Cincinnati sugar is worth from ten to eleven cts. by the hundred hogsheads. If prices continue my crop will be worth about thirty thousand dollars. this will about pay for what the *damned* cholera destroyed for me.

Last night, or this morning at three o'clock A.M., we had a brilliant illumination of the heavens, from three to five o'clock. There came on a complete *shower of stars.* they fell for two hours from the clouds, as thick and fast as a July shower of rain, and continued until the sun destroyed their light. I thought at one time all the stars in the sky would fall, but I could not see that they grew thinner there. The earth was so illuminated at intervals, that a *pin* could be seen at any moderate distance. It was the most *elegant display of fireworks* that I ever witnessed. The thermometer sank from 45° to 35° in an hour, they night was very fine, clear—wind W. N. W. and at six o'clock shifted to S. E. The stars had a falling angle of 35° from N. E. to S. W., wind light. I was out with all the instruments I could raise. The negroes were so frightened, I could scarcely get them to work. A thousand stories were afloat among them, one said those that had died of *cholera* were not well satisfied, and all *cholera subjects* were being kicked out of heaven because they went there too suddenly—not bad for negro wit! Let me know if the shower of stars was seen in New Jersey.

Now for politics—I like Webster! I like a Jackson hickory pole with a Tecumseh head on it, or rather I like Wm. M. Johnson. I know less of Van Buren than any other "*big fish*" in the United States, but I shall not make my choice for a year at least and when I do, my vote shall not be lost. Webster and Clay are the greatest men of our day but whether they will be the choice of the people is a matter of great doubt they are sure to politically damn themselves if they travel about and make stump speeches, I should not vote for a Washington nor a Jackson if I knew he harangued the populace. the people know men and their character without being led like sheep. You nothern people are perfect enthusiasts—as hot as Jacobite Frenchmen. you spoil everyone that goes to New York. I suppose you would give dinners to Calhoun if he were to visit New York. Such a fellow, should not have a *dodger* from my oven! and if he wanted water he could go to the devil to get it, he should not have it from my hand! Are you not quite surprised that the *Jerseys* have come to their senses and become all good Jackson men? A pretty story, to have seventy five Jackson men in a hundred, in your legislature! as you get old become wise.

I want nothing that any government or party can give me, therefore I judge without motives of interest. I have, at heart, the happiness and prosperity of every state in the union and *curse the dog that attempts to destroy* it!

. . . .

Yours with esteem

Chas. Morgan.

P. S. We have lost twenty two steamboats within the last year on the Mississippi many of the finest boats, and the loss of life has been immense. The Columbia was lost last week—a few lives only The St Martins with about sixty passengers, the ——— blew up with one hundred barrels of gunpowder, the Caspian is said to be destroyed with several others within the last ten days.

14th *inst.* The weather is very fine it is ten o'clock in the morning, thermometer stands at 70° and probably will rise to 80° by 2 o'clock. Adele is to be here to-day with a party of ladies, to eat candy and drink champagne, Judge Ogden Ladeux and Charles will accompany them. Young Valeorey Ladeux died in the Havannas about six weeks ago.

NOTES

EASTER WEDDINGS IN NEW YORK IN 1778, AND GOVERNOR TRYON'S FEES—The following statement, copied from the original document, shows that neither war, the British occupation, nor dread of Washington and his patriots affected love and Hymen in New York city in 1778. Forty-eight weddings in sixty days is a great proportion. The "license fees" mentioned were those fixed by ordinance as appurtenant to the governor of New York as the Ordinary of the King; and which the king reserved to the governor as his personal representative, there being no bishop, the usual Ordinary, in New York—a state of things that could exist only in that colony, it being a conquered province, and the only one among the British American colonies. The law of the province, enacted in 1684, provided that all marriages must be either by the publication of bans for three successive Sundays in some place of public worship, or by a license from the governor for the time being.

"Account of fees received in the Secretary's office for his Excellency the Governor, viz.:

From the 16 May to 16 July inclusive } on 48 marriage licenses at 10s. £24. 0. 0.

Secretary's office, 17 July, 1778,
John Moore.
Rec'd. Wm. Tryon"

Westchester

SUMMER SCHOOL IN DEERFIELD—In the summer of 1886 an experiment was begun in the lovely, historic village of Deerfield, Massachusetts—the tentative establishment of a summer school of history and romance, the endeavor being "to create a public sentiment in favor of a permanent institution, the object of which should be the study of unwritten phases of New England social development, and the search for truth and beauty in ideal romance, rather than in the pages of the popular novelists."

The interest excited by this experiment surpassed the expectations of its projector, and proved that there was sufficient popular interest to justify the permanent establishment of the school in this beautiful locality—sanctified by the blood of the "flower of Essex" at the murderous ambuscade at Bloody Brook in 1675, and later by the assault of the French and Indians in 1704. A course of twelve lectures was given last summer—Geo. G. Cable, Chas. Dudley Warner, Senator Dawes, Mrs. L. W. Champney, and others, included among the lecturers—on various topics, followed by discussions which were well sustained by the members of the school; and a gratifying atmosphere of literary culture resulted throughout the town and vicinity.

This year it is proposed to formally institute the school. The course of general lectures will be given by the best talent available, and, in order to more fully develop the objects already announced as the basis of the school, there will be special courses upon themes germane to the question. There will also be occasional sessions, devoted exclusively to *talks* upon the subjects touched upon by the lectures; it being one of the prime objects of the projector to encourage the art of conversation.

While the scope of the school will be broad and catholic, the effort will be made to bring to light the as yet hardly touched field of the gradual advance from the Pilgrim of 1620 to the American citizen of to-day; not by public epochs, but by research amid the homes and private records of our forefathers. In short, to study them as men and women rather than as representatives of colonial or pioneer or patriotic eras.

In the field of romance the attempt will be made to utter a protest against the realism of Howells and James, as being the highest literary development. Believing that the ideal is a help and a light to literature; that romance exists and is demanded to-day as always heretofore; that poetry and fancy are necessary attributes as an offset to the material tendencies of American life, the constant hope and aim of this school will be the ideal in literature.

L. J. B. LINCOLN

DEERFIELD, *May* 15, 1887.

THE GRISWOLD GENEALOGY—In reply to *Inquirer*, who writes for information, the editor takes pleasure in calling his attention to the advertisement of Mr. and Mrs. Salisbury, on another page of this magazine, who are printing privately a series of genealogical and biographical monographs on the families in the line of Mrs. Salisbury's descent—that of McCurdy, Lord, Parmelee-Mitchell, Digby-Lynde, Willoughby, Griswold, Pitkin-Wolcott, Ogden Johnson, and Diodati, including notices of the Marvins, Lees, DeWolfs, and other families. It is not a mere collection of names and dates, but a *book of family history* as well as a genealogical record, full of new facts obtained in this country and abroad; a work of great and ever-increasing interest to present and future generations of these families and their allies; and also valuable to genealogists, and other antiquaries or students of history generally. The monographs will fill from 500 to 600 pages, in two parts, 4to; and will be accompanied by twenty full-chart pedigrees, on bond paper, with authenticated coats of arms and carefully prepared indexes of family names. This work will be similar in character and elegance of finish to that which Mr. Salisbury published in 1885, on lines of his own descent—important New England families—and we can assure all those who are interested that the coming volumes will be of the highest value and authenticity.

BIRCHES—There are as many as six kinds of birches growing in this State: the *canoe birch*, the largest of all, sometimes seventy feet high, and three feet in diameter, and which grows as far south as the Catskills; the Indians made their canoes of its bark, sewing them with the fibrous roots of the white spruce. The *cherry birch*, or black birch, is also a northern variety, and very common here; it is used for cabinet work. Then there is the *yellow birch*, another northern variety, and a useful tree. The *red birch*, also a tree of the largest size, is the kind used for brooms. The *white birch*, a small tree, is of less value than any other; it is quite common in our neighborhood. We have understood, indeed, that all the birches are found in this country, except the little *dwarf* *birch*, an Alpine shrub, only a foot or so in height.—*Rural Hours, by Susan Fenimore Cooper.*

THE CITY OF BANGOR began to be populated in 1769, when Jacob Buswell and his family first located themselves on the banks of the Penobscot, in what is now the first ward of the city, a short distance above the mouth of the Kenduskeag. The whole region was then a dense wilderness, wild and uncultivated, on which the hand of government, as well as of civilization, had never been laid. It remained as God had created it, free from administerial dictation, the abode of the wild beasts of the forest and equally wild aborigines, a part of that great mythical "Norumbega" which the men and poets of an earlier generation had signalized in history and song.—*Collections of the Maine Historical Society.*

SWEDISH ANTIQUITIES—The work entitled "Swedish Antiquities," translated by Thomas R. Colling, C. M. O. H. S., and published by General Charles W. Darling, corresponding secretary of the Oneida Historical Society, has just gone into the hands of the printer, and will soon be issued. It is to be followed by "Traces of Man upon Earth, Historic and Prehistoric;" on the careful treatment of which subject General Darling has occupied much of his time during the present year. A limited number of copies only will be published, and persons desiring the same would do well to make early application to William T. Smith, No. 169 Genesee Street, Utica, N. Y.

QUERIES

GOTHAM AND ATHENS—When was the name "Gotham" first applied to the city of New York, and "Athens" to any city in America? KNICKERBOCKER

THE BRICK CHURCH TOMB-STONES—I have been informed that the tombstones erected in the church-yard of the Old Brick Church were removed by the trustees and placed for preservation in their new edifice. Will some of your readers please communicate the facts, as the inscriptions are very valuable for the purpose of genealogical study.

GENEALOGIST

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN NEW YORK—Was the Church of England established in the Province of New York, or so recognized at any time? RECTOR

BOOK OF POEMS—In 1843 I saw a book of poems "noticed" in one of the magazines. The notice gave three pieces from the book as specimens. The heading of one of the pieces was "Thrasybulus," containing these two (remembered) stanzas:

"Then forward to the unequal strife,
  We conquer or we die;
Warriors, the loss can be but life,
  The gain is liberty!

* * * * *

"Forbid it ye, whose sires alone
  The Persian hosts withstood,
Till the proud plains of Marathon
  Ran purple with their blood."

Who was the author? Where can the piece be found? E. H. C.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

REPLIES

OHIO [xvii. 137, 425]—*Editor Magazine of American History:* When OHIO was in its infancy great efforts were made at the East to strangle it in the cradle, at least to retard its growth. There was no "Nast" at that time doing work so powerful and telling as now. But there were caricaturists even then. Here is one picture I well remember. Two horsemen are riding toward each other, one heading to the *West*, the other to the *East*. The animal backed by the former was a Bucephalus in stature, and caparisoned with fitting elegance of trapping, while the owner rode with head up and becoming stateliness and pride. The other was the perfect opposite, reminding of Don Quixote's Rozinante. As they neared each other the former spoke out in ringing tones, "*I am going to Ohio!*" The other replies, with pale visage and low tones, "I HAVE BEEN!" W.

KING OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES [xvii. 441]—In reply to the queries in their order I would say:

1. King George III. was acknowledged as their *constitutional* monarch by the American Colonies, as his predecessor had been.

2. He attempted by Acts of Parliament and force of arms to compel the Colonies to submit to measures which they declared to be *unconstitutional* and subversive of the liberty of the subject. After numerous unsuccessful appeals to the justice, policy, and magnanimity of the King and Parliament, they resisted invasion and succeeded in repelling the invaders. The proper Scriptural reference is 1 Kings xii. 3–16 rather than 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

3. "Other people that are oppressed have the same right." R.

HORSE-CHESTNUT [xvii. 263, 352]—The affix "horse," in "horse-chestnut," probably means "large," as it does in "horse-radish" and "horse-fly." It seems to mean "rough" or "unwieldy" in "horse-play," and this meaning is evidently derived from the other.

ERNEST H. CROSBY

NEW YORK CITY.

SIR PEYTON SHIPWORTHY [xvii. 442]—The Baronets Skipwith (or Skipworth), of Leicestershire, having sold Prestwould, their ancestral seat, near Loughborough, about 1653, removed afterwards to Virginia. Their colonial estate, in the vicinity of Blandford (Petersburg), was named after the old place in England, and here Sir Peyton, the 7th baronet, succeeded his father in 1764, and died October 9, 1805, the title descending to his eldest son and heir, Sir Grey, who was born at Prestwould, Virginia, September 17, 1771. I. J. G.

AMERICAN DISCOVERER [xviii. 441]—A *discoverer* is properly one who discovers (lays open, *dis* and *cover*) what is before unknown; an *explorer* is one who searches or pries into (*ex* and *ploro*), and may in doing this become a discoverer; oftener an explorer follows a discoverer. Columbus was a discoverer, but not an explorer. Commander Wilkes, U. S. N., was both a discoverer (of a part of the

Antarctic continent) and an explorer (in the Pacific Ocean, California, and Oregon). Dr. Kane was a discoverer; Fremont an explorer. The *practical* distinction is greater than the *scientific* one.

D. F. L.

MANCHESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

WHALEY, THE REGICIDE [xvii. 264, 443]—*Mr. Anthony Arnoux:* In reply to your inquiry as to particulars concerning Whaley, the regicide, permit me to call your attention to two interesting papers on this subject, published in the October and January issues of the Pennsylvania Historical Society's quarterly, the *Pennsylvania Magazine.*

ANDREW D. MELLICK, JR

PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY.

WHALEY, THE REGICIDE [xvii. 264]—Mr. Arnoux will find all that is known of Whaley in the following titles: 1. Dr. Stiles' "History of Three of the Judges of Charles 1st," &c. Hartford, 1794. 2. "Memoranda Concerning Edward Whaley and William Goffe," by F. B. Dexter. New Haven, 1876. Also in Vol. II. New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers. 3. "Edward Whalley, the Regicide," by R. P. Robins. *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History*, Vol. I. pp. 55–66. 1877. 4. "Thomas Whaley of Virginia and Theophilus Wall of Narragansett," by R. P. Robins. *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History*, Vol. X. pp. 392–400. 1887.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

SENECAS [xvii. 263]—The name of the Senecas first appears on the Dutch maps of 1614 and 1616, where it is spelled Sennecas. Northeast of them were placed the Maquaas, or Mohawks, and by these two names *alone* the Dutch were accustomed to designate the Five Nations for half a century. Neither name is Iroquois, but they were those given them by the shore Algonquin tribes, first known to the Dutch and English. Either from their cannibal feasts or ferocity, the Senecas seem to have been known by this name, which has been fairly interpreted as "devourers of men," from "sinni," to eat; this being the most common early form. The nearest resemblance is in the Iroquois *Sinnekwe-non*, meaning *all;* but the name seems certainly to have come from the shore tribes, not from themselves. It appears often in the Dutch colonial documents, prior to the English conquest.

W. M. BEAUCHAMP

BALDWINSVILLE, NEW YORK.

SOCIETIES

New york historical society—The annual meeting was held on Tuesday evening, January 4. The following gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year: president, Hon. John A. King; first vice-president, Hamilton Fish; second vice-president, John A. Weekes; foreign corresponding secretary, William M. Evarts; domestic corresponding secretary, Edward F. De Lancey; recording secretary, Andrew Warner; treasurer, Robert Schell; librarian, Jacob B. Moore.

At the regular monthly meeting, February 1, Mrs. William P. Wright presented a collection to the society, made by her husband, relating to the war of 1861, bound in ten volumes, consisting of engravings, broadsides, badges, and other mementoes. The paper of the evening was read by Professor Daniel J. Brinton, on "American Aboriginal Poetry." The gallery was enriched by an exquisite bust of the late Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., presented by Mrs. Osgood, also a portrait, by Huntington, of the retiring president, Mr. Benjamin H. Field, the bequest of the late Mrs. Field.

At the meeting, March 1, J. F. Jameson, Ph.D., of Johns Hopkins University, read an instructive paper on "William Usselinx and the Dutch West India Company."

At the meeting, April 5, Dr. George H. Moore read a most interesting and exhaustive paper, entitled, "The Origin and Early History of Columbia College," in which he presented much that was new concerning this institution, agreeably diversified with quaint facts and amusing incidents in its early career.

At the meeting on the 3d of May, Rev. Dr. De Costa read a paper entitled, "The Origin and Growth of Religious Liberty in New York."

The american ethnological society—The annual meeting of the American Ethnological Society was held April 26, 1887, and the following were elected officers for 1887: president, Alexander L. Cotheal; vice-presidents, Charles E. West, LL.D., and Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D.; corresponding secretary, J. S. White, LL.D.; recording secretary, the Rev. T. Stafford Drowne, D.D.; treasurer, Alexander I. Cotheal; librarian, Henry T. Drowne. An interesting paper was read by Dr. John S. White on "The Viking Ship Discovered at Gokstad, in Norway," which was illustrated by stereopticon views.

New york genealogical and biographical society—At a meeting of this society, held on Friday evening, April 22, President Wilson in the chair, an interesting address on Sir William Pepperell, Bart., was delivered by Everett P. Wheeler, a member of the New York bar. The address, which was illustrated with a fine portrait of Sir William, by the celebrated painter Copley, will appear in the next number of the society's publication, the *Record*, which will also contain a valuable monograph by the Rev. Beverly R. Betts, on the Eigenbrodts of New York.

BOOK NOTICES

AMERICAN STATE CONSTITUTIONS.

A Study of their growth. By HENRY HITCHCOCK, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 61. New York and London, 1887: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The significance of statutes and constitutions, and their influence upon the direction and the measure of development in the national life of a country, is admirably emphasized in this little volume, which embodies a scholarly address, delivered in January last before the New York State Bar Association at its tenth annual meeting in Albany. The author has made no attempt to write an elaborate history of state constitutions and the changes made from time to time in the laws which govern them, but to discuss a few of the more notable enactments, grouping them for convenient reference, and suggesting lessons from them of the first importance in connection with his theme. These enactments, he says, signify and express the conclusions of a free people as to what changes in their organic law will best promote the common welfare. "They are unique in their importance, as being the broadest, the most permanent, and the most authoritative expression of the vigorous life of legislation; they are the very foundations of the accepted political and social order; they mark out the chosen line of progress; they record, in brief line and weighty phrase, the result of controversies the most momentous." Among the statistics of surpassing value included in the work we find the following: "It appears that up to 1873 one hundred and fifty conventions in all had been held in the United States for the purpose of framing, revising, or ratifying constitutions or parts of constitutions, either for the Union or for States now members thereof, including in that number twenty-eight conventions called simply to ratify propositions made by other conventions or bodies having analogous functions—such as the several State conventions which ratified the Federal Constitution—and six others which proved abortive, such as various meetings of the council of censors of Pennsylvania and of Vermont, and the Rhode Island Convention of 1834. Of the remaining one hundred and eighteen conventions, properly speaking, seventy-eight submitted the fruit of their labors to the people, including the convention which framed the Federal Constitution, and forty which did not. But the significance of these figures can be reached only by considering their distribution in point of time."

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF MANORS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK AND IN THE COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER.

By EDWARD FLOYD DELANCEY, with Map of the Manors in Westchester. Pamphlet. Imperial octavo, pp. 166. New York, 1886.

This scholarly work, written from a legal point of view, is a separately printed chapter from the recently published "History of Westchester County," and possesses exceptional value from the fact that it forcibly elucidates a feature of American history hitherto very little known and understood. Mr. DeLancey has had the best of opportunities for informing himself in relation to his theme, and in no other printed volume can be found so clear and accurate a presentation of the general character of the Dutch systems and law and patroonships established in this country; and of the subsequent system of the English under the Duke of York as Lord Proprietor. Mr. DeLancey tells us what the manors in New York were not and what they were. He says, "The impression is very common, especially in America, that the manor system is purely of feudal origin. Writers who have referred to the New York manors, as a rule, describe them as the same as the feudal manors of England, not aware that manors have not been created in England since 1290; not aware that the law of England at the time of the wresting of New Netherland from the Dutch *prohibited the existence in the new Province of New York of feudal manors*. They have indulged, and do indulge, in a great deal of fine, and sometimes indignant, writing on the subject, which had, and has, no real basis whatever. . . . No grant of a feudal manor in England at any time from their first introduction ever carried with it a title, and much less did any grant of a New York freehold manor ever do so. Both related to land only. The term Lord of the Manor is a technical one, and means simply the owner—the possessor—of a manor, nothing more. Its use as a title is simply a work of intense, or ignorant, republican provincialism. 'Lord,' as a prefix to a manor owner's name, was never used in England, nor in the Province of New York."

Mr. DeLancey explains the difference between the old feudal manors of England and the modern manorial system of New York, with its incidents and tenure introduced by the English, and proceeds to show how the erection of these manors, like the previous creation of patroonships by the Dutch, was simply the establishment and carrying out of what they deemed the best method of promoting the growth and development of their new possession under their own laws and customs. To the same idea was due the granting of large tracts of land, "Great Patents," as they were called, which were not manors. In the County of Westchester were six manors, those of Cortlandt, Scarsdale, Pelham, Morrisania, Fordham, and Philipsborough. It is said that in 1769 one-third of the population of the county lived in the monster manors of Cortlandt and Philipsborough. The map, which serves as a frontispiece to the volume, will give the reader an opportunity to note the comparative extent of these great tracts of land. A separate map, on page 115, is that of the Cortlandt manor, prepared expressly for this work. There are also excellent individual maps of the manors of Philipsborough and of Scarsdale. A volume of such consequence to students of American history as this of Mr. DeLancey's should have a place in every college and public library.

THE EARLY TUDORS: Henry VII.; Henry VIII. By the Rev. C. E. Moberly, M. A. 16mo, pp. 246. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

There is no doubt that in projecting this series, entitled "Epochs of Modern History," Mr. Morris supplied something that was lacking in the world of letters. The series now numbers seventeen volumes, including "The Early Tudors," and may run through several more. The study of history by epochs has manifest advantages, grouping passages and persons in their natural relations, and fixing them in the mind through mutual association. Of course the different volumes sometimes overlap, but this only tends to preserve the harmony of the series. It is a pity, however, that an ex-master of Rugby should permit himself to be responsible for such inelegant, not to say incorrect, sentences as the following, which we quote from page 19:

"As to Lord Stanley, Richard seems to have had the incapacity (not uncommon in tyrants) to reflect that those whom they injure are certain to remember the wrong when they themselves have forgotten it." And, "Making a virtue of necessity, Richard acknowledged, as we are informed, his crime in his final address to his soldiers," etc. In the last sentence the simple transposition of "his crime" to follow "acknowledged" would have turned into good English what must now stand as a bungling form of expression.

THE HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF THE LATE ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL, Relating to the Early History of the West. With an Introduction by William L. Stone. Small 4to, pp. 500. Albany, New York, 1887: Joel Munsell's Sons.

The author of this exceedingly interesting work was an enthusiast in historical studies, a man of marked ability and many excellencies. His writings, which form the volume before us, are chiefly a collection of historical monographs and contributions to magazine literature, which were prepared with great fidelity and painstaking research among original authorities, and which will never lose their special value and importance. Mr. Marshall chose chiefly for his subjects the aborigines of western New York, and the early explorers—subjects fraught with all the elements of picturesque romance. He was a frequent and highly appreciated contributor to the pages of the Magazine of American History, the first article in the first number of this periodical, in January, 1877, being from his pen. In his "Sketch of some of the Indian Tribes which formerly dwelt on the borders of the great lakes," the opening chapter of the book, he reveals a tender and sympathizing spirit and a fondness for traditions, which serve to illumine his pages and lend a peculiar charm to the narrative. One of the most interesting chapters is "The first visit of De La Salle to the Senecas, made in 1669," a paper read before the Buffalo Historical Society in 1874. An account of "De Céloron's expedition to the Ohio in 1749" is another contribution of sterling worth and special note. An appreciative introduction to the work appears from the pen of William L. Stone. An elaborate and excellent index and an appendix conclude the volume, which is a deserved and fitting monument to a critical historical scholar and an estimable citizen.

THE FEUD OF OAKFIELD CREEK. A Novel of California Life. By Josiah Royce. 16mo, pp. 483. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The reader of the day has learned to expect from a book that professes to deal with the Pacific Coast something that touches upon the life of mining camps and the strange characters and episodes that render that phase of existence so fascinating to eastern readers, but the present novel treats of an entirely different outgrowth of the conditions that have developed in the neighborhood of San Francisco; the relations, that is, of landlord and tenant, with complications arising out of personal quarrels, literary ambitions, and love affairs. The plot is as characteristic and as full of local color as if the scenes were laid in mining camps, and presents, upon the whole, a view of California existence that will be a revelation to most readers.

OUR GOVERNMENT. How it grew, what it does, and how it does it. By Jesse Macy, A.M. 16mo, pp. 238. Boston, 1886: Ginn & Co.

This is an excellent little hand-book, prepared with skill and intelligent care for the young mind already partially informed concerning the local governments in his immediate vicinity, or school district. The work is so arranged that the institutions nearest and most easily comprehended are first presented, and the child is led onward by dainty steps through his own State, until he understands the relation of the whole machinery to the Federal Government. Many facts and incidents drawn from the history of the colonies are used to show the close connection of our present affairs, local, State, and Federal, with the past experiences of the people. To understand what governments are doing involves some knowledge of what they have been doing. A thorough knowledge of the past is the best possible preparation for understanding the present. The book is well conceived, and it is full of priceless suggestions; the bright pupil will be guided through its study into the avenues of general culture in history, as well as in law-making and political economy.

OUTLINES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

With an account of its origin and sources, and of its historical development. By GEORGE B. DAVIS, U. S. A. 16mo, pp. 469. New York, 1887: Harper & Brothers.

One result at least has grown out of the various theories of evolution that have of late attracted so much attention from thinking people—no history of anything is complete unless it traces the gradual development of the subject under consideration, from its first conception to its latest perfection or imperfection, as the case may be. The author's purpose in the preparation of the present volume has been to provide a work sufficiently elementary to be within the reach of all who wish to gain some knowledge of the principles that underlie the laws of nations. The use of technical terms has, to this end, been avoided as far as possible, and the result is an elementary text-book rather than a book of reference, though in this latter aspect it is by no means without value. The list of authorities with which it opens is a very full bibliography of the subject under consideration, including the works of nearly all the most profound students of this most important branch of jurisprudence, from Puffendorf, in 1706, to Schuyler, in 1886.

The definition is worth noting as indicative of the basis of study. This, in Mr. Davis' view, comprises "the aggregate of rules and limitations which sovereign states agree to observe in their intercourse and relations with each other. As it deals with the relation of states in their sovereign capacity, it is sometimes called 'Public International Law,' to distinguish it from that branch of the science which has to do with the relations of states to the citizen or subjects of other states, which is called 'Private International Law;' or, as it is in question whether the courts of a state shall apply their own municipal laws, or those of another state, in the determination of a given cause, this branch of the subject has sometimes been called the 'Conflict of Laws.'" The author is the assistant professor of law at the United States Military Academy, where, of course, it is of the highest importance that officers shall be trained in sound principles of the relations that subsist among civilized nations. The volume may, upon the whole, be accepted as the best guide as yet available for young men who may, in the course of their professional life, be called upon to decide, on their own responsibility, questions involving the gravest matters of international comity.

LIFE OF THOMAS HART BENTON.

[AMERICAN STATESMEN.] By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. 16mo, pp. 372. Boston and New York, 1887: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This book is intensely interesting from the first page to the last. It is an excellent piece of literary work. Mr. Roosevelt has caught the spirit of his subject, and told the story of his varied career in a rapid, forceful, engaging manner. Mr. Benton was born in North Carolina in 1782, but he was primarily a western and not a southern statesman. The political school which he represented came to its fullest development in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, when they were known as the Border States. Mr. Roosevelt truthfully says: "Benton was one of those public men who formulate and express, rather than shape, the thoughts of the people who stand behind them, and whom they represent. A man of strong intellect and keen energy, he was for many years the foremost representative of at least one phase of that thought; being, also, a man of high principle and determined courage. When a younger generation had grown up, and the bent of the thought had changed, he declined to change with it, bravely accepting political defeat as the alternative, and going down without flinching a hair's breadth from the ground on which he had always stood." In his young days, Mr. Benton studied law, and attained eminence in his profession; he served one term in the Tennessee Legislature, where he procured the passage of laws reforming the judicial system, and giving to slaves the benefit of a jury trial. He was a soldier in the war of 1812, an influential editor in St. Louis before the war closed, and held a seat in the United States Senate for thirty years. His public life covered a period of exciting political controversies, in all of which he was more or less concerned. Mr. Roosevelt describes him in his private life as "a religious man," who, "like his great political chief, could on occasions swear roundly. His personal and political prejudices were bitter, and he denounced his enemies freely in public; yet he always declined to take part in joint political debates on account of the personal discourtesy with which they were conducted. His character grew steadily to the very last; he made better speeches, and was better able to face new problems, when past three score and ten than in his early youth or middle age."

NEW YORK. THE PLANTING AND THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE STATE. By ELLIS H. ROBERTS. [AMERICAN COMMONWEALTHS.] Two volumes, small 12mo. Boston and New York, 1887: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Such is the title of this last of the five attempts to reduce the history of the Colony of New Netherland and the Province and State of New York to the form of a brief manual. As to the object of the writer in this production, we are left to conjecture, as the work has no introduction, nor even a preface. Undoubtedly, Mr. Roberts had good reasons, and probably thought he had better not give them, but why it is hard to say. From an advertising page, bound after the index in the second volume, headed "American Commonwealths, edited by Horace E Scudder," we learn that Mr. Scudder is getting out "a series of volumes narrating the history of such States of the Union as have exerted a positive influence in the shaping of the national government, or have a striking political, social, or economical history," and that "the aim of the editor will be to secure trustworthy and graphic narratives, which shall have substantial value as historical monographs and at the same time do full justice to the picturesque elements of the subjects," and that "it is hoped by this means to throw new light upon the development of the country, and to give a fresh point of view for the study of American history." Whether the editor of the series and the author of these two volumes disagreed or not as to their *raison d'être*, and therefore concluded to say nothing about it, does not appear. The result is that we are driven to the above-mentioned advertisement of Mr. Scudder for a reason for the existence of Mr. Roberts' work, and that is found only in its last quoted sentence. Now, we understand that any account of any country brought down to a late date may throw new light on its "development." But how such accounts as Mr. Scudder proposes, of such "American Commonwealths" as he selects, can "give a fresh point of view for the study of American history" is not at all clear.

It is very certain that Mr. Roberts' two duodecimo volumes do not give any "fresh point of view for the study" of New York history. He does not claim any original research nor access to any new material. As a whole, the work is an admirably well written abridgment of New York history from an old point of view. But not one authority is given, nor a document, paper, or book cited for any statement made, save a very, very few quotations in the text, so few as hardly to be exceptions to the rule. Mr. Roberts is, perhaps, not to blame for this. He and his readers are the sufferers from the system adopted in the "series." Mr. Scudder, the editor, or the publishers, have undertaken to apply the same system to food for the mind, in the form of history, that has been applied so profitably and successfully to food for the body, in the form of beef, fruits, and vegetables. When François Appert, as far back as 1809, announced in France his great discovery of securing cooked food in hermetically sealed vessels, which has since been carried to such perfection there, and in "this America of ours," he had little idea that his invention would eventually be applied to the preparation and preservation of mental food in the same way. And yet it has been done, with great success and profit to the publishers, as is evidenced by the numerous "series," in philosophy, biography, physics, history, etc., with which booksellers' shelves now groan. Of this *canned* history, so to speak, these two volumes are exceedingly good specimens. Mr. Roberts was a very good workman for Mr. Scudder to employ in his history canning business. They will do well to dip into for a newspaper article, an anniversary oration, a centennial celebration, or any other literary fishing excursion, or picnic, and even could be opened for a sudden military or political supper and the speeches or addresses thereto appurtenant. They can be so drawn upon with pleasure to all present, provided, however, that Mr. Roberts' language is not "warmed over," or "spiced up," for the occasion.

The difficulty is that the whole system of "preserving" history in pretty little volumes, like meats, fruits, and vegetables in pretty little cans, is wrong. Neither answer except for temporary occasions, and if depended upon produce in the one case mental, in the other physical, dyspepsia. Mr. Roberts is a man of education and culture, has been a member of Congress, mayor of a city, is the editor of a flourishing newspaper of the interior, and president of a local historical society. If he had undertaken to give us a full history of the colony and State, with plenty of time at his disposal, it would doubtless have been well done, with the bones, gristle, tendons, muscle, and juices of the subject in their proper relations, instead of the cut-up and canned articles he has been forced to prepare.

There being no preface or introduction—no label, as it were—to his work, we do not know if he was aware of the four previous abbreviations of the history of New York that have been published. The first was "Eastman's" history of the State from its discovery, for the use of schools and families, published in New York in 1828, and brought down to that date, in small duodecimo of 279 pages. It was simply an abstract, and a very good one too, of the subject, in chapters and numbered sections, with questions at the foot of each page. The second was a new and enlarged edition of the same work, with the addition of a full geographical account of the county and its original inhabitants, published in New York in 1833, in a thick duodecimo of 455 pages. Both editions contain at the end a very few biographical sketches of noted persons. These works are capital outline histories, just what such works should be for school and family use. The author's preface well says, "In a work of this nature it seemed that the compiler should not seek minutely to detail the policy, or exhibit the springs and motives, of government, but should in general restrict himself to a plain exhibition of facts and events." This and this only is what all abbreviated or outline histories should aim at. The third work was altogether of a different character. It was a history of New York for schools, by William Dunlap, in two small, thin, 12mo volumes, published in New York in 1837, and consists of conversations or dialogues between an old uncle, three small boys, and one little girl. They begin with Hudson and talk down to the end of the Revolution. It is weak, puerile, very "patriotic," and very hard reading, but gives a fair outline of the subject. It is only noteworthy as out of it grew its author's larger work, "Dunlap's History of New York," in the usual narrative style, left unfinished at his death and published afterward, in 1839, in two volumes, large duodecimo. Dunlap was industrious, but credulous, and he collected a good deal of matter, some of it valuable, which was added to and forms part of the second of the two volumes.

The fourth was "A History of the State of New York, for the use of Common Schools, Academies, Normal and High Schools, and other Seminaries of Instruction, by S. S. Randall, Superintendent of Schools in the City of New York," published in that city in 1871, in one volume duodecimo, beginning with the Indians and coming down to the second election of Governor Hoffman. It is in chapters and numbered sections—a mere outline—based on "Smith's History of New York" mainly as to the Colonial era, the ordinary accounts of the Revolution, and "Hammond's Political History," and Miss Booth's "History of the City of New York" and the author's own later knowledge as to State politics.

It is a curious illustration of the little hold the history of New York seems to have upon its own citizens, and the little attention they gave to it, that Randall's preface to this book actually begins with these words, "So far as I am aware, the compilation now presented to the public is the first attempt at providing for our elementary and higher institutions of learning a separate History of the State of New York."

It will be seen that all these works were professedly school histories or manuals, while Mr. Roberts' work, the fifth and last, does not profess to be anything, being merely styled, "New York—the Planting and Growth of the Empire State." It is, in fact, not a history, but an extended editorial review of the history of New York, from 1609 down to President Cleveland and Governor Hill. His account of the Dutch colonization is exceedingly well done, and perhaps the best part of the volumes. Mr. Roberts, however, is guilty of one great mistake, which is a grievous defect. He makes the Dutch *régime* continue to 1674, when it, in fact, was terminated by the British conquest in 1664. His sixth chapter is entitled, "Surrender of the Dutch, 1663–1674;" and his twelfth, "Beginnings of English Rule, 1674–1688." He thus practically gives over to the Dutch the first ten years of the English rule. The effect of his treatment is to make very hazy a period of which the actual documents and contemporary publications make the history perfectly clear and distinct. He really begins the English rule with Andros's administration instead of Nicolls's. The Leisler rebellion he treats fairly and well. But from William and Mary to the Revolution he has relied too much on Smith's History, and not enough on the Council and Assembly journals, and that great storehouse of facts, the eleven volumes of the Colonial Historical Documents, edited by O'Callaghan. Relying so much on Smith and the pamphleteers of the middle of the last century, he has unconsciously been led into errors which a closer study of the documents would have prevented.

The treatment of the period from 1776 to 1789 is singularly incorrect in one respect. During that whole time New York was an *independent sovereign State*, free and clear of all entangling alliances with the single exception of the Articles of Confederation, which did not take effect till their final adoption in 1781, having her own army and navy, judiciary, and governor, and issuing her own money. But of this Mr. Roberts strangely says not one word.

The political history down to our days, and the accounts of the War of 1812, and the late Civil War, are treated generally with fairness and good taste. Altogether the work is creditable, and its author is to be congratulated upon having so well performed his part of the condensing process confided to him by Mr. Scudder.

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MAGAZINE

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY

ILLUSTRATED.

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB.

MAY, 1887.

743 BROADWAY NEW YORK.

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Communications should be addressed to

THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY,
743 Broadway, New York City.

30 Paternoster Row,
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Entered at New York Post Office as Second Class matter.

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	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886	120,952	$368,981,441 36	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887	129,927	$393,809,202 88
Risks Assumed	18,673	56,832,718 92	Risks Terminated	9,698	32,004,957 40
	139,625	$425,814,160 28		139,625	$425,814,160 28

Dr. Revenue Account. *Cr.*

To Balance from last account	$99,865,644 11
" Premiums	15,634,720 66
Interest and Rents	5,502,456 01
	$121,002,820 78

By paid to Policyholders:		
Endowments and Purchased Insurances	$4,908,729 61	
Dividends and Annuities	2,727,454 13	
Deceased Lives	5,492,920 00	
		$13,129,103 74
By Other Disbursements:		
Commissions and Commutations	$1,732,632 83	
Taxes	277,169 85	
Expenses	1,091,613 91	
		3,101,416 59
By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased		52,566 14
Balance to new account		104,719,734 31
		$121,002,820 78

Dr. Balance Sheet. *Cr.*

To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated	$108,460,120 25
" Premiums received in advance	78,274 84
Surplus at four per cent	5,643,568 15
	$114,181,963 24

By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	$50,118,949 66
United States and other Bonds	42,071,641 00
Loans on Collaterals	6,172,917 25
Real Estate	10,591,286 32
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,306,203 08
Interest accrued	1,166,870 65
Premiums deferred and in transit	1,565,117 28
Sundries	188,978 00
	$114,181,963 24

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A. N. WATERHOUSE,
Auditor.

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MAY, 1887.

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Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886	120,952	$368,981,441 36	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887	129,927	$393,809,202 88
Risks Assumed	18,673	56,832,718 92	Risks Terminated	9,698	32,004,957 40
	139,625	$425,814,160 28		139,625	$425,814,160 28

Dr. Revenue Account. *Cr.*

Dr.	
To Balance from last account	$99,865,644 11
Premiums	15,634,720 66
Interest and Rents	5,502.456 01
	$121,002,820 78

Cr.		
By paid to Policyholders:		
Endowments and Purchased Insurances	$4,908,729 61	
Dividends and Annuities	2,727,454 13	
Deceased Lives	5,492,920 00	
		$13,129,103 74
By Other Disbursements:		
Commissions and Commutations	$1,732,632 83	
Taxes	277,169 85	
Expenses	1,091,613 91	
		3,101,416 59
By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased		52,566 14
Balance to new account		104,719,734 31
		$121,002,820 78

Dr. Balance Sheet. *Cr.*

Dr.	
To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated	$108,460,120 25
Premiums received in advance	78,274 84
Surplus at four per cent	5,643,568 15
	$114,181,963 24

Cr.	
By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	$50,118,949 66
United States and other Bonds	42,071,641 00
Loans on Collaterals	6,172,917 25
Real Estate	10,591,286 32
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,306,203 08
Interest accrued	1,166,870 65
Premiums deferred and in transit	1,565,117 28
Sundries	188,978 00
	$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE,
Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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